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THEOLOGICAL
WORKS

Of the Rev. Mr.

Mr. Charles Lathrop

In Two Volumes

V O L I



LONDON:

Printed by W. BOWYER, MDCCXXI.

W6/69/262

2 Thu. 58 x-1

THEOLOGICAL
WORKS

Of the Reverend

Mr. Charles Leslie

In Two Volumes

V O L I



L O N D O N :

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W6/67/262

THEOLOGICAL
WORKS

OF THE REV. FATHER

Mr. Charles Lefebvre

In Two Volumes

VOL. I



LONDON

Printed by J. JOHNSON, Strand

Hand:

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Signature 1723

THEOLOGICAL WORKS

Of the REVEREND

Mr. Charles Leslie.

In Two VOLUMES.

V O L. I.



L O N D O N:

Printed by W. BOWYER, MDCCXXI.

Wb 168 / 262

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Of the REVEREND
To my Worthy Friend R. K.
Mr. Charles Leslie.

Make this Effort, probably the last of
my pen, to thank you for the
In my Worthy Friend
Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München
I have lately taken to procure the
Volumes my Theology of Tracts, and your kind
meets to me with I hope be of service to Religion,
which will be always assisted and always main-
tained, for the Gates of Hell will never be able to
prevail against it. In the Arguments urged in
whole Treatises, and in Tracts, I have
lived them, and will live, for ever; it
they had the same, they would be
against the lowest Principles of Christianity, and
even, and of the Church of England. Richard D. R.
igion is there defended, in the Argument against the
Deists; and Christian Revelation in that against
the Jew; the Holy Trinity in another against the
Unitarians; almost all the Articles of the Christian
Faith in the Discourses against the Quakers; in the
Conference the Church of England, and in the
Printed by W. Bowyer, R. Baldwin, & J. Vin-
dictated



To my Worthy Friend R. K.

S I R,

I Make this Effort, probably the last of using my Pen, to thank you for the many Proofs I have had of your Friendship, especially for the Pains you have lately taken to procure the publishing again in two Volumes my Theological Tracts; and your Kindness to me will I hope be of Service to Religion, which will be always assaulted and always maintain'd; *for the Gates of Hell will never be able to prevail against it.* And if the Arguments urg'd in those Treatises were formerly good (as surely I believ'd them to be) they will be good for ever; if they had then Success, they may be still successful against the several Enemies of the Christian Religion, and of the Church of *England*. Reveal'd Religion is there defended in the Argument against the Deists; and Christian Revelation in that against the *Jews*; the Holy Trinity in another against the *Socinians*; almost all the Articles of the Christian Faith in the Discourses against the *Quakers*; in the Conference, the Church of *England* Reform'd is vindicated

E P I S T L E.

dicated against Popery; and in the Regale the spiritual Powers and Commission of *Christ*, which he left to the Apostles and their Successors to be executed by them unto the end of the World, are explain'd and justify'd against all the modern Innovators, who pretending to interpret have labour'd utterly to destroy them. If in these Writings I have not prevented all the Objections that have been or may be produc'd against any Subject or Argument in them, this I hope will be no Diminution to the Usefulness of them; for besides that it is more or less an Exception against all Writings; the Objections made have been mostly Cavils unworthy of Reply, and those which deserv'd it are easily clear'd by the Light of Truth, which if fully prov'd in those Books can never be refused: And you know well that Age, Infirmary of Health, and *Weariness of Flesh* have admonish'd me that of writing many Books there must be an end. If in writing so much and on so many Subjects Mistakes have crept in, I hope they are not of Importance; and such as they are, could I examine and discover, I should readily retract them, and disown nothing but Artifice and Malice, from which my own Conscience acquits me, and God I hope who is greater will not condemn me. I have always thought it my Duty to follow Truth as closely as I could without straying after worldly Interest; and tho' the Providence of God infinitely wise and righteous hath for a great part of my Life excluded me from the publick Exercise of that sacred Office to which I was call'd; yet I have the Comfort of having endeavour'd in some degree to serve, against its various Adversaries, the Cause of God, of Religion, and of that Church in which I was baptiz'd, educated, and

receiv'd

EPISTLE.

receiv'd into holy Orders. And tho' the Events of Life have given me occasions to take a nearer view of the Doctrines and Worship of other Christian Churches, yet from thence I have been confirm'd in my belief that the Church of *England*, Abuses notwithstanding, is the most agreeable to the Institutions of *Christ* and his Apostles. And being now in a point of time to which Eternity is near, you will believe me if I declare, (and to the World I would declare it) that in this Communion I resolve to die, and expect to be sav'd by the Merits and Mediation of *Christ Jesus*. And that all our Labours may be accepted by his infinite Mercy, be serviceable to his Religion, and beneficial to our Church and Countrey, is the Prayer of, &c.

Charles Leslie.



The

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 of the Bishops of other Christian
 Churches, yet from thence I have been confirm'd in
 my belief that the Church of England, Apostles not-
 withstanding, the most perfect and most Christian
 of Christian Churches. And being now in a point
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 Ours infinite Mercy, be serviceable to his Religion,
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Prayer of &c.

Charles Leslie.

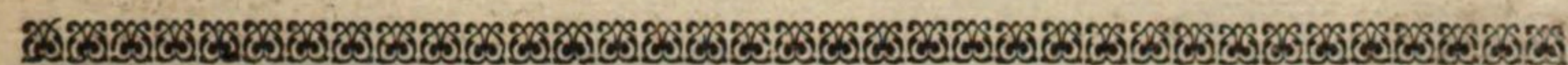


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A Short and Easy
M E T H O D
WITH THE
D E I S T S,
WHEREIN THE
C E R T A I N T Y
OF THE
Christian Religion
Is demonstrated by Infallible Proof from
F O U R R U L E S,

WHICH ARE
Incompatible to any IMPOSTURE that ever
yet has been, or that can possibly be.

In a LETTER *to a* FRIEND.



—————

A Short and Easy

METHOD

WITH THE

DEISTS

WHEREIN THE

CERTAINTY

OF THE

Christian Religion

is demonstrated by Infallible Proof from

FOUR RULES,

WHICH ARE

Incompatible to any Imposture that ever
yet has been, or that can possibly be

In a Letter to a Friend.

—————



PREFACE to the LETTER against the DEISTS.

I.  Have been desir'd to say something more concerning Apollonius Tyanæus, hereafter mention'd, tho' it lies upon the Deists to produce him, if they dare pitch upon him as an instance, to which they are fairly invited; but herein only shew their modesty: They are bashful in the face of an Argument; but where a jest, a grin, or a laugh will carry it off, they are unmerciful, and triumph clamorously. They have brought upon the Stage no Competitor with our blessed Saviour, equal to their Apollonius: Therefore I nam'd him, and provok'd them, (but I cannot) to bring it to a Tryal. For the sake therefore of some Readers, who may not know the Story, I will here give this short account of him.

First then, let it be observ'd, that what account we have of Apollonius Tyanæus, is from Philostratus, who liv'd an hundred years after the time in which this Apollonius is said to have flourish'd.

Whence had Philostratus this? He says, from the Book of one Damis, who had been a Companion of Apollonius's. How came Philostratus by this Book? He says, that An acquaintance of Damis's brought the Empress Julia to the knowledge of his Commentaries, which till then had not been publish'd. (I give it you in the words of Mr. Blount's translation.) And that the Empress commanded Philostratus to transcribe those Commentaries, and bestow some pains on the relations contain'd in them.

P R E F A C E to the

them. *What pains was this? Only to transcribe? No, that was small pains, and not fit to be impos'd upon so great an Orator as Philostratus; it was the Office of a Clerk. But, it seems, this Book of Damis's was so poorly wrote, as not fit to be expos'd to view, at least of the Empress, who, as Philostratus tells us, was much addicted to the study of Rhetorick. For (says he) Damis had given a plain but unelegant description of them, i. e. of the Acts of Apollonius. Therefore the pains that Philostratus took, he tells us, was upon the relations of Apollonius that were in the Commentaries of Damis; and to fit them for the ear of an Empress, who lov'd Rhetorick, alias romancing and fine stories. So that we are not sure we have one word of the Commentaries of Damis. But this we are sure of, that we have them only as they were new dress'd, and vamp'd by an Orator, to please the fancy of a rhetorical Lady.*

But, which is more, Philostratus does not pretend that he confin'd himself to the Commentaries of Damis. For he tells us, (ibid. l. i. c. 3.) that in composing these Books of his, he had gathered together the dispersed relations of Apollonius into one Volume: And names another Author, one Mæragenes, who had wrote four Books concerning Apollonius. But he says, that there is no credit to be given to them. Why? Because, (says he) Mæragenes, in his Books, seemeth to be altogether ignorant of his (Apollonius's) Actions. It seems they were not so romantick as the Commentaries of Damis, and so less fit for an entertainment to the Empress. But they do not seem to be the less true for that: And Philostratus gives no other reason against them, i. e. they were not for his purpose, which was, to compose something new and surprizing, to gratify the Empress.

Let me observe here, that this was an Age, wherein the Melisiaca, or feign'd romantick stories were much in vogue: Such as Heliodorus's Æthiopicks, the Amours of Clitophon and Leucippe, &c. And it is very probable that Philostratus living, as he tells us, at Court, wou'd endeavour not to be out of the fashion.

And indeed, if he had been to compose a Romance, to have appear'd like any thing of truth, he cou'd not have introduc'd it upon less authority, and a more precarious foundation, than this which he has given for his Hero, Apollonius.

So extremely slight, that some very learned Men have, not without reason, doubted whether ever there was such a Man as this Apollonius.

It is true that Origen (Contr. Cels.) does mention him; but so he did likewise the recognition of St. Clement, (Tom. 3. Com-

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ment. in Genes. in Philocal. c. 23.) which now are taken for granted to have been wrote only in his name. And it is no strange thing that some wise and learned Men may be impos'd upon in matters of this nature.

But neither wise nor foolish, that have eyes in their head, can be impos'd upon in the four marks hereafter given p. 11. whereby to ascertain the truth of any matter of fact. And the Deists not daring to bring the matter of fact of Apollonius to the test of these rules, all that they can possibly infer from their Legends, is, that perhaps they may be true: Whereas, they must acknowledge, unless they will deny the certainty of all their senses, that the matters of fact of Moses, and of Christ, are certainly, undubitably, and infallibly true.

And there is almost the same certainty, that those of Apollonius must be false: Because, as Men cannot be impos'd upon in such notorious matters of fact, it is next to the same impossibility, that they shou'd forget them; at least, so soon as were these which were told of Apollonius. For example, his freeing the City of Ephesus from the Plague; his vanishing out of the presence of Domitian, and his Court, when he was arraign'd before him; and his familiar converse with many other Kings, and wonders done before them; and the mighty estimation even to adoration, which he is thereby said to have obtain'd all over the World.

Now is it possible, that all this cou'd be so totally forgot, as that no mention at all shou'd be made of it for a hundred years after these things were said to be done? Insomuch that Philostratus complains, in the introduction to his legend, (l. 1. c. 1.) that whereas Pythagoras, and other ancient Philosophers, who had liv'd many ages before, were still remember'd with great veneration, yet that Apollonius, who, as he says, came nearer to divine wisdom than Pythagoras himself, is not yet known among Men—tho' he lived neither very long ago, nor yet very lately.

Was it possible, that the death of so famous a person shou'd not have been greatly notic'd? and his Sepulchre honour'd and visited? Yet Philostratus tells, that there was no certainty of the place where he died; that some said it was at Ephesus, some at Rhodes, and some at Crete; and that his Sepulchre cou'd no where be found. To help this, some bestow'd an Apotheosis upon him; and would have it, that he was taken up into Heaven. But did any body see it? No; that is not so much as alledged: Nor could Philostratus believe it, who said that he had travell'd far and near to find out his Sepulchre, but cou'd not hear of it.

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And if he was so universally famous as Philostratus has represented him, cou'd Mœragenes have wrote his Life, and be altogether ignorant of his actions, as Philostratus has accused him? Mœragenes wrote before Philostratus; and therefore had better reason to know. And if Philostratus had transmitted to us the Commentaries of Mœragenes, as well as what helps he took out of those of Damis, or father'd upon him, we shou'd no doubt have had a more moderate account of Apollonius; since Philostratus does confess, that for that only reason he had rejected the books of Mœragenes. And if they were in being when he wrote, he was under a necessity of saying something against them, (tho' what he has said confirms them the more) because they gave the lye so notoriously to his new Romance of Apollonius.

But now, to sum up all, let us suppose to the utmost, that all this said Romance were true, what wou'd this amount to? Only that Apollonius did such things. What then? What if he were so virtuous a person, as that God shou'd have given him the power to work several miracles? This wou'd no ways hurt the argument that is here brought against the Deists; because Apollonius set up no new Religion, nor did he pretend that he was sent with any Revelation from Heaven, to introduce any new sort of the worship of God. So that it is of no consequence to the world, whether these were true or pretended miracles; whether Apollonius was an honest Man, or a Magician; or whether ever there was such a Man or not. For he left no Law or Gospel behind him, to be receiv'd upon the credit of those miracles which he is said to have wrought; and therefore if he did work such, it is no prejudice to the truth, either of the Law or the Gospel. So that this whole parallell betwixt Apollonius and Christ is altogether impertinent, and shews at once the impotence as well as malice of those who propose it.

II. This brings me from Apollonius to his new Editor amongst us, Charles Blount: For I find my self oblig'd to account for what I have said of him. I have been told, (since the first edition of this) that it has disoblig'd some friends, (far from my intention) who for relation or acquaintance had a regard to the person of Mr. Blount, tho' not to his principles; and think that I have us'd him too courstly, he being a Gentleman.

But when it is consider'd how he has treated our blessed Lord and Saviour, like the Soldiers who bow'd the knee to him, and spit in his face; who cry'd, Hail, King of the Jews! to mock him the more outrageously: That not only in his Comments upon this history of Apollonius, but in his Great Diana, his Oracles

of Reason, and in all his Works, he set himself, with his whole might, to oppose and ridicule the Birth, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and all that is said of our Christ and God in the holy Gospel, and all reveal'd Religion; of which I cou'd give instances out of number, but they are not fit to be heard by Christian ears; and it wou'd gratify the Deists but to have them nam'd.

Again considering, that his most pernicious books (many of which were well-nigh lost) are of late carefully collected and reprinted, (to the scandal of a Christian Country) and dispersed, to poison the Nation; I say, all this being duly consider'd, I have no apology to make for calling this Man execrable; nor can I retract or compound it: Seeing it is come to this, that either his blasphemous Works, (who set himself at the head of the Deists, and after whom they now copy) or else the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ must remain execrable.

Nor would I give better quarter to the greatest King upon earth, who shou'd do the same: But, after the example of our holy Apostle, I would say, I do say, let him, or an Angel from Heaven, who durst thus presume, be accursed.

If Mr. Blount had meddled only with the argument, and oppos'd what he cou'd, in that method, I wou'd have thought him worthy of civil treatment; as I will any other of the Deists, who shall answer the reasons I have here set down. And if he can overthrow them, and give me better on his side, I confess I shall then be tempted to turn Infidel with him. And to this I invite them, I provoke them. But if they will not, (as there is little appearance that they will) then let them never more value themselves as Men of Sense, at least let none others do so, while they refuse to be determin'd by Reason.

But if instead of Reason, they have recourse, like Mr. Blount, to their old Topic of Buffoonry, and shew their Parts in witty satire and scorn, and laugh out—Priest-craft—for an hour together; let them enjoy the fruit of their labours, and what they justly deserve, to be the admiration of fools, and contempt of all wise and good Men. And so I leave them.



of Reason, and in the last, to let himself, with his whole
 might, to oppose and combat the Heathen Religion, and
 to show, and all that is said of our Christ and God in the
 Gospel, and all revealed Religion; of which I could give in-
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 tians only; and it would greatly increase the length of this
 paper, if I were to mention them. I have therefore
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 which were well-nigh lost) are of late carefully collected and re-
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 no apology to make for calling this Man exorable; nor can I
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A Short and Easy
M E T H O D
WITH THE
D E I S T S.

S I R,

I. **I**N answer to yours of the third instant, I much condole with you your unhappy Circumstances, of being placed among such Company, where, as you say, you continually hear the sacred Scriptures, and the histories therein contain'd, particularly of *Moses* and of *Christ*, and all revealed Religion turn'd into ridicule, by Men who set up for sense and reason. And they say, that there is no greater ground to believe in *Christ*, than in *Mahomet*; that all these pretences to Revelation are cheats, and ever have been among *Pagans*, *Jews*, *Mahometans*, and *Christians*; that they are all alike impositions of cunning and designing Men, upon the credulity, at first, of simple and unthinking People, till, their numbers encreasing, their delusions grew popular, came at last to be establish'd by Laws; and then the force of education and custom gives a byass to the judgments of after ages, till such deceits come really to be believ'd, being receiv'd upon trust from the ages foregoing, without examining into the original and bottom of them: Which these our modern Men of sense (as they desire to be esteem'd) say, that they only do, that they only have their judgments freed

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from

from the slavish authority of Precedents and Laws, in matters of truth, which, they say, ought only to be decided by reason; tho' by a prudent compliance with Popularity and Laws, they preserve themselves from outrage, and legal penalties; for none of their complexions are addicted to sufferings and martyrdom.

Now, Sir, that which you desire from me, is, some short topic of Reason, if such can be found, whereby, without running to authorities, and the intricate mazes of Learning, which breed long disputes, and which these Men of Reason deny by wholesale, though they can give no reason for it; only suppose that Authors have been trump'd upon us, interpolated, and corrupted, so that no stress can be laid upon them, tho' it cannot be shewn wherein they are so corrupted; which, in reason, ought to lie upon them to prove, who alledge it; otherwise it is not only a precarious, but a guilty Plea: And the more, that they refrain not to quote Books on their side, for whose authority there are no better, or not so good grounds. However, you say, it makes your disputes endless, and they go away with noise and clamour, and a boast, That there is nothing, at least nothing certain to be said on the Christian side. Therefore you are desirous to find some one topic of Reason, which should demonstrate the truth of the Christian Religion, and at the same time distinguish it from the impostures of *Mahomet*, and the old Pagan world: That our Deists may be brought to this test, and be either obliged to renounce their reason, and the common reason of Mankind, or to submit to the clear proof, from reason, of the Christian Religion; which must be such a proof, as no imposture can pretend to, otherwise it cannot prove the Christian Religion not to be an imposture. And, whether such a proof, one single proof (to avoid confusion) is not to be found out, you desire to know from me.

And you say, that you cannot imagine but there must be such a proof, because every Truth is in itself clear, and one; and therefore that one reason for it, if it be the true reason, must be sufficient; and, if sufficient, it is better than many; for multiplicity confounds, especially to weak judgments.

Sir, you have impos'd an hard task upon me, I wish I could perform it. For tho' every truth is one, yet our sight is so feeble, that we cannot (always) come to it directly, but by many inferences, and laying of things together.

But I think, that in the case before us, there is such a proof as you require, and I will set it down as short and plain as I can.

II. First then, I suppose, that the truth of the doctrine of *Christ* will be sufficiently evinced, if the Matters of fact, which are recorded of him in the Gospels, be true; for his miracles, if true, do vouch the truth of what he delivered.

The same is to be said as to *Moses*. If he brought the children of *Israel* through the *Red-Sea*, in that miraculous manner, which is related in *Exodus*, and did such other wonderful things as are there told of him, it must necessarily follow, that he was sent from God: These being the strongest proofs we can desire, and which every Deist will confess he would acquiesce in, if he saw them with his eyes. Therefore the stress of this cause will depend upon the proof of these matters of fact.

I. And the method I will take, is, first, to lay down such Rules, as to the truth of matters of fact, in general, that where they all meet, such matters of fact cannot be false. And then, secondly, to shew that all these Rules do meet in the matters of fact, of *Moses*, and of *Christ*; and that they do not meet in the matters of fact of *Mahomet*, of the Heathen Deities, or can possibly meet in any imposture whatsoever.

2. The

2. The Rules are these. 1. *That the matters of fact be such, as that Mens outward senses, their eyes and ears, may be judges of it.* 2. *That it be done publickly in the face of the world.* 3. *That not only publick monuments be kept up in memory of it, but some outward actions to be performed.* 4. *That such monuments and such actions or observances be instituted, and do commence from the time that the matter of fact was done.*

3. The two first Rules make it impossible for any such matter of fact to be impos'd upon Men, at the time when such matter of fact was said to be done, because every Man's eyes and senses would contradict it. For example, suppose any Man should pretend, that yesterday he divided the *Thames*, in presence of all the People of *London*, and carried the whole City, Men, Women and Children, over to *Southwark*, on dry Land, the Waters standing like Walls on both sides: I say, it is morally impossible that he could persuade the People of *London* that this was true, when every Man, Woman and Child, could contradict him, and say, that this was a notorious falshood, for that they had not seen the *Thames* so divided, or had gone over on dry Land. Therefore I take it for granted, (and, I suppose, with the allowance of all the Deists in the World) that no such Imposition could be put upon Men at the time when such publick matter of fact was said to be done.

4. Therefore it only remains that such matter of fact might be invented some time after, when the Men of that Generation, wherein the thing was said to be done, are all past and gone; and the credulity of after Ages might be impos'd upon, to believe that things were done in former Ages, which were not.

And for this, the two last Rules secure us as much as the two first Rules, in the former case; for whenever such a matter of fact came to be invented, if not only monuments were said to remain of it, but likewise that publick actions and observances were constantly us'd ever since the matter of fact was said to be done, the deceit must be detected, by no such monuments appearing, and by the experience of every Man, Woman, and Child, who must know that no such actions or observances were ever us'd by them. For example, suppose I should now invent a Story of such a thing done a thousand years ago, I might, perhaps, get some to believe it; but if I say, that not only such a thing was done, but that from that day to this every Man, at the age of twelve years, had a joint of his little Finger cut off; and that every Man in the Nation did want a joint of such a Finger; and that this Institution was said to be part of the matter of fact done so many years ago, and vouch'd as a proof and confirmation of it, and as having descended, without interruption, and been constantly practis'd in memory of such matter of fact all along, from the time that such matter of fact was done: I say, it is impossible I should be believ'd in such a case, because every one could contradict me, as to the mark of cutting off a joint of the Finger; and that being part of my original matter of fact, must demonstrate the whole to be false.

III. Let us now come to the second Point, to shew, that the matters of fact of *Moses*, and of *Christ*, have all these Rules, or Marks before-mention'd; and that neither the matters of fact of *Mahomet*, or what is reported of the Heathen-Deities, have the like; and that no Impostor can have them all.

1. As to *Moses*, I suppose it will be allow'd me, that he could not have persuaded 600000 Men, that he had brought them out of *Aegypt*, thro' the *Red-Sea*; fed them 40 years, without Bread, by miraculous Manna, and the other matters of fact recorded in his Books, if they had not been true. Because every Man's senses that were then alive must have contradicted it.

And

And therefore he must have impos'd upon all their Senses, if he could have made them believe it, when it was false, and no such things done. So that here are the first and second of the above-mentioned four Marks.

For the same reason it was equally impossible for him to have made them receive his five Books as truth, and not to have rejected them as a manifest imposture; which told of all these things as done before their Eyes, if they had not been so done. See how positively he speaks to them, *Deut. xi. 2. to x. 8. And know you this day, for I speak not with your Children, which have not known, and which have not seen the chastisement of the Lord your God, his greatness, his mighty hand, and his stretched out arm, and his miracles, and his acts, which he did in the midst of Ægypt, unto Pharaoh the King of Ægypt, and unto all his Land, and what he did unto the Army of Ægypt, unto their Horses, and to their Chariots; how he made the water of the Red-Sea to overflow them as they pursued after you; and how the Lord hath destroyed them unto this day: And what he did unto you in the Wilderness, until he came into this Place; and what he did unto Dathan and Abiram, the Sons of Eliab, the Son of Reuben, how the Earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up, and their Households, and their Tents, and all the substance that was in their possession, in the midst of all Israel. But your Eyes have seen all the great Acts of the Lord, which he did, &c.*

From hence we must suppose it impossible that these Books of *Moses*, (if an Imposture) could have been invented and put upon the People who were then alive, when all these things were said to be done.

The utmost therefore that even a Suppose can stretch to, is, that these things were wrote in some Age after *Moses*, and put out in his Name.

And to this I say, that if it was so, it was impossible that those Books should have been receiv'd, as the Books of *Moses*, in that Age wherein they may have been suppos'd to have been first invented. Why? Because they speak of themselves as deliver'd by *Moses*, and kept in the *Ark* from his time. *And it came to pass, when Moses had made an end of writing the words of this Law in a Book, until they were finished, that Moses commanded the Levites who bare the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, saying, Take this Book of the Law, and put it in the side of the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord your God, that it may be there for a witness against thee, Deut. xxxi. 24, 25, 26.* And there was a Copy of this Book to be left likewise with the King. *And it shall be when he sitteth upon the Throne of his Kingdom, that he shall write him a Copy of this Law in a Book, out of that which is before the Priests the Levites: And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his Life; that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of this Law and these Statutes to do them, Deut. xvii. 18, 19.*

Here you see that this Book of the Law speaks of it self, not only as an History or Relation of what things were then done, but as the standing and municipal Law and Statutes of the Nation of the *Jews*, binding the King as well as the People.

Now, in whatever Age after *Moses* you will suppose this Book to have been forged, it was impossible it could be received as Truth; because it was not then to be found, either in the *Ark*, or with the King, or any where else: For when first invented, every body must know that they had never heard of it before.

And therefore they could less believe it to be the Book of their Statutes, and the standing Law of the Land, which they had all along received, and by which they had been governed.

Could any Man, now at this day, invent a Book of Statutes or Acts of Parliament for *England*, and make it pass upon the Nation as the only Book of Statutes that ever they had known? As impossible was it for the Books of *Moses* (if they were invented in any age after *Moses*) to have been receiv'd for what they declare themselves to be, *viz.* the Statutes and municipal Law of the Nation of the *Jews*; and to have persuaded the *Jews* that they had own'd and acknowledg'd these Books all along from the days of *Moses* to that day in which they were first invented; that is, that they had own'd them before they had ever so much as heard of them: Nay, more, the whole Nation must in an instant forget their former Laws and Government if they could receive these Books as being their former Laws; and they could not otherwise receive them, because they vouch'd themselves so to be. Let me ask the Deists but this one short Question, Was there ever a Book of sham-Laws, which were not the Laws of the Nation, palm'd upon any People since the world began? If not, with what face can they say this of the Book of Laws of the *Jews*? Why will they say that of them, which they confess impossible in any Nation, or among any People?

But they must be yet more unreasonable. For the Books of *Moses* have a farther Demonstration of their Truth than even other Law-Books have; for they not only contain the Laws, but give an historical account of their Institution, and the Practice of them from that time: As of the Passover in memory of the Death of the First-born in *Aegypt*: And that the same day all the *First-born of Israel both of Man and Beast* were by a perpetual Law dedicated to God: And the *Levites taken for all the First-born of the Children of Israel*: That *Aaron's Rod* which budded was kept in the Ark in memory of the Rebellion and wonderful Destruction of *Korah, Dathan, and Abiram*; and for the Confirmation of the Priesthood to the Tribe of *Levi*: As likewise the Pot of *Manna* in memory of their having been fed with it forty years in the Wilderness: That the brazen Serpent was kept (which remained to the days of *Hezekiah*, 2 *Kings* xviii. 4.) in memory of that wonderful deliverance, by only looking upon it, from the biting of the Fiery-Serpents: The Feast of *Pentecost*, in memory of the dreadful Appearance of God upon Mount *Horeb*, &c.

And besides these remembrances of particular Actions and Occurrences there were other solemn Institutions in memory of their Deliverance out of *Aegypt*, in the general, which included all the particulars: As of the Sabbath, their daily Sacrifices and yearly Expiation, their new-Moons and several Feasts and Fasts: So that there were yearly, monthly, weekly, daily Remembrances and Recognitions of these things.

And not only so, but the Books of the same *Moses* tell us, that a particular Tribe (of *Levi*) was appointed and consecrated by God as his Priests; by whose hands, and none other, the Sacrifices of the People were to be offer'd, and these solemn Institutions to be celebrated: That it was Death for any other to approach the *Altar*: That their High-Priest wore a glorious Mitre, and magnificent Robes of God's own Contrivance, with the miraculous *Urim* and *Thummim* in his Breast-plate, whence the divine Responses were given: That at his Word the King and all the People were to go out and to come in: That these *Levites* were likewise the chief Judges even in all civil Causes, and that it was Death to resist their Sentence. Now whenever it can be suppos'd that these Books of *Moses* were forged, in some ages after *Moses*, it is impossible they could have been received as true, unless the Forgers could have made the whole Nation believe that they had received these Books from their Fathers, had been instructed in them when they were Children, and had taught them to their Children; moreover, that they had all been circumcised, and did circumcise their Children,

Numb. xxxv.
25, 28.

dren, in pursuance to what was commanded in these Books, that they had observed the yearly Passover, the weekly Sabbath, the new-Moons, and all these several Feasts, Fasts, and Ceremonies commanded in these Books: That they had never eaten any Swines Flesh, or other Meats prohibited in these Books: That they had a magnificent Tabernacle, with a visible Priesthood to administer in it, which was confined to the Tribe of *Levi*; over whom was placed a glorious High-Priest, cloathed with great and mighty Prerogatives; whose Death only could deliver those that were fled to the Cities of Refuge: And that these Priests were their ordinary Judges, even in civil matters: I say, was it possible to have persuaded a whole Nation of Men that they had known and practised all these things, if they had not done it? Or, *Secondly*, to have receiv'd a Book for Truth, which said they had practised them, and appeal to that practice? So that here are the third and fourth of the marks abovementioned.

But now let us descend to the utmost degree of Supposition; *viz.* That these Things were practised before these Books of *Moses* were forged, and that these Books did only impose upon the Nation, in making them believe that they had kept these Observances in memory of such and such things as were inserted in those Books.

Well then, let us proceed upon this Supposition, (however groundless:) And now will not the same Impossibilities occur as in the former case? For, *First*, This must suppose that the *Jews* kept all these Observances in memory of nothing, or without knowing any thing of their original, or the reason why they kept them: Whereas these very Observances did express the ground and reason of their being kept; as the Passover in memory of God's passing-over the Children of the *Israelites*, in that night wherein he slew all the First-born of *Aegypt*, and so of the rest.

But, *Secondly*, Let us suppose, contrary both to reason and matter of fact, that the *Jews* did not know any reason at all why they kept these Observances; yet was it possible to put it upon them, that they had kept these Observances in memory of what they had never heard of before that day, whensoever you will suppose that these Books of *Moses* were first forged? For example, suppose I should now forge some romantick story of strange things done a thousand years ago, and in confirmation of this should endeavour to persuade the Christian World, that they had all along from that day to this kept the first day of the week in memory of such an Hero, an *Apolonius*, a *Barcosbas*, or a *Mahomet*; and had all been baptiz'd in his name, and swore by his name, and upon that very Book, (which I had then forged, and which they never saw before) in their publick Judicatures; that this Book was their Gospel and Law, which they had ever since that time, these thousand years past, universally receiv'd and own'd, and none other: I would ask any Deist, whether he thinks it possible that such a Cheat could pass, or such a legend be receiv'd as the Gospel of Christians; and that they could be made believe that they never had any other Gospel? The same reason is as to the Books of *Moses*; and must be as to every matter of fact which has all the four marks above mentioned; and these marks secure any such matter of fact as much from being invented and impos'd in any after ages, as at the time when such matters of fact were said to be done.

Let me give one very familiar example more in this case. There is the *Stonbenge* in *Salisbury-Plain*, every body knows it, and yet none knows the reason why those great Stones were set there, or by whom, or in memory of what.

Now suppose I should write a Book to morrow, and tell there, that these Stones were set up by *Hercules*, *Polyphemus*, or *Garagantua*, in memory of

of such and such of their actions: And for a farther confirmation of this, should say, in this Book, that it was wrote at the time when such actions were done, and by the very actors themselves, or eye-witnesses: And that this Book had been received as truth, and quoted by Authors of the greatest reputation in all ages since: Moreover that this Book was well known in *England*, and enjoin'd by Act of Parliament to be taught our children, and that we did teach it to our children, and had been taught it our selves when we were children: I ask any Deist, whether he thinks this could pass upon *England*? And whether, if I, or any other should insist upon it, we should not, instead of being believ'd, be sent to *Bedlam*?

Now let us compare this with the *Stonhenge*, as I may call it, or twelve great Stones set up at *Gilgal*, which is told in the 4th Chapter of *Joshua*. There it is said, *Y. 6.* that the reason why they were set up, was, that when their Children, in after ages, should ask the meaning of them, it should be told them.

And the thing in memory of which they were set up, was such as could not possibly be impos'd upon that Nation at that time, when it was said to be done; it was as wonderful and miraculous as their passage thro' the *Red-Sea*.

And this instance is free from a very poor objection which the Deists have advanc'd against that Miracle of the *Red-Sea*: Thinking to salve it by a Spring-tide, with the concurrence of a strong Wind, happening at the same time; which left the sand so dry, as that the *Israelites* being all on foot, might pass thro' the ousey places and holes, which it must be supposed the Sea left behind it: But that the *Aegyptians*, being all horse and chariots, stuck in those holes, and were entangled so as that they could not march so fast as the *Israelites*: And that this was all the meaning of its being said, that God took off their (the *Aegyptians*) Chariot-Wheels, that they drove them heavily: So that they would make nothing extraordinary, at least not miraculous, in all this action.

This is advanc'd in *Le Clerk's Dissertations upon Genesis*, lately printed in *Holland*, and that part with others of the like tendency, endeavouring to resolve other Miracles, as that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, &c. into the mere natural causes, are put into *English* by the well-known *T. Brown*, for the edification of the Deists in *England*.

But these Gentlemen have forgot that the *Israelites* had great herds of many thousand Cattel with them, which would be apter to stray, and fall into those holes and ousey places in the sand, than horse with riders, who might direct them.

But such precarious and silly supposes are not worth the answering. If there had been no more in this passage thro' the *Red-Sea* than that of a Spring-tide, &c. it had been impossible for *Moses* to have made the *Israelites* believe that relation given of it in *Exodus*, with so many particulars which themselves saw, to be true.

And all those Scriptures which magnify this action, and appeal to it as a full demonstration of the miraculous power of God, must be reputed as romance or legend.

I say this for the sake of some Christians who think it no prejudice to the truth of the holy Bible, but rather an advantage, as rendring it more easy to be believ'd, if they can solve whatever seems miraculous in it by the power of second causes; and so to make all, as they speak, natural and easy: Wherein if they could prevail, the natural and easy result would be, not to believe one word in all those sacred Oracles. For if things be not as they are told in any relation, that relation must be false: And if false in part, we cannot trust to it either in whole or in part.

Here

Here are to be excepted mis-translations and errors either in Copy or in Press; but where there is no room for supposing of these, as where all Copies do agree, there we must either receive all or reject all: I mean in any Book that pretends to be written from the Mouth of God; for in other common Histories we may believe part and reject part as we see cause.

But to return. The passage of the *Israelites* over *Jordan*, in memory of which those Stones at *Gilgal* were set up, is free from all those little carpings before-mention'd that are made as to the passage thro' the *Red-Sea*:
 Josph. iii. 5. For notice was given to the *Israelites* the day before, of this great Miracle to be done. It was done at noon-day, before the whole Nation: And when the waters of *Jordan* were divided, it was not at any low ebb, but at the
 v. 15. time when that river overflowed all his Banks: And it was done not by Winds, or in length of time, which Winds must take to do it, but all on the sudden, as soon as the feet of the Priests that bear the Ark were dipped in the brim of the water, then the waters which came down from above, stood and rose up upon an heap, very far from the city Adam, that is beside Zaretan: And those that came down toward the Sea of the Plain, even the Salt Sea, failed, and were cut off: And the People passed over right against Jericho. The Priests stood in the midst of *Jordan* till
 Josph. iv. from all the Armies of *Israel* had passed over. And it came to pass, when the
 v. 18, &c. Priests that bare the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord were come up out of the midst of *Jordan*, and the soles of the Priests feet were lift up upon the dry land, that the waters of *Jordan* returned unto their place, and flowed over all his banks as they did before. And the People came up out of *Jordan* on the tenth day of the first month, and encamped in *Gilgal* on the east border of Jericho. And those twelve Stones which they took out of *Jordan*, did *Joshua* pitch in *Gilgal*. And he spake unto the Children of *Israel*, saying, When your Children shall ask their Fathers in time to come, saying, What mean these Stones? Then ye shall let your Children know, saying, *Israel* came over this *Jordan* on dry land. For the Lord your God dried up the waters of *Jordan* from before you, until ye were passed over; as the Lord your God did to the *Red-Sea*, which he dried up from before us, until we were gone over. That all the People of the Earth might know the Hand of the Lord, that it is mighty: That ye might fear the Lord your God for ever.

If the passage over the *Red-Sea* had been only taking the advantage of a Spring-tide, or the like, how would this teach all the People of the Earth that the Hand of the Lord was mighty? How would a thing no more remarkable have been taken notice of thro' all the World? How would it have taught *Israel* to fear the Lord, when they must know, that notwithstanding all these big words, there was so little in it? How could they have believ'd or receiv'd a Book as truth, which they knew told the matter so far otherwise from what it was?

But, as I said, this passage over *Jordan*, which is here compar'd to that of the *Red-Sea*, is free from all those cavils that are made as to that of the *Red-Sea*, and is a farther attestation to it, being said to be done in the same manner as was that of the *Red-Sea*.

Now, to form our argument, let us suppose that there never was any such thing as that passage over *Jordan*: That these Stones at *Gilgal* were set up upon some other occasion in some after Age: And then, that some designing Man invented this Book of *Joshua*, and said that it was wrote by *Joshua* at that time: And gave this Stonage at *Gilgal* for a testimony of the truth of it. Would not every body say to him, we know the Stonage at *Gilgal*, but we never heard before of this reason for it; nor of this Book of *Joshua*? Where has it been all this while? And where, and how came

you after so many ages to find it? Besides, this Book tells us, that this passage over *Jordan* was ordain'd to be taught our Children from age to age; and therefore, that they were always to be instructed in the meaning of that Stonage at *Gilgal* as a memorial of it. But we were never taught it when we were Children, nor did ever teach our Children any such thing: And it is not likely that could have been forgotten while so remarkable a Stonage did continue, which was set up for that and no other end.

And if, for the reasons before given, no such imposition could be put upon us as to the Stonage in *Salisbury-Plain*, how much less could it be as to the Stonage at *Gilgal*?

And if where we know not the reason of a bare naked monument, such a sham-reason cannot be impos'd, how much more is it impossible to impose upon us in actions and observances which we celebrate in memory of particular passages? How impossible to make us forget those passages which we daily commemorate, and persuade us that we had always kept such institutions in memory of what we never heard of before; that is, that we knew it before we knew it!

And if we find it thus impossible for an imposition to be put upon us even in some things which have not all the four marks before-mentioned, how much more impossible is it that any deceit should be in that thing where all the four marks do meet!

This has been shewed in the first place, as to the matters of fact of *Moses*.

2. Therefore I come now, *Secondly*, to shew, that as in the matters of fact of *Moses*, so likewise all these four marks do meet in the matters of fact which are recorded in the Gospel of our blessed Saviour. And my work herein will be the shorter, because all that is said before of *Moses* and his Books, is every way as applicable to *Christ* and his Gospel. His Works and Miracles are there said to be done publickly, in the face of the World; as he argued to his accusers, *I spake openly to the World, and in secret have I said nothing.* It is told, that three thousand at one time, and that above five thousand at another, were converted upon conviction of what themselves had seen, what had been done publickly before their Eyes, wherein it was impossible to have imposed upon them. Therefore here were the two first of the rules before-mentioned.

John xviii. 20.

Acts ii. 41.

Acts iv. 4.

Then for the two second. Baptism and the Lord's Supper were instituted as perpetual memorials of these things; and they were not instituted in after-ages, but at the very time when these things were said to be done; and have been observed without interruption in all ages through the whole Christian World, down all the way from that time to this: And *Christ* himself did ordain Apostles, and other Ministers of his Gospel, to preach, and administer these Sacraments, and to govern his Church; and that *always*, even unto the end of the World: Accordingly they have continu'd by regular succession to this Day; and no doubt ever shall while the earth shall last: So that the Christian Clergy are as notorious a matter of fact as the Tribe of *Levi* among the *Jews*; and the Gospel is as much a Law to the Christians as the Book of *Moses* to the *Jews*: And it being part of the matters of fact related in the Gospel, that such an order of Men were appointed by *Christ*, and to continue to the end of the World, consequently, if the Gospel was a fiction, and invented (as it must be) in some ages after *Christ*, then, at that time when it was first invented, there could be no such order of Clergy as deriv'd themselves from the institution of *Christ*; which must give the lye to the Gospel, and demonstrate the whole to be false: And the matters of fact of *Christ* being press'd to be true no otherwise than as there was at that time (whenever the Deists will suppose the Gospel to be forged)

Mat. xxviii. 20.

not only publick Sacraments of *Christ's* institution, but an order of Clergy likewise of his appointment to administer them; and it being impossible there could be any such things before they were invented, it is as impossible that they should be received when invented: And therefore by what was said above, it was as impossible to have impos'd upon mankind in this matter, by inventing of it in after-ages, as at the time when those things were said to be done.

3. The matters of fact of *Mahomet*, or what is fabled of the Deities, do all want some of the aforesaid four rules, whereby the certainty of matters of fact is demonstrated. First, for *Mahomet*, he pretended to no *Miracles*, as he tells us in his *Alcoran*, c. 6. and those which are commonly told of him pass among the *Mahometans* themselves but as legendary fables; and as such, are rejected by the wise and learned among them; as the legends of their Saints are in the Church of *Rome*: See Dr. *Prideaux* his *Life of Mahomet*, pag. 34.

But, in the next place, those which are told of him do all want the two first rules before-mentioned. For his pretended converse with the Moon, his *Merfa*, or Night-Journey from *Mecca* to *Jerusalem*, and thence to Heaven, &c. were not performed before any body; we have only his own Word for them; and they are as groundless as the delusions of *Fox* or *Muggleton* among our selves. The same is to be said (in the second place) of the fables of the heathen Gods, of *Mercury's* stealing sheep, *Jupiter's* turning himself into a bull, and the like; besides the folly and unworthiness of such senseless pretended Miracles: And moreover, the wise among the Heathen did reckon no otherwise of these but as fables which had a mythology or mystical meaning in them, of which several of them have given us the rationale, or explication: And it is plain enough that *Ovid* meant no other by all his *Metamorphoses*.

It is true, the heathen Deities had their Priests; they had likewise feasts, games, and other publick institutions in memory of them; but all these want the fourth mark, viz. that such Priesthood and institutions should commence from the time that such things as they commemorate were said to be done; otherwise they cannot secure after-ages from the imposture by detecting it at the time when first invented, as hath been argued before. But the *Bacchanalia* and other heathen feasts were instituted many ages after what was reported of these Gods was said to be done, and therefore can be no proof of them. And the Priests of *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, &c. were not ordain'd by these supposed Gods, but were appointed by others in after-Ages only in honour to them: And therefore these orders of Priests are no evidence to the truth of the matters of fact which are reported of their Gods.

IV. Now to apply what has been said, you may challenge all the Deists in the World to shew any action that is fabulous which has all the four rules or marks before-mention'd. No, it is impossible: And (to resume a little what is spoke to before) the Histories of *Exodus* and the Gospel could never have been receiv'd if they had not been true; because the institution of the Priesthood of *Levi*, and of *Christ*, of the Sabbath, the Passover, of Circumcision, of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, &c. are there related as descending all the way down from those times without interruption: And it is full as impossible to persuade men that they had been circumcis'd, baptiz'd, had circumcis'd or baptiz'd their Children, celebrated Passovers, Sabbaths, Sacraments, &c. under the government and administration of a certain order of Priests if they had done none of these things, as to make them believe that they had gone through seas upon dry land, seen the dead

dead raised, &c. And without believing of these, it was impossible that either the Law or the Gospel could have been received.

And the truth of the matters of fact of *Exodus* and the Gospel being no otherwise press'd upon men than as they have practis'd such publick institutions, it is appealing to the senses of mankind for the truth of them; and makes it impossible for any to have invented such stories in after-ages without a palpable detection of the cheat when first invented; as impossible as to have impos'd upon the senses of mankind at the time when such publick matters of fact were said to be done.

V. I do not say that every thing which wants these four marks is false; but that nothing can be false which has them all.

I have no manner of doubt that there was such a man as *Julius Caesar*, that he fought at *Pharsalia*, was kill'd in the Senate-House; and many other matters of fact of ancient times, tho' we keep no publick observances in memory of them.

But this shews that the matters of fact of *Moses* and of *Christ* have come down to us better guarded than any other matters of fact how true soever.

And yet our Deists, who would laugh any man out of the World as an irrational brute, that should offer to deny *Caesar* or *Alexander*, *Homer* or *Virgil*, their publick Works and Actions; do, at the same time, value themselves as the only Men of Wit and Sense, of free, generous, and unbiass'd Judgments, forridiculing the Histories of *Moses* and *Christ*, that are infinitely better attested, and guarded with infallible marks, which the others want.

VI. Besides that the importance of the subject wou'd oblige all Men to inquire more narrowly into the one than the other: For what consequence is it to me, or to the World, whether there was such a Man as *Caesar*, whether he beat or was beaten at *Pharsalia*, whether *Homer* or *Virgil* wrote such Books, and whether what is related in the *Iliads* or *Aeneids* be true or false? It is not two pence up or down to any Man in the World. And therefore it is worth no Man's while to inquire into it, either to oppose or justify the truth of these Relations.

But our very Souls and Bodies, both this life and eternity are concern'd in the Truth of what is related in the Holy Scriptures; and therefore Men wou'd be more inquisitive to search into the truth of these, than of any other matters of fact; examine and sift them narrowly; and find out the deceit, if any such cou'd be found: For it concern'd them nearly, and was of the last importance to them.

How unreasonable then is it to reject these matters of fact, so sifted, so examin'd, and so attested, as no other matters of fact in the World ever were; and yet to think it the most highly unreasonable, even to madness, to deny other matters of fact, which have not the thousandth part of their evidence, and are of no consequence at all to us, whether true or false!

VII. There are several other Topicks, from whence the truth of the Christian Religion is evinc'd to all who will judge by reason, and give themselves leave to consider. As the improbability that ten or twelve poor illiterate Fisher-Men should form a design of converting the whole World to believe their delusions; and the impossibility of their effecting it, without force of Arms, Learning, Oratory, or any one visible thing that could recommend them: And to impose a Doctrine quite opposite to the lusts and pleasures of Men, and all worldly advantages, or enjoyments: And this in an Age of so great learning and sagacity, as that wherein the Gospel was first

Act. iv. 20.
1 Joh. i. 1.

first preach'd: That these Apostles should not only undergo all the scorn and contempt, but the severest Persecutions, and most cruel Deaths that could be inflicted, in attestation to what themselves knew to be a mere deceit and forgery of their own contriving. Some have suffer'd for errors which they thought to be truth: But never any for what themselves knew to be lyes. And the Apostles must know what they taught to be lyes, if it was so, because they spoke of those things which they said, they had both *seen* and *heard*, had *looked upon*, and handled with their *Hands*, &c.

Neither can it be said, that they, perhaps, might have propos'd some temporal advantages to themselves, but miss'd of them, and met with sufferings instead of them: For if it had been so, it is more than probable, that when they saw their disappointment, they would have discover'd their Conspiracy; especially when they might not have only sav'd their Lives, but got great rewards for doing of it. That not one of them should ever have been brought to do this.

But this is not all. For they tell us that their Master bid them expect nothing but sufferings in this World. This is the Tenure of all that Gospel which they taught: And they told the same to all whom they converted. So that here was no disappointment.

For all that were converted by them, were converted upon the certain expectation of sufferings, and bidden prepare for it. *Christ* commanded his *Disciples* to take up their Cross daily and follow him; and told them, that in the World they should have tribulation: That whoever did not forsake Father, Mother, Wife, Children, Lands, and their very Lives, could not be his *Disciples*: That he who sought to save his life in this World, should lose it in the next.

Now that this despised Doctrine of the Cross should prevail so universally against the allurements of flesh and blood, and all the blandishments of this World; against the Rage and Persecution of all the Kings and Powers of the Earth, must shew its original to be divine; and its Protector Almighty. What is it else, could conquer without Arms, persuade without Rhetorick, overcome Enemies, disarm Tyrants, and subdue Empires without opposition?

VIII. We may add to all this, the Testimonies of the most bitter Enemies and Persecutors of Christianity, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, to the truth of the matter of fact of *Christ*, such as *Josephus* and *Tacitus*; of which the first flourish'd above forty Years after the Death of *Christ*, and the other about seventy Years after: So that they were capable of examining into the truth, and wanted not prejudice and malice sufficient to have inclin'd them to deny the matter of fact it self of *Christ*: But their confessing to it, as likewise *Lucian*, *Celsus*, *Porphyry*, and *Julian* the *Apostate*; the *Mahometans* since, and all other Enemies of Christianity that have arisen in the World, is an undeniable attestation to the truth of the matter of fact.

IX. But there is another Argument more strong and convincing than even this matter of fact; more than the certainty of what I see with my Eyes; and which the Apostle *Peter* call'd a more sure word, that is, proof than what he saw and heard upon the *Holy Mount*, when our Blessed Saviour was transfigur'd before him, and two other of the Apostles: For having repeated that passage as a proof of that whereof they were Eye-Witnesses, and heard the voice from Heaven giving attestation to our Lord *Christ*, 2 Pet. i. 16, 17, 18. he says, v. 19. *We have also a more sure word of prophecy*, for the proof of this *Jesus* being the *Messiah*, that is

is the Prophecies which had gone before of him, from the beginning of the World; and all exactly fulfilled in him.

Men may dispute an imposition or delusion upon our outward senses: But how can that be false, which has been so long, even from the beginning of the World, and so often by all the Prophets, in several ages foretold; how can this be an imposition, or a forgery?

This is particularly insisted on in the method with the *Jews*. And even the *Deists* must confess, that that Book we call the old Testament, was in being, in the hands of the *Jews* long before our *Saviour* came into the World. And if they will be at the pains to compare the Prophecies that are there of the *Messiah*, with the fulfilling of them, as to time, place, and all other circumstances, in the Person, Birth, Life, Death, Resurrection and Ascension of our blessed *Saviour*, they will find this proof what our Apostle here calls it, *a light shining in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts*. Which God grant. Here is no possibility of deceit or imposture.

Old Prophecies, (and all so agreeing) cou'd not have been contrived to countenance a new cheat: And nothing cou'd be a cheat, that cou'd fulfil all these.

For this therefore I refer the *Deists* to the Method with the *Jews*.

I desire them likewise to look there, *Sect. XI.* and consider the Prophecies given so long ago, of which they see the fulfilling at this day with their own eyes, of the state of the *Jews*, for many ages past, and at present; without a King or Priest, or Temple, or Sacrifice, scattered to the four Winds, sifted as with a sieve, among all Nations; yet preserved, and always so to be, a distinct People from all others of the whole Earth. Whereas those mighty Monarchies which oppressed the *Jews*, and which commanded the World, in their turns; and had the greatest humane prospect of perpetuity, were to be extinguished, as they have been, even that their names should be blotted out from under Heaven.

As likewise, that as remarkable of our blessed *Saviour*, concerning the preservation and progress of the Christian Church, when in her swaddling Clothes, consisting only of a few poor Fisher-Men: Not by the Sword, as that of *Mahomet*, but under all the persecution of Men and Hell; which yet should not prevail against her.

But though I offer these, as not to be slighted by the *Deists*, to which they can shew nothing equal in all prophane History, and in which it is impossible any cheat can lie; yet I put them not upon the same foot as the Prophecies before mentioned of the marks and coming of the *Messiah*, which have been since the World began.

And that general expectation of the whole Earth, at the time of his coming, insisted upon in the method with the *Jews*, *Sect. V.* is greatly to be notic'd.

But, I say, the foregoing Prophecies of our *Saviour*, are so strong a proof, as even miracles wou'd not be sufficient to break their authority.

I mean, if it were possible that a true Miracle could be wrought, in contradiction to them. For that would be for God to contradict himself.

But no sign, or wonder, that could possibly be solv'd, should shake this evidence.

It is this that keeps the *Jews* in their obstinacy. Though they cannot deny the matters of fact done by our blessed *Saviour*, to be truly miracles, if so done as said, nor can they deny that they were so done, because they have all the four marks before mentioned, yet they cannot yield. Why? Because they think that the Gospel is in contradiction to the Law.

Which, if it were, the consequence wou'd be unavoidable, that both cou'd not be true. To solve this, is the business of the method with the *Jews*. But the contradiction which they suppose, is in their comments that they put upon the Law; especially they expect a literal fulfilling of those promises of the restoration of *Jerusalem*, and outward glories of the Church, of which there is such frequent mention in the Books of *Moses*, the *Psalms*, and all the Prophets. And many Christians do expect the same, and take those Texts as literally as the *Jews* do. We do believe and pray for the conversion of the *Jews*. For this end they have been so miraculously preserv'd, according to the Prophecies so long before of it. And when that time shall come, as they are the most honourable and ancient of all the Nations on the Earth, so will their Church return to be the Mother Christian Church as she was at first; and *Rome* must surrender to *Jerusalem*. Then all Nations will flow thither. And even *Ezekiel's* Temple may be literally built there, in the Metropolis of the whole Earth, which *Jerusalem* must be, when the fullness of the *Gentiles*, shall meet with the conversion of the *Jews*. For no Nation will then contend with the *Jews*, nor Church with *Jerusalem* for Supremacy. All Nations will be ambitious to draw their Original from the *Jews*, whose are the Fathers, and from whom, as concerning the flesh, *Christ* came.

Then will be fulfill'd that outward grandeur and restoration of the *Jews* and of *Jerusalem*, which they expect, pursuant to the Prophecies.

They pretend not that this is limited to any particular time of the reign of the *Messiah*. They are sure it will not be at the beginning; for they expect to go thro' great conflicts and tryals with their *Messiah*, (as the Christian Church has done) before his final conquest, and that they come to reign with him. So that this is no obstruction to their embracing of Christianity. They see the same things fulfill'd in us, which they expect themselves; and we expect the same things they do.

I tell this to the *Deists*, lest they may think that the *Jews* have some stronger arguments than they know of; That they are not persuaded by the miracles of our blessed Saviour, and by the fulfilling of all the Prophecies in him, that were made concerning the *Messiah*.

As I said before, I wou'd not plead even miracles against these.

And if this is sufficient to persuade a *Jew*, it is much more so to a *Deist*, who labours not under these objections.

Besides, I wou'd not seem to clash with that (in a sound sense) reasonable caution, us'd by Christian Writers, not to put the issue of the truth wholly upon miracles, without this addition, when not done in contradiction to the Revelations already given in the holy Scriptures.

And they do it upon this consideration, that tho' it is impossible to suppose, that God would work a real miracle, in contradiction to what he has already reveal'd: Yet, Men may be impos'd upon by false and seeming Miracles, and pretended revelations (as there are many examples, especially in the Church of *Rome*) and so may be shaken in the faith, if they keep not to the holy Scriptures as their rule.

We are told, *2 Thess. ii. 9.* of him whose coming is after the working of *Satan*, with all powers, and signs, and lying-wonders: And *Rev. xiii. 14. xvi. 14. and xix. 20.* of the Devil, and False-Prophets working miracles. But the word, in all these places, is only *Σημεῖα*, *Signs*, that is, as it is render'd, *Matth. xxv. 24.* which, tho' sometimes it may be us'd to signify real miracles, yet not always, nor in these places: For though every miracle be a sign and a wonder, yet every sign, or wonder, is not a miracle.

X. Here

X. Here it may be proper to consider a common topick of the *Deists*; who, when they are not able to stand out against the evidence of fact, that such and such miracles have been done, then turn about, and deny such things to be miracles, at least, that we can never be sure whether any wonderful thing that is shewn to us, be a true or a false miracle.

And the great argument they go upon, is this: That a miracle being that which exceeds the power of nature; we cannot know what exceeds it, unless we knew the utmost extent of the power of nature. And no Man pretends to know that; therefore, that no Man can certainly know whether any event be miraculous. And, consequently, he may be cheated in his Judgment betwixt true and false miracles.

To which I answer, That Men may be so cheated: And there are many examples of it.

But that tho' we may not always know when we are cheated, yet we can certainly tell, in many cases, when we are not cheated.

For though we do not know the utmost extent of the Power of nature, perhaps, in any one thing; yet it does not follow, that we know not the nature of any thing, in some measure; and that certainly too. For example, though I do not know the utmost extent of the power of fire, yet I certainly know, that it is the nature of fire to burn: And that when proper fuel is administered to it, it is contrary to the nature of fire not to consume it. Therefore, if I see three Men taken off the street, in their common wearing apparel, and without any preparation, cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace; and that the flame was so fierce, that it burnt up those Men that threw them in; and yet that these who were thrown in, should walk up and down in the bottom of the furnace, and I should see a fourth person with them of glorious appearance, like the Son of God; and that these Men shou'd come up again out of the furnace, without any harm, or so much as the smell of fire upon themselves, or their clothes; I cou'd not be deceiv'd in thinking that there was a stop put to the nature of fire, as to these Men; and that it had its effect upon the Men whom it burned, at the same time.

Again, tho' I cannot tell how wonderful and sudden an increase of Corn might be produc'd by the Concurrence of many Causes, as a warm climate, the fertility of the soil, &c. Yet this I can certainly know, that there is not that natural force in the breath of two or three words spoken, to multiply one small loaf of bread, so fast, in the breaking of it, as truly and really, not only in appearance and shew to the eye, but to fill the bellies of several thousand hungry persons; and that the fragments shou'd be much more than the bread was at first.

So neither in a word spoken, to raise the dead, cure diseases, &c.

Therefore though we know not the utmost extent of the power of nature; yet we can certainly know what is contrary to the nature of several such things as we do know.

And therefore, though we may be cheated and impos'd upon in many seeming-miracles and wonders; yet there are some things, wherein we may be certain.

But further, the *Deists* acknowledge a God, of an almighty power, who made all things.

Yet they wou'd put it out of his power, to make any revelation of his will to mankind: For if we cannot be certain of any miracle, how shou'd we know when God sent any thing extraordinary to us?

Nay, how shou'd we know the ordinary power of nature, if we knew not what exceeded it? If we know not what is natural, how do we know there is such a thing as nature? That all is not supernatural, all miracles, and

and so disputable, till we come to downright Scepticism, and doubt the certainty of our outward senses, whether we see, hear, or feel, or all be not a miraculous illusion?

Which, because I know the Deists are not inclin'd to do, therefore I will return to pursue my argument upon the conviction of our outward senses: Desiring only this, that they would allow the senses of other Men to be as certain as their own: Which they cannot refuse, since without this they can have no certainty of their own.

XI. Therefore, from what has been said, the cause is summ'd up shortly in this, that tho' we cannot see what was done before our time, yet by the marks which I have laid down concerning the certainty of matters of fact done before our time, we may be as much assur'd of the truth of them as if we saw them with our eyes; because whatever matter of fact has all the four marks beforementioned, could never have been invented and received but upon the conviction of the outward Senses of all those who did receive it, as before is demonstrated: And therefore this Topick which I have chosen does stand upon the conviction even of Mens outward Senses. And since you have confin'd me to one Topick, I have not insisted upon the other, which I have only named.

XII. And now it lies upon the Deists, if they would appear as Men of reason, to shew some matter of fact of former ages, which they allow to be true, that has greater evidence of its truth than the matters of fact of *Moses* and of *Christ*: Otherwise they cannot, with any shew of reason, reject the one, and yet admit of the other.

But I have given them greater latitude than this, for I have shewn such marks of the truth of the matters of fact of *Moses* and of *Christ*, as no other matters of fact of those times, however true, have but these only: And put it upon them to shew any forgery that has all these marks.

This is a short issue: Keep them close to this: This determines the cause all at once.

Let them produce their *Apollonius Tyanæus*, whose Life was put into *English* by the execrable * *Charles Blount*, and compar'd with all the wit and malice he was master of, to the Life and Miracles of our blessed Saviour.

Let them take aid from all the Legends in the Church of *Rome*, those pious cheats, the forest disgraces of Christianity, and which have bid the fairest of any one contrivance to overturn the certainty of the Miracles of *Christ* and his Apostles, and whole Truth of the Gospel, by putting them all upon the same foot; at least they are so understood by the generality of their devotees, tho' disown'd and laugh'd at by the learned and Men of sense among them.

Let them pick and chuse the most probable of all the fables of the heathen Deities, and see if they can find in any of these the four marks beforementioned.

Otherwise let them submit to the irrefragable certainty of the Christian Religion.

* The hand of that Scornor which durst write such outrageous Blasphemy against his Maker, the divine Vengeance has made his own executioner: Which I wou'd not have mentioned (because the like judgment has befall'n others) but that the Theistical Club have set this up as a principle, and printed a vindication of this same Blount for murdering himself, by way of justification of Self-murder: Which some of them have since, as well as formerly, horridly practis'd upon themselves. Therefore this is no common Judgment to which they are deliver'd, but a visible mark set upon them to shew how far God has forsaken them; and as a caution to all Christians to beware of them, and not to come near the Tents of these wicked Men, lest they perish in their destruction, both of soul and body.

XIII. But if, notwithstanding of all that is said, the Deists will still contend that all this is but Priest-craft, the invention of priests for their own Profit, &c. then they will give us an idea of Priests far different from what they intend:

1. For then we must look upon these Priests not only as the cunningest and wisest of Mankind, but we shall be tempted to adore them as Deities, who have such power as to impose, at their pleasure, upon the senses of Mankind, to make them believe that they had practis'd such publick Institutions, enacted them by Laws, taught them to their Children, &c. when they had never done any of these things, or ever so much as heard of them before: And then, upon the credit of their believing that they had done such things as they never did, to make them farther believe, upon the same foundation, whatever they pleas'd to impose upon them as to former ages: I say, such a power as this must exceed all that is human; and consequently make us rank these Priests far above the condition of mortals.

2. Nay, this were to make them out-do all that has ever been related of the infernal Powers: For though their *Leger-de-main* has extended to deceive some unwary beholders, and their power of working some seeming Miracles has been great, yet it never reach'd, nor ever was suppos'd to reach so far as to deceive the senses of all Mankind in matters of such publick and notorious nature as those of which we now speak, to make them believe that they had enacted Laws for such publick Observances, continually practis'd them, taught them to their Children, and had been instructed in them themselves from their childhood, if they had never enacted, practis'd, taught, or been taught such things.

3. And as this exceeds all the power of Hell and Devils, so is it more than ever God Almighty has done since the foundation of the World. None of the Miracles that he has shewn, or Belief which he has requir'd to any thing that he has reveal'd, has ever contradicted the outward senses of any one Man in the World, much less of all Mankind together: For Miracles being appeals to our outward senses, if they should overthrow the certainty of our outward senses, must destroy with it all their own certainty as to us; since we have no other way to judge of a Miracle exhibited to our senses than upon the supposition of the certainty of our senses, upon which we give credit to a Miracle that is shewn to our senses.

4. This, by the way, is a yet unanswer'd argument against the Miracle of Transubstantiation, and shews the weakness of the defence which the Church of *Rome* offers for it, (from whom the *Socinians* have lick'd it up, and, of late, have glory'd much in it amongst us) that the doctrines of the Trinity or Incarnation contain as great seeming absurdities as that of Transubstantiation: For I wou'd ask, which of our senses it is which the doctrines of the Trinity or Incarnation do contradict? Is it our seeing, hearing, feeling, taste, or smell? Whereas Transubstantiation does contradict all these: Therefore the comparison is exceedingly short and out of purpose. But to return:

If the Christian Religion be a cheat, and nothing else but the invention of Priests, and carry'd on by their craft, it makes their power and wisdom greater than that of Men, Angels, or Devils, and more than God himself ever yet shewed or expressed, to deceive and impose upon the senses of mankind in such publick and notorious matters of fact.

XIV. And this Miracle, which the Deists must run into to avoid these recorded of *Moses* and *Christ*, is much greater and more astonishing than all the Scriptures tell of them.

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So that these Men, who laugh at all Miracles, are now oblig'd to account for the greatest of all, how the senses of Mankind could be impos'd upon in such publick matters of fact.

And how then can they make the Priests the most contemptible of all Mankind, since they make them the sole authors of this the greatest of Miracles?

XV. And since the Deists (these Men of sense and reason) have so vile and mean an idea of the Priests of all Religions, why do they not recover the World out of the possession and government of such blockheads? Why do they suffer Kings and States to be led by them; to establish their deceits by Laws, and inflict penalties upon the opposers of them? Let the Deists try their Hands; they have been trying, and are now busy about it; and free liberty they have, yet have they not prevail'd, nor ever yet did prevail in any civiliz'd or generous nation. And tho' they have made some inroads among the *Hotentots*, and some other the most brutal parts of Mankind, yet are they still exploded, and Priests have and do prevail against them among not only the greatest, but best part of the World, and the most glorious for arts, learning, and war.

XVI. For as the Devil does ape God, in his Institutions of Religion, his Feasts, Sacrifices, &c. so likewise in his Priests, without whom no Religion, whether true or false, can stand: False Religion is but a corruption of the true; the true was before it, though it be followed close upon the heels.

The Revelation made to *Moses* is elder than any history extant in the heathen World. The Heathens, in imitation of him, pretended likewise to their Revelations; but I have given those marks which distinguish them from the true: None of them have those four marks before-mentioned.

Now the Deists think all Revelations to be equally pretended, and a cheat; and the Priests of all Religions to be the same contrivers and jugglers; and therefore they proclaim war equally against all, and are equally engaged to bear the brunt of all.

And if the contest be only betwixt the Deists and the Priests, which of them are the Men of the greatest Parts and Sense, let the effects determine it; and let the Deists yield the victory to their conquerors, who, by their own confession, carry all the World before them.

XVII. If the Deists say, that this is because all the World are blockheads as well as those Priests who govern them; that all are blockheads, except the Deists, who vote themselves only to be Men of Sense; this (besides the modesty of it) will spoil their great and beloved topick in behalf of what they call natural Religion, against the reveal'd, *viz.* appealing to the common reason of Mankind: This they set up against Revelation, think this to be sufficient for all the uses of Men here or hereafter, (if there be any after state) and therefore that there is no use of Revelation: This common reason they advance as infallible, at least as the surest guide, yet now cry out upon it when it turns against them; when this common reason runs after Revelation, (as it always has done) then common reason is a beast, and we must look for reason not from the common sentiments of Mankind, but only among the Beaux, the Deists.

XVIII. Therefore, if the Deists would avoid the mortification, (which will be very uneasy to them) to yield and submit to be subdued and hewed down before the Priests, whom of all Mankind they hate and despise; if they

they would avoid this, let them confess, as the truth is, that Religion is no invention of Priests, but of divine original; that Priests were instituted by the same Author of Religion; and that their order is a perpetual and living monument of the matters of fact of their Religion, instituted from the time that such matters of fact were said to be done, as the *Levites* from *Moses*, the Apostles and succeeding Clergy from *Christ*, to this day. That no heathen Priests can say the same: They were not appointed by the Gods whom they served, but by others in after-Ages: They cannot stand the test of the four rules before-mentioned, which the christian Priests can do, and they only. Now the christian Priesthood, as instituted by *Christ* himself, and continued by succession to this day, being as impregnable and flagrant a testimony to the truth of the matters of fact of *Christ*, as the Sacraments or any other publick Institutions: Besides that, if the Priesthood were taken away, the Sacraments and other publick Institutions, which are administer'd by their hands, must fall with them: Therefore the Devil has been most busy, and bent his greatest force, in all ages, against the Priesthood, knowing, that if that goes down, all goes with it.

XIX. With the *Deists* in this cause, are join'd the Quakers, and other of our Dissenters, who throw off the succession of our Priesthood, (by which only it can be demonstrated) together with the Sacraments and publick Festivals. And if the Devil could have prevail'd to have these dropt, the Christian Religion would lose the most undeniable and demonstrative proof for the truth of the matter of fact of our Saviour, upon which the truth of his Doctrine does depend: Therefore we may see the artifice and malice of the Devil, in all these attempts. And let those wretched instruments whom he ignorantly, (and some, by a misguided zeal) has deluded thus to undermine Christianity, now at last look back and see the snare in which they have been taken: For if they had prevail'd, or ever shou'd, Christianity dies with them; at least, it will be render'd precarious, as a thing of which no certain proof can be given. Therefore let those of them, who have any zeal for the truth, bless God that they have not prevail'd, and quickly leave them; and let all others be aware of them.

And let us consider and honour the Priest-hood, Sacraments, and other publick institutions of *Christ*, not only as means of grace, and helps to devotion, but as the great evidences of the Christian Religion.

Such evidences as no pretended revelation ever had, or can have: Such as do plainly distinguish it from all foolish legends and impostures whatsoever.

XX. And now, last of all, if one word of advice would not be lost, upon Men who think so unmeasurably of themselves, as the *Deists*; you may represent to them what a condition they are in, who spend that life and sense, which God has given them, in ridiculing the greatest of his Blessings, his *Revelations* of *Christ*, and by *Christ*, to redeem those from eternal misery, who shall believe in him, and obey his Laws. And that God in his wonderful mercy and wisdom, has so guarded his *Revelations*, as that it is past the power of Men or *Devils* to counterfeit: And that there is no denying of them, unless we will be so absurd, as to deny not only the reason, but the certainty of the outward senses, not only of one, or two, or three, but of mankind in general. That this case is so very plain, that nothing but want of thought can hinder any to discover it. That they must yield it to be so plain, unless they can shew some forgery, which has all the four marks, before set down. But if they cannot do this, they must quit their cause, and yield a happy victory over themselves: Or else
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fit down under all that ignominy, with which they have loaded the Priests, of being, not only the most pernicious, but (what will gall them more) the most inconsiderate, and inconsiderable of mankind.

Therefore, let them not think it an undervaluing of their worthiness, that their whole cause is comprized within so narrow a compass, and no more time bestow'd upon it than it is worth.

But let them, rather, reflect how far they have been all this time from Christianity; whose rudiments they are yet to learn. How far from the way of salvation; how far the race of their lives is run, before they have set one step in the road to Heaven: And therefore, how much diligence they ought to use, to redeem all that time they have lost, lest they lose themselves for ever, and be convinc'd, by a dreadful experience, when it is too late, that the Gospel is a truth, and of the last consequence.



XX. And now, last of all, if one word of advice would not be lost upon Men who think so unaccountably of themselves, as the Deists; you may represent to them what a condition they are in, who spend their life and time, which God has given them, in ridiculing the greatness of his Blessings, his Revelations of Christ, and by Christ, to redeem those from eternal misery, who shall believe in him, and obey his Laws. And that God in his wonderful mercy and wisdom, has so guarded his Revelations, as that it is past the power of Men or Devils to counterfeit: And that there is no denying of them, unless we will be so absurd, as to deny not only the reason, but the certainty of the outward senses, not only of one, or two, or three, but of mankind in general. That this case is so very plain, that they must yield it to be so plain, unless they can show some forgery, which has all the four marks, before set down. But if they cannot do this, they must quit their cause, and yield a happy victory over themselves: Of this

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- IV. The Deists are challeng'd to shew any Fable that has all the four Rules or Marks before mention'd. ibid.

- V. Many things are true which have not all these Marks; but that nothing can be false which has them all. p. 19.

- VI. Especially where the importance of such things is great. ibid.

- VII. Other Topicks are only mention'd, but not here insisted upon, whence usually the proofs for the Christian Religion are taken, as the truth of the Apostles. ibid.

- VIII. The Attestation of Enemies. p. 20.

- IX. The fulfilling of Prophecies. ibid.

- X. Of true and false Miracles. p. 23.

- XI. But the present Topick concludes necessarily upon the conviction of Mens outward Senses, and so is obvious to all. p. 24.

- XII. None of the Popish Legends, or other Forgeries, can shew the four Marks before mentioned, ibid.

- XIII. If reveal'd Religion be Priestcraft, it makes the Priests to be,

1. The wisest of all Mankind. p. 25.
2. More mighty than all the infernal Powers, or Angels of Heaven. ibid.

3. To do more than ever God has done. ibid.

4. Transubstantiation touch'd upon in

CONTENTS.

- in this point.* *ibid.* *natural Religion, and in their re-
curring to the common Reason of
Mankind.* *ibid.*
- XIV. *The Deists who laugh at Mi-
racles, run themselves upon the
greatest of all.* *ibid.* XVIII. *Religion is not the invention
of Priests, but Priests are the great
guard of Religion, therefore they
are most struck at by the Devil
and his Agents.* *ibid.*
- XV. *They are forc'd to confess that
the Priests are superior to them
in wisdom.* p. 26.
- XVI. *False Religion is an imitation
and corruption of the true.* *ibid.* XIX. *The Quakers and other Dis-
senter's join herein with the Deists.* P. 27.
- XVII. *The confusion and contradic-
tion of the Deists in their notion of* XX. *Advice to the Deists.* *ibid.*



A Short

A Short and Easy

M E T H O D

W I T H T H E

J E W S,

W H E R E I N T H E

C E R T A I N T Y

O F T H E

Christian Religion

Is demonstrated by Infallible Proof from the

F O U R R U L E S,

Made use of against the

D E I S T S;

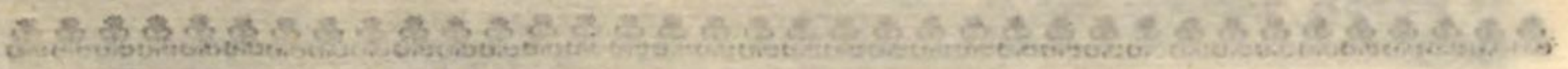
S H E W I N G,

That these FOUR RULES do oblige the JEWS as much or more than
the DEISTS to the Acknowledgment of CHRIST.

W I T H A N

A N S W E R

To the most Material of their OBJECTIONS and PREJUDICES
against CHRISTIANITY.



A Short and Easy

METHOD

WITH THE

JEWES

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OF THE

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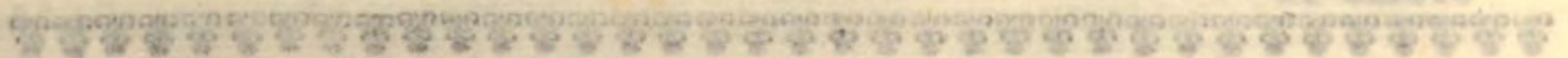
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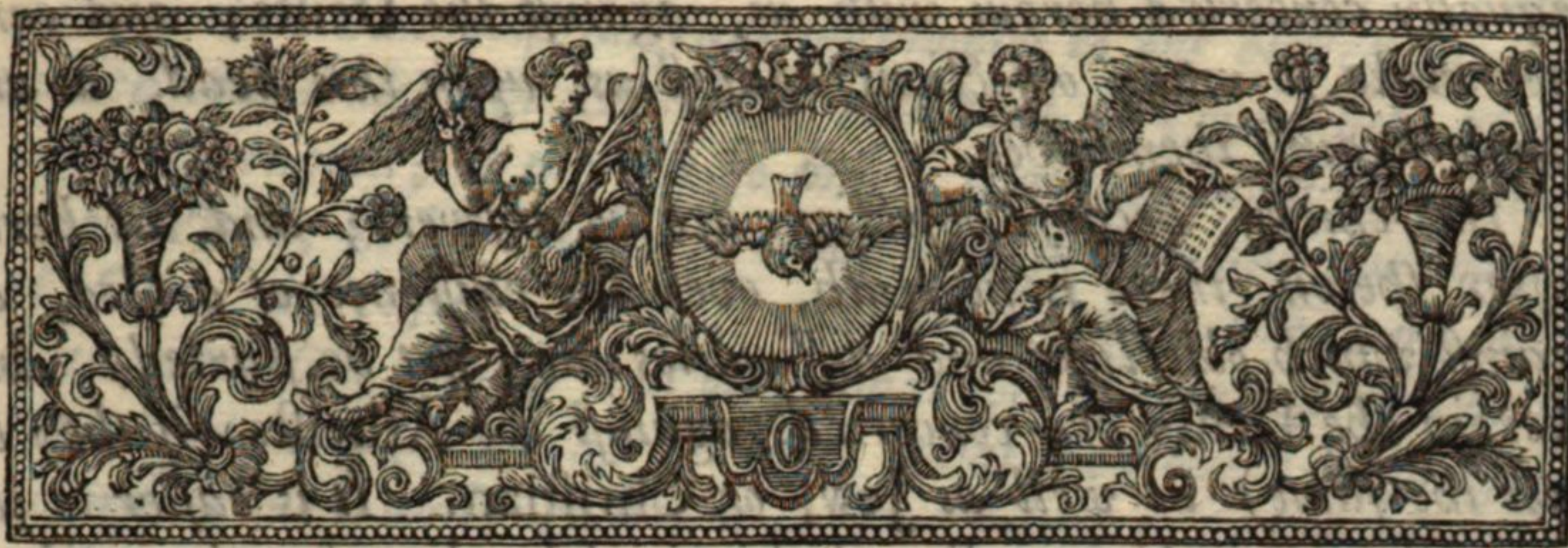
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ANSWER

To the most Material of their Objections and Prejudices
against CHRISTIANITY.

A Short





PREFACE to the short Method with the JEWS.

I. **I** Endeavour'd, when I set my thoughts upon this Subject, to find out the most modern objections of the Jews: Because my business is with those of the present age. I procur'd what I cou'd of what they have, of late, publish'd in their defence in Holland and Germany. What Grotius has wrote concerning them in his *De Verit. Rel. Christian.* is well known, because reprinted at Oxford, and translated into English. But the Arguments of the Jews are rather there suppos'd, than told us in their own words. In the Year 1644. Hackspan publish'd R. Lipman's Book *Nizachon*, and does reason with them upon their Principles. Afterwards in the Year 1655. Hornbeek wrote against them. But the latest I find is Limborch. An. 1687. his *Amica Collat. cum Erudit. Judæo.* wherein the Jews defence, arguments, and objections are set down at large, in the Jews own words. Therefore I have made most use of this Book; and have taken thence the present principles of the Jews, out of the writings of that learned Jew which are there inserted *Verbatim*. And indeed he makes the best defence for them, that, I think, their cause will bear; and shews himself a Man of letters, and of great natural wit and sagacity. Therefore I conclude, that we have here the *Jugulum Causæ*, the heart of the cause: And if sufficiently answer'd, the likeliest method, to bring matters to an issue.

2. I have here forborn to enter upon the objections of the Jews concerning the Genealogies, and Chronological Niceties which they raise against several passages of the New Testament: Because that is done lately by a better hand. And because there are more objections of this sort, which are brought by the Deists, against

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the Old Testament, than the New: And therefore the Jews are equally concern'd herein with us, against the Deists; and cannot make so many objections against us, upon this head, as are made against themselves.

But chiefly, because objections are no answers; and, as hereafter shewn, there is no truth, even the existence of a God, against which objections and difficulties may not be started: And herein the Deists are concern'd, against the Atheists (if they be not the same) as well as Jew, or Christian. It is easier to object, than to answer. But if the proof be clear for the truth of any thing, we must submit to it, tho' we were not able to solve every difficulty. And the chasing of difficulties, diverts the question, and often loses it; and they are many times brought for that purpose. Besides making Books so long and tedious, that few have the leisure or attention to go through with them.

Therefore I have chosen, for once, to put the Deists upon the defensive; and if they cannot answer, they must surrender. For it is not a nicety, or objection that I insist upon; but the merits of the cause, to which every one is oblig'd to answer.

And as to this, I have given them full liberty, and invited them to make all the objections that they can; and I have made the strongest for them, that I cou'd think of. Let them make stronger.

I have had greater consideration for the Jews (because they deserve it more) and enter'd more at large upon their objections and prejudices, which has swell'd the second part, so much beyond the first.

3. *Let me here take notice of the uncertainty of the Genealogies now kept of Jewish families. They have intermarry'd with their Profelytes of all Nations, and sometimes with others: Inso-much that they cannot be sure of one Jew now in the World, who is of the pure and unmix'd blood of the Jews: Nay more, whether most of them, be not sprung from Profelytes of the Heathens, Mahometans, and Apostate-Christians. Therefore they can never know whether any Messiah, who shall hereafter set up, be of the tribe of Judah or family of David, according to the Prophecies of the Messiah. For they have no certainty of either tribe or family now amongst them.*

II. *As to the Gentiles, and reveal'd Religion.*

I. *What is said of the Sibyls, I wou'd have so understood, as that I do not put the stress whether those Books of the Sibyls that we have now, have receiv'd no additions, or interpolations from what they were in the second century, when quoted*

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by the Fathers: But that, as they were then, and before Christ came, they had most flagrant testimonies to our blessed Saviour; which confounded the Gentiles: And that they were not, at that time, corrupted; as there is no proof, that they have been since.

2. Plato, in his Discourse concerning prayer and the worship of God, hereafter quoted, concludes, that Men by their natural reason, cannot find out, what sort of worship will be acceptable to God; nor can be sure, what they ought to pray for, according to his will: And that it were safer, to forbear sacrifices and prayer, than to venture upon it, when we did not know, but that we might provoke God thereby, instead of pleasing him. That therefore it was necessary they shou'd wait till God shou'd send some person from Heaven, to instruct them in this; and that they did expect such a person to be sent; and they greatly long'd to see that time, and that Man, whom they believ'd shou'd come. They saw his day, and rejoyced, as Abraham did; but not so clearly, not having so full and expresse revelation of him, as Abraham had. But from revelation they had it, (and not merely from the strength of their reason) tho', perhaps, they knew it not: For they declar'd, that they had it by tradition from their Fathers, and in all probability, it had descended through all Adam's posterity, from the first promise of it. Gen. iii. 15. together with the institution of sacrifices; which were ordained, not only as constant remembrances of it, but as visible types of the fulfilling of it; tho' the original and full import of the one, as well as the other, had been lost among the Heathen. This is brought to shew the expectation that the Gentiles had of a Messiah to come. Joh. viii. 56.

But here I wou'd, from this reasoning of Plato's, inferr the necessity of reveal'd Religion against the Deists. Here they see that the wisest of the Philosophers did own, that they were wholly at a loss, and uncertainty without it.

And withal, it shews, that the wisest of the Heathens did not believe the pretended revelations of their Gods. And therefore there can lie no comparison betwixt these, and the Faith, which is most surely believ'd by the Christians; upon what grounds, is shewn hereafter; and that they are infallible.

you cannot overthrow the matters of fact of Christ, but you must by the same means destroy those of Moses: So that I hope you are involved under the happy necessity either to renounce Moses or to embrace Christ.

But if you will allow (as some of you have done) that the matters of fact of our Lord Jesus, as recorded in the Gospels, are true: but will contend that this does not infer the Truth of his Doctrine, because, as may be seen, those seeming Miracles which he wrought were done by Magick: I beseech you, how will you rescue the Miracles of Moses from the same objection?

A short

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John. viii. 20.

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Greek, or of the Latin, when quoted
by



A Short and Easy
METHOD
 WITH THE
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BRETHREN, my heart's desire, and Prayer to God for *Israel*, is, that they might be saved. The first part of this discourse was wrote against the Deists, equal enemies to you and us, who deny all instituted and reveal'd Religion: And I have justify'd the truth of yours, while I have asserted that of the Christian Religion: They both stand upon one bottom: They only, of all the Revelations that ever were pretended in the World, can shew the four marks before-mentioned; which do infallibly demonstrate the truth of any matter of fact where they all do meet: And the consequence is as plain, that if the Revelation of *Moses* be true, that of *Christ* must be true also: And you can never demonstrate the truth of the matters of fact of *Moses* by any arguments or evidences which will not as strongly evince the truth of the matters of fact of *Christ*: And, on the other hand, you cannot overthrow the matters of fact of *Christ*, but you must by the same means destroy those of *Moses*: So that I hope you are involved under the happy necessity either to renounce *Moses* or to embrace *Christ*.

But if you will allow (as some of you have done) that the matters of fact of our Lord *Jesus*, as recorded in the Gospels, are true; but will contend that this does not infer the Truth of his Doctrine, because, as may be alledg'd, those seeming Miracles which he wrought were done by Magick: Then, I beseech you, how will you rescue the Miracles of *Moses* from the same

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objection? The comparison in this case must lie betwixt the Miracles of *Moses* and of *Christ*; and I believe you will not deny but that those recorded in the Gospel are full as great as those in *Exodus*.

II. If the Deists think to come in here betwixt us, and conclude both to be false Miracles, at least that we cannot be sure they are true Miracles, because, as they philosophize, we do not know the utmost extent of the power of Nature, and consequently cannot know what exceeds it.

Ans. 1. This is an objection not against the Miracles recorded of *Moses* or of *Christ*, but against all Miracles; and putting it out of God's power to shew any Miracle that ought to be believ'd of Man: Which is a contradiction to the principles of the Deists themselves, who allow an eternal Being of infinite Power; and yet by this wou'd put it out of his Power to make any external Revelation to Men.

2. But, in the next place, their philosophy is not good; for tho' we could not know the utmost stretch of what Nature can do, yet it will not follow that we cannot know what is contrary to Nature in those Works of Nature which we do know: For example, tho' I cannot tell all the whole Nature of Fire, and all its Operations, yet this I certainly know, that it is of the Nature of Fire to burn: And therefore if proper fuel be administer'd unto it, it is contrary to the Nature of Fire not to consume it. Thus when *Ananias*, *Azarias*, and *Misael*, were thrown into the burning Fiery-Furnace, if that matter of fact be true in all its circumstances, as it is related in the third Chapter of *Daniel*, we can be sure that there was a stop then put to the natural power of the Fire; which is a Miracle. We can be as sure of it as of any thing we either see or hear: So that the same Scepticism which these Men advance against Miracles, will as much take away the certainty of our outward Senses; which is the only *Postulatum* they would have taken as undoubted, and to which they reduce all the certainty of which Mankind is capable; giving to themselves, by their great sense, little pre-eminence above the condition of brutes; to which they would degrade all the rest of the world with themselves: And some of them have shewn their parts in witty Satyrs upon this subject; but let us leave them with the company they have chosen, and return.

As sure as we can be that it is the Nature of Fire to burn, (tho' we may not know every thing else it can do) so sure we can be that it exceeds the power of Nature to raise the dead by the speaking of a word, to cure the lame, blind, &c. by the same means, or the touch of one's finger, without any other application.

III. Now then, the Miracles recorded of *Christ* being as great as those recorded of *Moses*, and carrying along with them the same evidences of their truth, deduc'd down from that time to this, what reason can be given for the believing of the one, and yet rejecting of the other? There can be none, my Friends, only there are some prejudices under which you labour, that stop your way towards receiving of the truth, which you cannot deny; as conceiving it inconsistent with your interpretation of some Texts in your Law.

But ought you not rather to suspect your own interpretations, (especially where the Words will favourably bear another) than to reject such an evidence as must undermine your Law itself, and destroy its infallible certainty, by disowning the same, in the only case that carries the same demonstration along with it? God cannot contradict himself; and therefore would never have set his own Seal (which it is not possible to counterfeit, as before is shewn) to the truth of the Gospel, if it did, in the least Iota, contradict

contradict or destroy the Law: Therefore it behoves you well to consider whether those things that you take for contradictions, are such. In order to which,

1. Consider the difference betwixt destroying and fulfilling. The fulfilling of a Prophecy is not its destruction, but completion: So of all types or shadows which point at things to come, when the substance is come, the shadow ceases of course.

Now if the *Messiah* was prophesy'd of, and typify'd in the Law, then his coming will indeed put an end to these, but not by way of destroying, which would be contradicting, but of fulfilling them, which is confirming and attesting to the truth of them. And I suppose you are not ignorant that our *Messiah* did not pretend to *destroy the Law, but to fulfill it*: And did most strongly assert and confirm it to the least Iota: And did fulfill it in every circumstance, even to his suffering *without the gate*, to answer the burning of the body of the expiatory Sacrifice *without the camp, &c.* That (as himself said) *all things might be fulfilled which were written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning him*: Some of which are repeated hereafter, *Seet. XII.* Mat. v. 17; 18, 19. Luke xvi. 17; Heb. xiii. 12; Lev. xvi. 27. Luke xxiv. 44.

2. But I will carry this Argument farther. That not only there is no contradiction to the Law in the Gospel, but that the Law cannot be true unless you allow the truth of the Gospel: For no other way possible is there to reconcile the promises made in the Law, but as they are fulfill'd in the Gospel, of which let me give some few instances out of many.

(1.) *The Scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a Lawgiver from between his Feet, until Shiloh come: And unto him shall the gathering of the People, or Nations, be.* Gen. xlix. 10.

This the *Chaldee* and ancient *Jewish* Interpreters do understand of the *Messiah*.

And the Scepter being long since departed from *Judah*, and no other *Messiah* come but our Lord *Jesus Christ*, to whom the gathering of the Nations, or *Gentiles*, has been; the *Rabbies* of the *Jews*, since his coming, have strain'd their wits to invent salvoes and evasions for this Prophecy. Some of them say, that by *Shiloh* here was not meant the *Messiah*, but *Moses*; others say, it was the Tabernacle at *Shiloh*; but others thinking these Interpretations not tenable, and that it cannot be deny'd to be meant of the *Messiah*, have fenc'd about the word Scepter, which they contend to be a Rod, not of rule, but of correction, which should not depart from *Judah* till *Shiloh*, or the *Messiah*, should come: Others not liking this, allow it to be a Scepter of Government; but then turn it this way, *viz.* that the Scepter should not finally, or for ever, depart from *Judah*, because the *Messiah* should come, that is, to restore it: But this being an altering instead of expounding the Text, others seeing there could not be any tolerable evasion made from the words of the text, have boldly adventur'd upon a new way of satisfying it, *viz.* that the Scepter, or Dominion, is not yet departed, that is, not totally, for that some of them have, somewhere or other, some share or other of Government, or Jurisdiction, more or less; at least, some that have one way or other descended from the Tribe of *Judah*, tho' it may not be known.

I will not take up time to examine or disprove these pretences; they carry guilt in their face: And being all contradictory to one another, shew to what a confusion the *Jews* are brought, in forcing their way thro' the plain predictions of the *Messiah*; of which I will go on to more instances.

(2.) *Thus saith the Lord, David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel: Neither shall the priests, the Levites, want a man before me to offer burnt-offerings, and to kindle meat-offerings, and* Jer. xxxiii. 17; 18, 20, 21.

to do Sacrifice continually— Thus saith the Lord, If ye can break my covenant of the day, and my covenant of the night, and that there should not be day and night in their season; then may also my covenant be broken with David my servant, that he should not have a Son to reign upon his Throne, and with the Levites, the priests, my ministers. Now is all this gloriously fulfill'd in our *Messiah*, the Son of *David*, who is made Lord of Heaven and Earth, and of whose kingdom there shall be no end. But without this how is this prophecy fulfill'd? What Son of *David* can you produce who now reigns over the house of *Israel*? And as for the covenant with *Levi*, that is as much broken; for instead of sacrifices continually, you have not now, nor have had since the destruction of *Jerusalem*, above 1600 Years, any sacrifice at all. But if you understand these Prophecies, as of the kingdom of the *Messiah*, so of his priest-hood, of which that of *Levi* was a type, and fulfill'd in it, then is this Prophecy exactly accomplish'd in the evangelical priesthood, which our *Messiah* has instituted: And which, we doubt not, will, according to the utmost extent of this Prophecy of it, last as long as the covenant of day and night, that is, as our *Messiah* has again given us his assurance, *even unto the end of the world*; and that *the gates of hell* shall never be able to prevail against it. Some of the * *Jews* pretend, that *David* will be rais'd from the dead, and made immortal, to fulfil this Prophecy: But others, rejecting this interpretation, say, that this is to be meant of the time after the *Messiah*, viz. That after the *Messiah* shall come, of the seed of *David*, there shall no more want of his seed to rule, &c. But the words of the Text are, *that David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel*: And putting to this, *after the coming of the Messiah*, is adding to the Text. And the like liberty would leave nothing certain in any Text of the *Bible*, or in any other writing. The next I produce is,

Mat. xxviii.
20. xvi. 18.

Isa. liii.

(3.) That most exact description of the death and sufferings of the *Messiah*, with the reason of it, viz. as an expiation and satisfaction for the sins of the people.

And how forc'd and foreign is that interpretation which some of your modern *Jews*, have put upon this Chapter, on purpose to avoid the plain proof of our *Messiah* therein? As if the person there spoke of, were not any particular person, but only a description of the people of the *Jews*, in the name of a person; of their present dispersion thro' all nations, with the contempt and misery which they suffer; and withal their making many Profelytes to their Religion, in this their dispersion.

For their many Profelytes, we hear not of them. If the *Jews* keep their own ground, it is the most that in your present circumstances you seem to expect; and wou'd be well content to compound for it, not only here, but in all the Countries whither you are dispers'd. What King, what Nation, have you converted? Nay, in our part of the World, what family? what persons? And we hear as little of it from other parts. You boast of many in *Spain* and *Portugal*; but they conceal it, and we know them not: But the flowing in of the *Gentiles* has been to the Christian Church, and only so can the promise of it to your Church be verify'd, that is, as yours was a type of ours; or as ours is truly yours, fulfill'd and continu'd, in the reign of your *Messiah*, pursuant to all the Prophecies which went before of him. Therefore by all that has yet appear'd of your dispersion, it is as a just punishment for your own sins; and not for the conversion of the *Gentiles*. But how for their conversion? When your learned *Jew* confesses (as hereafter quoted) that you have no arguments against

* Limborch Collat. p. 73.

that the *Gentiles*, nor can convince any of them. And in all the Prophecies of this your dispersion (some of which are recited *Seēt. 11.*) there is nothing told of the conversion of the *Gentiles* as thereby design'd, but only as a punishment of your iniquity; and, at the length, for your conversion, as well as that of the *Gentiles*. As that God will have mercy upon you, and cause your captivity to return: that the Redeemer shall come to *Zion*, and turn away iniquity from *Jacob*; and in the mean time, that you should be rejected for your wickedness, and another people chosen in your place. For thus it is said to you, *But ye are they that forsake the Lord— Therefore will I number you to the sword— Because when I called, ye did not answer; when I spake ye did not hear—* (ye did not harken to the Words of the Lord, in the Mouth of that Prophet, whom he told you he would send) *Therefore thus saith the Lord God, behold my Servants shall eat, but ye shall be hungry; behold my servants shall drink, but ye shall be thirsty; behold my Servants shall rejoice, but ye shall be ashamed; behold my Servants shall sing for joy of heart, but ye shall cry for sorrow of heart, and shall howl for vexation of spirit. And ye shall leave your name for a curse unto my chosen: For the Lord God shall slay thee, and call his Servants by another name.* How literally is this fulfill'd? God hath chosen the Christians in your place, and called his Servants by another name: Not that you should be finally rejected; but till the fulness of the *Gentiles* shall come in: And then shall you be converted by them, and not they by you. Therefore are you fatally deluded, who attribute to your selves, and to your present circumstances, all that righteousness which is spoken of the *Messiah* in the liii. of *Isaiah*. As, *By his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many, &c.* Was it for this end that God foretold your dispersion? No, but for your grievous iniquities, and for your own conversion. As said by a Prophet of your own, *yet will I leave a remnant, that ye may have that shall escape the sword, among the nations, when ye shall be scattered through the countries: And they that escape you, shall remember me among the nations— Because I am broken with their whorish heart, which have departed from me— And they shall loath themselves for the evils which they have committed in all their abominations: And they shall know that I am the Lord, and that I have not said in vain, that I would do this evil unto them.* Again, *They shall know that I am the Lord, when I shall scatter them among the nations, and disperse them in the countries: But I will leave a few Men of them— that they may declare all their abominations among the Heathen, whither they come, and they shall know that I am the Lord; that is, you Jews shall know, it is to convince and convert you, that you shall be so dispers'd, as you are this day.* Again, *Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto me; O children of Israel, saith the Lord?—Behold the eyes of the Lord God are upon the sinful kingdom, and I will destroy it from off the face of the earth; saving that I will not utterly destroy the house of Jacob saith the Lord: For so I will command, and I will sift the house of Israel among all nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve, yet shall not the least grain fall upon the earth.*

You shall be preserv'd, in your dispersion, in order to your repentance, not for your holiness to convert the nations, for you are call'd the *sinful kingdom*, and as *children of the Ethiopians*. And God will chuse other hands to raise his kingdom among the *Heathen*; as it follows, *In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen— That they may possess the remnant of Edom, and of all Heathen which are called by my name, saith the Lord that doth this.* See that fulfill'd this day. Where

Isa. lxxv. 1, 2.

are the *Heathen* that are call'd by the name of the Lord? Who does possess them, but our *Messiah*, the son of *David*, by whose name they are call'd Christians? In vain therefore do you expect the *Heathen* to be converted by you. You see it done already, by those whom God has chosen in your room; and who now seek to convert you, by persuading of you to harken to *Moses* and your own Prophets; who have told you of this conversion of the *Gentiles*, while you remain in your obstinacy. *I am sought of them that asked not for me; I am found of them that sought me not; I said behold me, behold me unto a nation that was not call'd by my name.* But unto *Israel* he saith, *I have spread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious people.* Yet you would attribute great holiness to your selves in this your dispersion, even all that which is spoken of the *Messiah* in the LIII. of *Isaiah*.

Gen. ii. 17.

I have insisted thus long upon it, because this is all you have to say against that wonderful Prophecy of the low, outward appearance of the *Messiah*, when he should come; and of the end of his coming; not fighting (as you expect) but suffering; not conquering Men with the sword, but, as it is there express'd (y. 10.) *Giving up his soul, an offering for sin*; whereby to redeem us from that death denounced against sin; and so conquering him that had the power of death, that is, the Devil; to whom we were in bondage, lying under the curse, of which he was made the Executioner.

Gen. iii. 15.

Gen. xxii. 18.

2 Kin. xviii. 4.

Isa. i. 11 to 15.

Psal. xi. 6, 7.

y. 12.

y. 9.

And this (till the time shou'd come) was shadow'd out to us in several types and representations of it, not only in your Law, which was but one of them; for sacrifices, the most express type of the death and sacrifice of the *Messiah*, were instituted upon the first sin of Man, and the promise of the *Messiah* then given, and his conquest of the serpent; and were practis'd by *Cain*, *Abel*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, &c. before the Law.) But most lively express'd in the sacrifice of *Isaac*; upon which the promise of the *Messiah*, was again renewed to *Abraham*. This salvation by the *Messiah* was likewise prefigur'd by the saving of *Noah*, and his family in the Ark; as by your passage through the Red-Sea, and deliverance out of *Egypt*; particularly by the erection of the Brazen Serpent, as of *Christ* upon the Cross; and your salvation only by looking upon that, as ours by faith in him. But these types may be over-valu'd, when we rest in them, without looking forward to what they represent. Therefore *Hezekiah* broke that Brazen-Serpent to pieces, and call'd it *Nehushtan*, a contemptible name, that is, only a bit of brass. And God expresses himself with as much indignation against your sacrifices, as insufficient of themselves, to reconcile to him. In which sense, he declares that he hates them, that they are a trouble, and an abomination to him, and that he is weary to bear them. And that he will not accept of them, or has requir'd them, as a satisfaction for sin. What is it then that he will accept? Even the *Messiah*, for whom a body was prepar'd, in which he was to make that atonement, which the bodies of beasts cou'd not: And which is very particularly describ'd in the LIII. of *Isaiah*; and cannot be apply'd to the *Jewish* Nation (as they wou'd now turn it) under their present sufferings and calamity: It is said, *He bore the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors.* Do the *Jews* make intercession for the *Gentiles*? Or how do they bear their sins? It is said, *He had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth; yet it pleased the Lord to bruise him, &c.* But what is before recited out of your Prophets, and much more cou'd be added to the same purpose, shew plainly, that you have been bruised for your own great wickednesses. And the opinion of your own righteousness, is not the least part of your delusion. But you oppose your
selves,

selves, and set up contrary pretences: For when you come to give an account why your *Messiah* has delay'd his coming so long beyond the time which was limited by the Prophets, you have no other answer, but that it is because of your Sins: And they must be Sins more than ordinary which have provok'd God to break his Promises, so oft repeated, concerning the Time of the *Messiah's* coming: So that here you make your selves the greatest Sinners that can be: But in answer to *Isa. LIII.* then you are *righteous* altogether, and there is no *Deceit in your Mouth!* Your Nation is the *righteous Servant of the Lord* there spoke of!

But of that Servant it is said, *Y. 8. For the Transgression of my People was he stricken:* Therefore he was not that People, but he suffer'd for that People.

The learned Jew says*, that the Death which the Christians would infer of the *Messiah* from this of *Isa. LIII.* means not a real Death, (for they suppose rightly, but mis-understood, that their *Messiah* will live for ever) but only *Labores & Flagella*, (as he words it) great Labours and Afflictions, which they suppose he may endure, *Ante perfectam Regni Revelationem*, before the full Establishment of his Kingdom: And he brings as a parallel place, in *Deaths* oft, which the Apostle speaks of himself, but it 2 Cor. xi. 23 means no more than Dangers.

Ans. 1. The *Messiah's* undergoing Stripes and Afflictions, tho' in order to his Kingdom, is as adverse to the *Jews* notion of the *Messiah* as Death itself; for they suppose him to go on gloriously in Conquests and Victory, and not to be scourged or ignominiously treated.

Ans. 2. Being in Deaths, shews itself to be a figurative expression; for a Man can be in Death but once, therefore not, in that sense, often in Deaths: But as a Man in battels, or storms at sea, may be said to be often in Deaths, so the Apostle in the many dangers which he there repeats. But far otherwise are the expressions concerning the Death of the *Messiah*, *He was cut off out of the Land of the Living: He made his Grave with the Wicked: He poured out his Soul unto Death.* And *Messiah the Prince shall be cut off, but not for himself, &c.* If these expressions do not signify Death, what others can? And the *Jews* struggling against it, shews only, that they are resolved not to be convinc'd by any words whatsoever that can be spoken. They try all ways, but dare stick to none: for they are contradictory to one another: And if one of their excuses hold, the rest must be false: Which confusion, of it self, were enough to convince them you shall see more of them.

To avoid this, and other Prophecies, which speak expressly of the poor and low state in which the *Messiah* was to appear, *Behold thy King cometh unto thee poor*, or as we translate it, *lowly*, &c. the modern *Jews* have framed to themselves two *Messiahs*, one *Ben Joseph*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, who was to be poor and contemptible, and undergo great indignities; the other, *Ben David*, of the Tribe of *Judah*, who was to be victorious, and conquer all the Earth before them, and to live for ever in temporal grandeur: That he was to raise again from the Dead all the *Israelites* of former ages, and among them the first *Messiah*, *Ben Joseph*. Thus the *Jews* shutting fast their eyes, do dream, and invent *Messiahs*, on purpose because they will not be concluded by the plain Prophecies of the one and only *Messiah*. Where do the Prophets speak of two *Messiahs*? But speaking all along of one, and of the Son or *Messiah*, does necessarily exclude any other. If there were two, one could not be the *Messiah*: And by the same rule they make two, they may make two score of *Messiahs*.

* Limbor, Collat. p. 53.

But this shameless contrivance shews how hard they are put to it to elude the plain Prophecies of the *Messiah*; and is a confirmation of the true import and meaning of these Prophecies, which are not answerable, but by such poor and guilty shifts. It is for this reason that I have been so long upon this Prophecy of *Isaiah*, and shewn the Dream of your modern *Rabbies*, of two *Messiahs*, unknown to all your Expositors before *Christ* came, but invented since on purpose to avoid the plain and undoubted Characters which our *Jesus* bore of the *Messiah*.

Dan. ix. 24,
26.

4. The famous Prophecy of *Daniel's* seventy weeks, which according to the prophetical computation of a year for a day, makes four hundred and ninety years, in which time it was then foretold that the *Messiah* should come, and our *Messiah* did come within that time: And all there spoken of him were punctually fulfill'd: As, that the *Messiah* should be cut off, and soon after, that the City of *Jerusalem* and the Sanctuary should be destroyed, and the Sacrifice and Oblation should cease. And that even after all this, Desolations were determined against your Nation.

And the end of the *Messiah's* coming is likewise there told, not temporal Conquests, as you dream of, but to finish the Transgressions, and to make an end of Sins, and to make Reconciliation for Iniquity, and to bring in everlasting Righteousness.

Ezek. xiv. 14,
20.

This Prophecy pinches so close, that the modern *Jews* to avoid it, would endeavour to discredit the whole Book of *Daniel*: They dare not quite throw it off, because it was indubitably received by their Forefathers before *Christ* came: And the high rank in which *Daniel* is put, rather gives him the preference before all the rest of the Prophets, than excludes him out of their number: It makes him at least, the most highly favoured of God, of all the men living in the World in his time: And his Visions of the four great Empires of the World, and Prophecies of the State-Revolutions which followed so remarkably, made his Prophecies more noted than those of any of the other Prophets: And God sets him forth as the Standard of Wisdom amongst Men: For these reasons the *Jews* after *Christ* could not expunge this Book of *Daniel*. But about a hundred years after *Christ* they quite inverted the method of the Books of the Old Testament, which to that time had been received amongst them, and made a new distribution of them, and a distinction of those they called *Αγία Γραφα*, or *holy Writings*, but put them in a class below the inspir'd and canonical Scriptures: And into this lower class they thrust the Book of *Daniel*, at the end of the Prophets, which before was plac'd in the middle of them.

Ezek. xxviii.
3.

But this Book of *Daniel*, if it be not among those which are inspir'd in the highest degree, it cannot stand among any holy or good Writings, but it must be reckoned false and blasphemous; because it speaks of itself all along as immediately inspir'd by God: And if those Visions and Revelations there related be not true, then it is telling of Lies in the Name of the Lord, which is high Blasphemy.

Therefore since the modern *Jews* dare not place the Book of *Daniel* lower than among the holy or pious Writings, they confess it to be inspir'd and canonical; and have only discovered their own guilt in seeking to avoid the witness of their own Prophets to our *Messiah*.

2 Chr. vii. 16.

5. That Promise concerning the Temple of *Solomon*, that God's Name should be there for ever, and perpetually, cannot be verify'd but as it was a Type of the Christian Church, which shall last for ever: For Types, as Pictures, are often call'd by the name of what they represent; and by them is meant that whereof they are the Types.

6. As that Promise to the Temple of *Solomon*, so neither can that made to the second Temple, be otherwise verified than as fulfill'd in our *Messiah*; that

the *Glory of this latter House should be greater than of the former*: And ^{Hag. ii. 3, 7, 9.} yet it was as nothing in comparison of the former. How then should the glory be greater? It is told, because the desire of all nations should come into it, and *in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of Hosts.* Here was given the eternal peace and reconciliation of God with Men, in the person of *Jesus Christ* in whom God, by his means, reconciled the ^{2 Cor. v. 19.} world unto himself.

Some *Jews*, to avoid the force of this Prophecy, do now pretend, that, by the *latter house*, is not to be meant that second Temple, but some o-^{v. 9.} ther yet to be built. This is very precarious, and a guilty plea. But it will not bear; for it is plain, that it was of that very second Temple which the Prophet spoke. The comparison is betwixt that Temple which they^{v. 3.} then saw, and the first Temple of *Solomon*. And God speaking of that Tem-^{v. 7.} ple then built, says, *I will fill this house with glory*; and, *The glory of*^{v. 9.} *this latter house shall be greater than of the former*. If it were spoken of a third or a fourth Temple, the word former wou'd not relate to the first Temple; and there was no other former, when this Prophecy was given forth. It was the second Temple that seem'd as nothing, in the eyes of ^{Ezr. iii. 12.} those who had seen the first, who therefore wept: And, to comfort these, it was here promised, that the glory of that second house, shou'd exceed that of the former.

But there were other glories, much greater than that of the building, which the first Temple had; and the second had none of them. As your own * *Rabbeis* do reckon them under five heads. 1. The holy Ark wherein were the Tables of the Covenant, the Pot of *Manna*, and *Aaron's* Rod that budded: And where God was said to dwell between the Cherubims that cover'd it. 2. The *Schechina*, or divine presence in the Cloud of Glory. 3. The miraculous Urim and Thummim. 4. The holy Fire that^{Psal. lxxx. 1.} came down from Heaven. 5. The gift of Prophecy, or of the Holy Ghost. These all ceas'd under the second Temple: Which made its Glory much more inferior to that of the first, than the difference as to the magnificence of the building. But all these Glories were much exceeded under the second Temple; they were fulfill'd, and more divinely exhibited in their Archi-type, the *Messiah*; who was the true *Schechina*, God not only appearing in, but personally united to our nature. Whose holy Spirit descended miraculously in fire upon his Apostles, the same day (of *Pentecost*) wherein the Law was given in fire from Mount *Sinai*; and fill'd them with the gifts of Tongues, of Miracles, and of Prophecy, which were now departed from the Temple; and plac'd that infallible Urim and Thummim, in their hearts, which was but faintly represented in the breast-plate of your High-Priest.

7. Again of this second Temple it was said, *The Lord whom ye seek, shall*^{Mal. iii. 1.} *suddenly come to his Temple; even the Angel of the covenant whom ye delight in: Behold he shall come, saith the Lord of Hosts.* Therefore it was necessary that the *Messiah* shou'd come during the standing of the second Temple. And that Prophecy can never now be fulfill'd.

You have several times attempted to re-build your Temple, in the reigns of *Adrian*, of *Constantine*, of *Julian*, when having gain'd not only that apostate Emperor's consent, but that he was willing to bear the expences of it; and gave orders for the re-building of your Temple at *Jerusalem*, in odium to the Christians; and the Heathens did with great zeal (for the same reason) assist you in it. Even then, when you seem'd on all hands to have gain'd your purpose—— Behold God did immediately himself inter-

* R. Kimchi & R. Solom. in Hag. i. 8. and R. Bechai in Legem, f. 59.

pose! And by a terrible Earthquake threw up the stones out of the very foundation with that violence, as destroy'd many of the workmen, and Spectators; and by over-throwing the buildings near adjoining to the Temple, kill'd and maim'd many more of the *Jews*, who were there gather'd together, for the carrying on of this work.

And when, not terrify'd with this, they again attempted to lay the foundations of the Temple, Globes of fire bursting out of the very foundations, not only destroy'd the workmen, but devour'd the stones. This is recorded in *Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 20.* and in *Sozom. l. 5. c. 22.* who appeals to several witnesses of it, then living: And our *Chrysostome* says, * *We are all witnesses of this thing.* But besides these testimonies of Christians, this is likewise told by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who was not a Christian, in his 23^d Book. Thus the building of the Temple was defeated at that time *A.C. 361.* and to this day. Tho' if you had a new Temple to morrow, that could not solve the Prophecies that were made either to the first or second temple; which last has been destroy'd, now more than 1600 years; much less cou'd it satisfy all those Prophecies that speak so particularly of the time of the *Messiah's* coming, which are longer since past.

IV. The Prophecies of the holy Scriptures concerning the time of the coming of the *Messiah*, were so noted and known among the *Jews*, that when it drew near, *viz.* about the time that our blessed Saviour came into the world, the *Jews* were generally looking out for him, and expected his coming. Some thought that *Herod* (who repair'd the Temple and made it more glorious) was he and took the name of *Herodians*; others follow'd *Theudas*; others *Judas of Galilee*.

Act. v. 36, 37. Both of which are mention'd in our History of the *Acts* of the Apostles; and likewise by your † *Josephus*: If it was not another *Theudas*, who as he tells, pretended to miracles, *viz.* To divide the river *Jordan*, by his command, and give his followers passage through it, on dry land. He mentions another Impostor ‡, who led the *Jews* into the wilderness, and promised them deliverance, if they wou'd follow him thither: whom *Festus* destroy'd with all his followers. This our Saviour literally foretold; and cautions against following these false Christs and false Prophets into the desert. And *Josephus* says **, that there were at that time (which was about 57 or 58 years after the nativity of *Christ*) many enchanters and deceivers, who persuaded the common people to follow them into the desert, where they promised to work miracles, &c. He says, that the country of *Judea* was stor'd with such: So intent were they then to find out their *Messiah*, and so persuaded that that was the time of his coming. The two Brothers †† *Asinaeus* and *Anileus*, both Weavers, had mighty successes; but were at last destroy'd, and were the occasion of the destruction of many of the *Jews*, who follow'd them about forty years after the birth of *Christ*. And about 74 years after, another Weaver, one *Jonathan* †††, led many of the *Jews* after him into the wilderness, where he promised to shew them signs and wonders. He was burnt alive, and multitudes of the *Jews* were massacred about *Cyrene*. This was two years after the destruction of *Jerusalem*. And *Josephus* tells, that the great cause of that was their expectation of their *Messiah* then to come. For he says, *** That the chief thing which incited them to that War (with the *Romans*) was a doubtful Pro-

* Orat. 2. contr. Jud.
** *Joseph. Antiq. l. xx. c. vi.*
*** *Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 12.*

† *Joseph. Antiq. l. xxviii. c. 1, 2. l. xx. c. 2.*
†† *Ibid. l. xviii. c. 12.*

‡ *Ibid. c. 7.*
†† *Id. de Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 31.*

phesy (as he calls it) found in the holy Scriptures, that, about that time, one of their country should be Monarch of the whole World. He said (after the destruction of Jerusalem) that they were deceiv'd in this interpretation of the Prophecy; which he (then) apply'd to the reign of *Vespasian*, as if fulfill'd in him.

V. But what is more remarkable, the *Romans* themselves had the same notion current among them: And not only they, but all the Eastern part of the World, which may well include all that was then known. Thus says *Suetonius*, in the life of *Vespasian*, *Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus & constans opinio, esse in Fatis, ut eo tempore, Judæa profecti rerum potirentur*: i. e. That an ancient and constant tradition had obtain'd throughout all the East, that in the Fates it was decreed, that about that time some who shou'd come from Judæa, shou'd obtain the dominion, or government, i. e. of the World, which the *Romans* then possess'd. And *Corn. Tacit.* (Hist. l. 5.) speaks almost in the same words; telling of the great prodigies, which preceded the destruction of Jerusalem, he says, that many understood them as the fore-runners of that extraordinary person, whom the ancient Books of the Priests did foretel shou'd come about that time, from Judæa, and obtain the dominion. *Pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri, eo ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret oriens, profectique Judæa rerum potirentur.*

These ancient Books of the Priests, must either mean the holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, in the hands of the Jewish Priests, and which were known to the *Romans*; (and, if so, it shews the sense of the Jews at that time, and before, that that was the time of the *Messiah's* coming;) or otherwise, which is more probable, by these Books were meant the Oracles of the *Sibyls*, which were kept with great veneration by the *Roman* Priests; and which very plainly foretold the coming of *Christ*, and pointed out the very time. And this rais'd so great an expectation, and a jealousy in the *Roman* Government at that time, with a watchful eye particularly upon the Jews. The same year that *Pompey* took Jerusalem, one of the *Sibyl* Oracles made a great noise, viz. That nature was about to bring forth a King to the *Romans*. Which, as *Suetonius* tells in the life of *Augustus*, did so terrify the Senate, that they made a decree, that none born that year shou'd be educated: And that those whose wives were with child, did each conceive great hopes, applying the Prophecy to themselves—*Senatum exterritum censuisse, ne quis illo anno genitus educaretur; eos qui gravidas uxores haberent, quod ad se quisque spem traheret, curasse ne Senatus-consultum ad ærarium deferretur.* And *Appian*, *Plutarch*, *Salust*, and *Cicero*, do all say, that it was this Prophecy of the *Sibyls*, which stir'd up *Cornel. Lentulus* at that time, he hoping that he was the Man who shou'd be King of the *Romans*. Some apply'd it to *Cæsar*, which *Cicero* (*de Divinatione*) after *Cæsar's* death, ridicules, and cautions that those Prophecies shou'd not be interpreted of any future King to be in Rome. *Cum Antistitibus agamus, & quidvis potius ex illis libris, quam regem proferant: quem Romæ post hæc nec Dii, nec homines esse patientur.* *Virgil* in his famous fourth *Eclogue*, wrote about the beginning of *Herod* the great, complements the Consul *Polio* with this Prophecy, by supposing it might refer to his Son *Saloninus*, then born. But the words are too great to be verify'd of any mere mortal Man; and speak of such a golden age and renovation of all things, as cannot be fulfill'd in the reign of any earthly King. And *Virgil* does express it, almost in the words of the holy Scriptures, wherein they tell of the glorious age of the *Messiah*; of new Heavens and a new Earth, then to begin, and

and to be finally compleated, at the end of the World. *Isa. LXV. 17.*
2 Pet. iii. 13.

*Ultima Cumæi venit jam Carminis Ætas:
 Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.
 Jam nova Progenies cælo demittitur alto.
 Tu modò nascenti Puero, quo ferrea primum
 Desinet, ac toto surget Gens aurea mundo——*

Now the last age decreed by fate is come;
 And a new frame of all things does begin:
 An holy progeny from Heav'n descends.
 Auspicious be his Birth, which puts an end
 To the iron age, and from whence shall rise
 A Golden state far glorious thro' the Earth.

Then the Poet runs a division upon the peaceable state of that reign, perfectly a Paraphrase of *Isaiah LXV.* from *ÿ. 17*, which ends *ÿ. 25.* *The Wolf and the Lamb shall feed together, and the Lion shall eat straw as the Bullock; and Dust shall be the Serpents Meat. They shall not hurt, nor destroy, in all my holy Mountain, saith the Lord.*

——*Nec magnos metuent armenta Leones.
 Occidet & Serpens, & fallax Herba veneni
 Occidet——*

——Nor shall the flocks fierce Lions fear.
 No Serpent shall be there, or Herb of pois'nous juice.

Nay, the very atonement for our Sins, which *Daniel* attributed to the *Messiah*, chap. ix. 24. *To finish the Transgression, to make an end of Sins and to make Reconciliation for iniquity*, is thus express'd in this *Eclog.*

*Te duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,
 Irrita perpetuâ solvent formidine terras.*

By thee, what footsteps of our sins remain
 Are blotted out, and the whole World set free
 From her perpetual bondage, and her fear.

And the very words of *Haggai ii. 6.* seem to be literally translated by *Virgil.* Thus says the Prophet of the coming of the *Messiah*, *Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the Heavens, and the Earth, and the Sea, and the dry Land. And I will shake all Nations, and the desire of all Nations shall come. And thus the Poet,*

*Aggredere O magnos (aderit jam tempus) honores,
 Chara Deûm soboles, magnum Jovis incrementum.
 Aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum;
 Terrasque, tractusque Maris, Cælumque profundum.
 Aspice venturo latentur ut omnia sæclo.*

Enter on thy high honour, now's the time,
 Offspring of God, O thou great gift of *Jove*.
 Behold the World, Heav'n, Earth, and Seas do shake.
 Behold how all rejoice to greet that glorious age.

And

And, as if *Virgil* had been learn'd in the Doctrine of *Christ*, he tells, that these glorious Times should not begin immediately upon the Birth of that wonderful Person then expected to come into the world; but that Wickedness should still keep its ground in several places.

Pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis.
— *Erunt etiam altera bella.*

But yet some few remains shall still be left
Of ancient Fraud, and Wars shall still go on.

Now how *Virgil* apply'd all this, is not the matter, whether in part to *Augustus*, or partly to *Pollio*, and partly to *Saloninus* his son, then newly born; but it shews the general expectation that there was at that time of the birth of a most extraordinary person who should introduce a new and golden Age, and both reform and govern the whole World; justly therefore call'd by the Prophet the *Desire of all Nations*.

Now the *Sibyls* had pointed out the time to be then at hand: And if it should be suppos'd (tho there is no reason for it) that the *Jews* had forg'd or interpolated these Oracles, and made them speak thus in the language of the holy Scriptures, yet this still shews that the *Jews* at that time did so understand the Prophecies of the Old Testament concerning the *Messias*, as that then was the time prefix'd for his coming.

But if these Prophecies of the *Sibyls* be what they speak themselves (against which nothing but presumption has yet appear'd) then can they not be deny'd as a demonstrative proof of our *Jesus* being the *Messiah*; for they describe him so personally, and so plainly, that this is made the cause of suspicion against them; as if they could not be genuine because they speak so very plainly and particularly of *Jesus Christ*.

This has carry'd some christian Criticks too far, to reject upon this only presumption the authority of the *Sibyls*. And yet they have not (not any of them that I can find) taken into due consideration the Answer which *Origen* gives to this same objection of theirs, for it is not a new one. It was first objected by the Heathens: *Celsus* had recourse to this, alledging, that the Christians had interpolated and added several things to the Prophecies of the *Sibyls*: But *Origen* * appeals to the ancient Copies of them, and challenges *Celsus*, or any of the Heathens, to shew what was added; which, he says, they could not instance, and that certainly they wou'd if they cou'd. Yet some of our Criticks have declar'd themselves, in this, for *Celsus* against *Origen*, but without answering of *Origen's* argument, which *Celsus* could not: And it is not to be imagined that *Origen* would have put the issue upon such a plain matter of fact, if it had not been true, and which could have been so easily disprov'd.

But this especially is to be consider'd, that the primitive Fathers of the Church, as *Justin*, *Clemens*, *Theophilus*, *Athenagoras*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, *Lactantius*, &c. did lay so great a stress upon the *Sibyls*, and quoted them so often against the Heathens, that they called the Christians *Sibyllianists*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* in his *Stromat.* l. 6. quotes *St. Paul* (some Work of his now lost) in his disputations with the *Gentiles*, referring them to their own *Sibyls*: And he lived near to the time of *St. Paul*; so that we must suppose this to have been at least the current opinion of that early age of *St. Clement*. This is observed *obiter*, for the sake of some christian Criticks who

* Ἀποφράμματα, ὅτι παρενέγραψαν εἰς τὰ ἐκείνης ποσὶ καὶ βλάσφημα καὶ μὴ δεικνύσας μὴ ὅτι παρενέγραψαν. Ἀπέδειξε δ' αὖν, εἰ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα καθαρώτερον ἰδέκνυντο, καὶ ἐκ ἔχοντα ἅπας οἰεῖται παρενέγραψαν: καὶ ἀποδείξας δὲ μὴ ὅτι βλάσφημα εἰσι ταῦτα. Orig. contra Cels. l. 7. p. 369.

seem not to have a due regard for the authority of the primitive Fathers of the Church.

But as to what concerns you *Jews*, and the present Subject we are upon, there can be no dispute, by what is quoted out of the *Sibyls* by several Authors before *Christ* came, that they spoke of a wonderful Person to appear in the World, who should rule all Nations: And that it was understood as well by the then *Jews* as *Romans* to be about that time in which our *Jesus* was born. Now there could be none but *Jews* or Heathens to have made these Prophecies of the *Sibyls*, (there being no Christians then in the World:) And, as said before, it is all one, as to our present argument, whether the one or the other made them; for I bring them now only to shew that there was a general expectation of the *Messiah* at that time when our *Jesus* was born: And I have shewn that it was universal all the World over, the greatest part of which was then under the *Roman* Government; who likewise testify that all the Eastern part of the World had the same expectation.

And that not only at that time, as if then put into their heads (by the craft or artifice of the *Jews*, as some fanciful Men have pleas'd themselves to imagine) but that they had it all along as an ancient and undoubted Tradition, written in the Books of Fate; and that it should come to pass at that very time: And never but at that time was there any such general expectation.

This universal impulse (if we will call it no more) which was imprinted, in whatever manner, upon the minds of the whole Earth, to expect a glorious and wonderful Deliverer, Restorer, and King of the world, at that time when our blessed Lord and Saviour was born, (and never before or since) cannot be made of less account, than a very extraordinary and even divine *Apparatus*, or *preparing* of the way, whereby to introduce the Son of God with the general expectation and commotion of all Nature into the World.

And, among all these, the expectation was most firm, as there was most reason, with you the *Jews*, who had the lively Oracles of the holy Scriptures; which punctually pointed out the time wherein God had decreed to send his great *Messiah* into the World.

This appears with a flagrant evidence, in your setting up at that time this and that person for the *Messiah*, (as I have before shewn out of *Josephus*) and so continu'd to the destruction of *Jerusalem*.

And since that time you have not desisted looking out for your *Messiah*, and following every impostor that with any or no pretence set himself up for it: As our Lord, your true *Messiah*, has foretold to you, that many would come in his Name, saying, I am *Christ*. *Behold* (says he) *I have told you before*; but you would not believe, and it has turn'd to your destruction.

Mat. xxiv. 25.

VI. The History of these false *Messiahs* has been lately wrote by *Johannes a Lent*, and printed *Herbornæ*, 1697. with sufficient vouchers from the *Rabbies* of the *Jews* themselves. Let me but name them, to shew the succession of Delusion in the *Jews*. You have heard before, out of *Josephus*, the multitudes of false *Messiahs* before the destruction of *Jerusalem*: Afterwards, *A. C. 114.* you set up another, in the Reign of *Trajan*, one *Andrew*; which occasion'd the destruction of many thousands of you: Again, in the Reign of *Adrian*, another, whom ye called *Bar Cochab*, *i. e.* the Son of a Star, alluding to the Star of *Jacob*: And again, rebelling under this *Messiah*, caus'd a most dreadful destruction amongst you, insomuch that, as your selves have told it in your own Books, there was twice the number of

Numb. xxiv. 17.

of *Jews* that perished upon this occasion, more than all those that came out of *Aegypt*; and that you suffer'd more under *Adrian*, than under *Nebuchadnezzar* or *Titus*. When you were at last undeceived, (too late) then you chang'd the Name of this false *Messiah* from *Bar Cochab*, the Son of a Star, to *Bar Cosibab*, i. e. the Son of a Lye, as being a false *Messiah*.

And how oft have you been deceiv'd since? In the Year of *Christ* 434. in the Reign of *Theodosius* the younger, another *Pseudo-Messiah* arose in the Island of *Crete*, who said that he was *Moses*, and sent from Heaven to carry the *Jews* in *Crete* on dry ground thro' the Sea, and persuaded several of them to throw themselves into the Sea.

In the Year of *Christ* 520. another *Pseudo-Messiah*, one *Dunaan*, arose in *Arabia*, and, with the *Jews* who followed him, set upon the Bishop and Christians in the City of *Negra*, and committed great outrages till he was destroy'd.

A. C. 529, the *Jews* and *Samaritans* in *Palestin* were seduc'd into rebellion by *Julian*, a *Pseudo-Messiah*, which occasion'd the destruction of many of them.

And when *Mahomet* appear'd about the Year 620, the *Jews* flock'd to him, as their *Messiah*, to which he at first pretended. And they stuck to him, till, as some say, they saw him eat Camels blood; or, as others tell, for other reasons, they left him. Indeed he left them, and set up other pretences.

After, A. C. 721. they follow'd a certain *Syrian*, who said that he was *Christ*.

A. C. 1137, they follow'd another in *France*, which occasion'd their banishment out of that Country, and the slaughter of great numbers of them.

The Year following, viz. A. C. 1138, in *Persia*, a *False-Messiah*, taking Arms, brought great mischiefs upon the *Jews* there.

A. C. 1157, the *Jews* rising under another *Messiah* in *Spain*, had well nigh all of them been cut off.

A. C. 1167, they suffer'd much under another *Messiah*, in the kingdom of *Fez*.

And the same year, under another in *Arabia*, who gave for a sign, that after his head was cut off by the King of *Arabia*, he wou'd rise to life. Which he did not: But by this escap'd a more cruel Death. And not long after, in the same 12th Century, they suffer'd much by another beyond *Euphrates*; who gave for his sign, that he wou'd go to bed at night leprous, and rise sound in the morning.

About the Year 1174, another rose in *Persia*, and led the *Jews* into rebellion; which occasion'd great destruction among them, and one *David Almusar* occasion'd the like to them in *Moravia* in *Germany*.

And again, in the same Century, another *Pseudo-Messiah*. All mention'd by *Maimonides*, and other *Jewish* Rabbins. Who likewise tell us of that most famous *Pseudo-Messiah* in *Persia*, call'd *David El David*, alias, *David Alroy*, about the Years 1199 or 1200, a great Magician, who deluded many of the *Jews*.

A. C. 1222, many *Jews* follow'd a false *Messiah* in *Germany*, whom they call'd the son of *David*: And the same Year expected their *Messiah* to be born of a Woman, then with Child, at *Worms*: But it prov'd a Girl.

A. C. 1465, when the *Saracens* made such inroads upon *Christendom*, the *Jews* then thought their *Messiah* was come to fight their Battles.

And the same Year *Rabbi Abraham Avenaris*, a *Jewish* Astrologer, from the conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturn* in the sign *Pisces*, foretold the coming of the *Messiah* to be then at hand, And

And afterwards, *R. Aberbanal*, in his Commentary upon *Daniel*, p. 84, 86, gather'd the time of the *Messiah's* coming from the like Conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturn* in *Pisces*.

About the Year 1497, the *Jews* were again deceiv'd in *Ishmael Sophus* whom they took for their *Messiah*, who having got together an Army of vile and profligate Men, pursu'd his victories successfully thro' *Media*, *Parthia*, *Persia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Armenia*. But at last cheated the *Jews*, and set up a new Sect for *Mahomet*.

A. C. 1500, *Rabbi Ascher Lemla* appear'd in *Germany*, as the fore-runner of the *Messiah*, who, he promis'd, shou'd come and restore the *Jews* to the Land of *Canaan* that same Year. And the *Jews* generally, every where did believe him: And appointed publick Fasts and Prayers to prepare for the coming of their *Messiah*.

About the Year 1534, a new *Messiah* rose up in *Spain*; who was burn'd by *Charles V.*

As was another at *Mantua*, *R. Salomo Malcho*; whom many of the *Jews* did believe came again to life after he was burn'd, and every Sabbath visited his Wife *Zephathi*.

But the Emperor spar'd *R. David*, who call'd himself one of the *Emisaries* of the *Messiah*, then soon to come. Who, when he was at *Rome*, is said to have fasted six days together.

Another *Pseudo-Messiah* rose up in the *East-Indies* about the Year 1615.

And another in *Holland*, *A. C.* 1624.

But the famous *Pseudo-Messiah Sabethai Zevi*, *A. C.* 1666, is a Story remarkably known; who, after all the Expectation of the People of the *Jews*, turn'd, at last, *Mahometan*, to save his life.

And no longer since than the Year 1682, there has got up another *False-Messiah*, *R. Mardochai*, a *German Jew*; whom, almost all the *Jews* in *Italy*, and many in *Germany*, have own'd, but, like wise Men, with due respect to the inquisition, and self-preservation. Whether he be yet alive, or what stress the present *Jews* do lay upon him, I cannot tell, nor do I suppose they will be willing to own.

But, from the foregoing Account, I wou'd lay before them what a strange uncertainty they are at; running after every Impostor for their *Messiah*; having lost all the marks whereby they may know their *Messiah*, nay, being willing they shou'd be lost; and disputing against them for this only reason; that because all the marks given of the *Messiah*, in the Old Testament, do meet in our blessed Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, and can never meet in any other; therefore they wou'd have no marks of him at all.

The learned *Jew* who disputed with *Limborch*, Anno 1687, (five Years after their last or present *Messiah*, *R. Mardochai*, appear'd) contends*, That the Prophets foretold neither the time nor place of the Nativity of the *Messiah*. And says†, That miracles were not needful to prove his mission; but only to gather the *Jews* together from all parts of the World, and to conquer the Nations.

Agreeable to this notion, the *Pseudo-Messiah* before-mention'd, who arose in *Persia*, *A. C.* 1138, when desir'd to shew some miracle, to prove his mission, said, That the *Messiah* was not to be known by miracles, but by his success in conquering the World.

And your famous *Maimon* says the same‡, That the *Messiah* was not to work miracles, but to fight the *Lord's* Battles, and conquer all before him.

* *Limb.* p. 73.

† p. 55.

‡ *Il. Melac. and Milch.* c. 11.

Mahomet made the like excuse for his not working of miracles. He said *, That *Moses*, *Solomon*, and *Jesus*, were sent to shew God's righteousness, wisdom and clemency, to which miracles were necessary to gain belief: But that he (*Mahomet*) was sent to shew God's fortitude; to which no miracles were necessary, but to enforce it with the sword; which carry'd its own conviction.

The guilt and folly of this excuse is apparent. For at the first setting up of any for the *Messiah*, how shall it be known that he shall have success? We see how often the *Jews* have been deceiv'd, and ruin'd by it. But do they believe that their *Messiah* shall have success without interruption, all along from his first setting up? No; the learned *Jew* before-mention'd, interpreting the Death of the *Messiah*, which is spoke of *Isai. LIII.* only of troubles and afflictions which he should endure †, says it shall be in the Wars with the Nations, before he compleat the redemption of the *Jews*, and then, (says the learned *Jew*) shall be fulfill'd that Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, *Et erit dies tribulationis Jacob, sed ex eâ salvabitur*; that the *Jews* shall suffer great tribulation, but shall be sav'd out of it: So that, by this rule, they cannot know their *Messiah* by his success, till he is quite ruin'd and destroy'd, and they confounded, as it has hitherto befallen them.

One would think this enough to open their eyes; that whilst they have obstinately rejected the sure and infallible marks, which God by his Prophets has given of the *Messiah*, they have left to themselves no marks or rules at all, whereby they can know him, or which do distinguish him from every Impostor.

The *Jews* in our Saviours time, did expect that the *Messiah*, when he came, wou'd work miracles. Many of the *False-Messiahs* pretended to it: *John vii. 31.* And no doubt, the present *Jews* would think it a great confirmation of any who should now set up for their *Messiah*. Which shews, that they dispute against the necessity of miracles to vouch the *Messiah*, because they cannot deny those of our Saviour. And it likewise discovers their diffidence in ever having a true *Messiah* to come, whatever they pretend, because they dare not put it to the issue of a miracle, or trust that they shall have any, who shall be endow'd with such a power.

Yet they reject him, who they cannot but own had that power; and confess that they are ready to acknowledge another without that power; that is, they reject the strongest Credentials, and will accept of lesser. They cannot deny this to be their case. They will not say, that they do not desire they had a *Messiah*, who cou'd work miracles to vouch his mission: And their Doctors have asserted, *That as the Messiah, was to be greater than Moses; so when he came, he should work greater miracles than Moses had done*; as it is quoted out of *R. Levi, Ben Gerson, Parascha*, by *Theodorick Hackspan*, in his Edition of *R. Lipmann's Book Nizachon. An. 1644. p. 387.* Yet now they cry down miracles, as a mark of the *Messiah*, because they despair of any such; that is indeed, of any *Messiah* at all to come: For no otherwise can they know him, whenever they suppose that he should come. They confess that they cannot know him, by the time when he should come, or by the works he shall do when come, other than by the issue of his Battles; which they cannot know before-hand: And consequently can never be sure with whom to join, in time, before it be too late; as they have hitherto experimented in all their *False-Messiahs*.

I would entreat them to think of another thing, as to the time of the *Messiah's* coming. They never set up any *False-Messiah*, nor did any

* Alcoran, c. 2, 3, 4, &c.

† Limborch p. 53, and 127.

pretend to it, till near the time that our Blessed Saviour came into the World; which was the time foretold by *Daniel* and the Prophets: And since that time, they have been perpetually setting up of *False-Messiahs*, one after another, even to our times. Which shews plainly, that the time wherein our *Messiah* did come, was the time wherein he was generally expected by the *Jews*: And that then they understood their Law and their Prophets in the same sense that we have done, as to the time of the *Messiah's* coming; tho now they wou'd dissemble it.

VII. I come now in the next place to consider (what I have before hinted:) The excuse that you have for the delay of your *Messiah's* coming, beyond the time (as your selves have confess'd) which was foretold by the Prophets. And you have so little to say upon this point, that you only pretend your sins have hindred his coming. This is a very bare, and looks like a guilty put-off. Surely it cannot satisfy your selves; for I pray you to consider,

I. What are those sins you now complain of? They must be more than common sins, that should defeat so many express and solemn Prophecies. And by your interpretation of *Isaiah* LIII. (before spoke to) you pretend to be righteous and holy to a superlative degree.

But what are those Sins that should prevent the coming of your *Messiah*? Are they greater than those of which you were formerly guilty in the days of *Moses*? And from that time to the captivity? (2 *Kin.* xvii. 7. to 24.) in the captivity, and after? (*Ezra* ix. *Neh.* ix. *Ezek.* xvi. *Dan.* ix. *Zech.* vii. and the whole Prophecy of *Malachi*.) No, you are not now so guilty of these Idolatries and vile Abominations; you have greatly reform'd your selves from these; and (excepting only your rejecting of your *Messiah*, and standing out still against him) you have not now, nor have had since his coming, more Sins to answer for, or more notorious, than other Men: So that this, of your supposing the coming of the *Messiah* to be delay'd for your Sins, seems only to be an excuse, because you can find no other.

2. The coming of the *Messiah* is promis'd as a Remedy for Sin. In that day there shall be a Fountain opened to the House of David, and to the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, for Sin, and for Uncleanness: And what is before quoted, *Dan.* ix. 24. expresses the Design of his coming to be, To make an end of Sins, and to make reconciliation for Iniquity. So that our Sins are so far from being a reason for the deferring of his coming, that they are rather an argument for the hastening of it. The Prophet *Jeremy* speaking of the coming of the *Messiah*, and the condition of the *Jews* at that time, recites their most horrible Wickedness, and of *Judah* worse than *Israel*, and promises the new Covenant of the *Messiah* as a Redemption to the Penitent; when God would give them *Pastors* according to his own Heart, which should feed them with Knowledge and Understanding. And to shew that this was not the renewing or restoring of the legal dispensation, but the leaving it behind for one more excellent, it is added, In those days, saith the Lord, they shall say no more, the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord; neither shall it come to mind, neither shall they remember it, neither shall they visit it, neither shall that be done any more. And this is the time of the great Wickedness of *Israel*: And this is according to the Tradition which your *Rabbi Juda* tells in *Masoreta*, under the Title *de Synedrio, c. Helec.* that at the time of the coming of the Son of *David* the Temple should be a Den of Thieves or unclean Persons. And that this should be a time of great Dissoluteness is likewise deliver'd in your *Talmud, tit. de Synedrio, & de Ponderibus, &c.* and by several of your *Rabbies*. So that this excuse of your *Messiah* delaying his coming because of your Sins, is against your own

own Expositions and Traditions, as well as not only without any ground from, but contrary to the renour of the holy Scriptures; which I come next to shew yet more expressly.

3. The Promises of the coming of the *Messiah* are not only positive, and without any condition, but the case is expressly put of the Sins of *David* or of his Posterity; and there God declares, that tho' he will punish those Sins, yet that because of them he would not break or alter the Promise he had given concerning the coming of the *Messiah*.

2 Sam. vii. 14;
15, 16.
Psal. lxxxix.
30, 33, to 37.

4. But I have another Answer yet to give, and I beseech you seriously to consider of it: That is, whether it would not be as great a punishment to your Sins if God has blinded your eyes that you should not know your *Messiah* when he came; and a much greater punishment than if his coming had been delay'd. And now consider whether this be not the case. It has been plainly prophesied that your builders would reject the chief corner-stone. That he should be *for a stone of stumbling, and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, for a Gin, and for a Snare to the Inhabitants of Jerusalem: And that many among them should stumble and fall, and be broken; and be snared, and be taken*—Stay your selves and wonder, cry ye out, and cry: *They are drunken, but not with Wine; they stagger, but not with strong Drink: for the Lord hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep Sleep, and hath closed your Eyes: The Prophets, and your Rulers the Seers hath he covered; and the Vision of all is become unto you as the Words of a Book that is seal'd.* Is not this literally your Case? Are not your Prophets now to you, as a Book seal'd up? Do you understand by them when you are to expect your *Messiah*? Or what are the signs of his coming? No, they are all long since past, and you are left in the dark, in endless and and groundless expectation.

Psal. cxviii.
22.
Isa. viii. 14, 15.
Chap. xxix.
9, 10, 11.

And in this method there is no breach of God's Promises, and yet his Judgments have their full scope, and there is still room and hopes of his Mercy. When his time comes to open your eyes, then will you return to him, and he will turn to you. But even unto this day, when *Moses* is read, the Veil covers his face from you, *i. e.* the true import and full end of the Law; which Veil is done away in *Christ*: For *Christ* is the end of the Law for Righteousness to every one that believeth.

5. To avoid all the absurdities of this pretence of yours, some of you have set up another notion, *viz.* that the *Messiah* did come at the time foretold by the Prophets, and has been in the World ever since, and is still; but, for your Sins, conceals himself among the Lazars or Lepers that sit at the gates of *Rome*, or elsewhere; others say that he is in * *Paradise*, but there fetter'd in a Woman's Hair: This we must suppose is by way of allusion to *Sampson* and *Dalilah*: Some of the *Rabbies* put a mystical sense upon this, meaning by the Woman's Hair in which the *Messiah* is tied, our evil concupiscence, which retards his coming:

How horribly absurd and ridiculous is this! These sort of strain'd excuses were enough to convert any Men of reason amongst you: Besides that they are contradictory, which shews one must be false; for the former pretence overthrows this, and this, if true, destroys that. But what foundation have you for this?

What Prophecies have you for such a State of the *Messiah*?

What, was the end of his coming to keep himself conceal'd for sixteen hundred years? And all that time to undergo so miserable and wretched a Life as you would have him?

* Theodor. Hackspan. *ubi supra*. p. 351.

How was his coming to be a Light to the *Gentiles* so often prophesy'd of, if the *Gentiles* have not heard of him from that time to this?

If he has undergone the state of a Leper and a Beggar now for above 1700 Years; how do you object the afflictions and low estate of *Jesus* for 33 Years, as inconsistent with the glorious state of the *Messiah*?

But if he be come, and you know him not; and that this, you think, will solve all those Prophecies concerning the time of his coming: Behold, your own conjecture truly fulfill'd. He is come, and you have not known him; while the *Gentiles* have been convinc'd by his Miracles, and submitted to him, even to the uttermost parts of the Earth, as was expressly prophesy'd of him.

Again, if you did not know him, what hinders but that you might likewise persecute him? And why should this seem a thing so impossible to you? Have ye not done the same to almost all of your own Prophets?

2 Chron. xxiv.

21.

Jer. xxvi. 8, 9.

You stoned *Zechariah* in the Court of the house of the Lord: You persecuted *Jeremiah*, till the day that *Jerusalem* was taken: And the hands of your Priests and your Prophets were chief in the pursuit of his blood, and after them the cry of all the People; as it was in your persecution of your *Messiah*. How often did you rebel against *Moses*, against *David*,

2 Chron.

xxxvi. 14, 15,

16.

against *Solomon*, against all your Prophets? How do they all complain against you? Moreover all the chief of the Priests, and the People transgressed very much, after all the abominations of the Heathen; and polluted the house of the Lord, which he had hallow'd in *Jerusalem*: And the Lord God of their Fathers sent to them by his Messengers—But they mocked the Messengers of God, and despised his Words, and misused his Prophets, until the wrath of the Lord arose against his People, till there was no remedy. And now it has risen a hundred fold more, since your despising and misusing of your *Messiah*. And your not knowing your *Messiah* was a just Judgment upon you for your rejecting and persecuting all your former Prophets. *Elijah* complain'd that you had slain them all, every one of the Prophets, but himself alone; and he was forc'd to fly for his Life, and was miraculously preserv'd. In the solemn confession of the Priests and the *Levites*, and the Covenant which they and the Princes seal'd, they confess that they slew the Prophets who testify'd against them, to turn them to the Lord. This Branch was never forgot in all their confessions, for it was notorious; *We have not hearkned unto thy Servants the Prophets, which spake in thy Name, to our Kings, our Princes, and our Fathers, and to all the People of the land.* Why then should it be thought a thing impossible with you, that you should not hearken unto the last Prophet, the *Messiah*, who refus'd to hearken to any before him?

1 King. xix. 10.

Neh. ix. 16.

Dan. ix. 6.

Psal. cvi.

7.

Read all your provocations recorded, and then your present obstinacy will not appear so strange to you, or so totally disproportionable to your former demeanour. It is said, *Our Fathers understood not thy wonders in Egypt*: Then it is possible that you might not understand the wonders of your *Messiah*.

Mat. xxiii. 29,

30, 31, &c.

Your Fore-fathers kill'd the Prophets; and your Fathers built their Sepulchers: And you say, *If we had been in the days of our Fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the Prophets: Wherefore ye be witnesses unto your selves, that ye are the Children of them who kill'd the Prophets.* And how have you fill'd up the measure of your Fathers? As our *Messiah* told you before-hand that you would do: That he would send you Prophets and Apostles, and that you would slay and persecute them: *That the blood of all the Prophets, which was shed from the foundation of the World, might be requir'd of your generation.* And how severely has it been requir'd? Believe, in this, our *Messiah*

Luke xi. 49,
50.

to have been a true Prophet; and that this last sin of your crucifying him, and persecuting his Apostles and Messengers whom he sent unto you, has been greater, as it has been more grievously punish'd, than all your former Provocations: Of which that you may be more sensible (for it is a material consideration) I invite you, as the last thing I shall say upon this Head, to make the comparison betwixt your former Captivities and Sufferings, and that much more heavy hand of God which has lain upon you since your crucifying of your *Messiah*.

6. In the Book of *Judges* you are told of the several Captivities into which you were sold for your repeated Idolatries: First, into the hand of the King of *Mesopotamia*, for eight Years: Then, Secondly, after forty Years of Deliverance, unto the King of *Moab*, for eighteen Years. Thirdly, unto *Jabin*, King of *Canaan*, for twenty Years. Fourthly, into the hand of *Midian* for seven Years. Fifthly, of the *Philistines* and *Ammonites*, for eighteen Years. Sixthly, of the *Philistines*, for forty Years. The Seventh was the great and longest Captivity of seventy Years in *Babylon*: All these for your Idolatry. But, after this, you were cur'd of your Idolatry; and to this day have kept your selves in the greatest abhorrence of it. And yet now, since your rejecting of our *Messiah*, and saying, *Let his Blood be upon us and our Children*, you have undergone not a bare Captivity, as in *Babylon*, where you were all together, and Prophets sent amongst you to comfort you, and assure you of a Restoration, and that in seventy Years; but a dispersion over the face of the whole Earth; without a King, without any Prophet, as a People forsaken of God; and without a Temple or Sacrifice: And that not only for 70 or 700, but now almost 1700 Years.

Judg. iii. 8, 11,

14.

Ch. iv. 3. vi. 1.

x. 8. xiii. 1.

And if this heavy Judgment be come upon you, for your not understanding the promises of God, and thereby hardning your selves against the clear proofs which your *Messiah* brought of his Mission; then is there no appearance of your being deliver'd, till you shall repent of this greater sin, the rejecting and crucifying the *Messiah*, for which you are more grievously punished than you were for your Idolatries.

The ingenious and learned *Jew* before-mention'd, answers to this,* That the Captivity of the ten Tribes, has been longer than that of the two Tribes: And it cannot be said, that the Captivity or Dispersion of the ten Tribes was for the rejecting of their *Messiah*? And therefore, that it cannot be concluded, that the lesser punishment of the two Tribes was for a more heinous sin (*viz.* of crucifying their *Messiah*) than that sin (*viz.* of Idolatry) for which, principally, the ten Tribes were deliver'd to Captivity.

Ans. Tho' the ten Tribes were sent into Captivity about 120 Years before the two Tribes, yet their Captivity has not been so long. For as the temporal punishment of any Man ends with his Death; so the punishment of a Nation, as a Nation, ceases, when that Nation has lost its name, and is scatter'd or incorporated into other Nations. Particular Persons who have descended of that Nation may suffer; but the Nation is no more, and so cannot be said to suffer when it is extinct. As when a Regiment is broke, it is no more a Regiment, tho' the Soldiers are incorporated into other Regiments. Thus in Families, a Family is said to be extinct when the Name is lost, and there are none left to support it; tho' all the particular Persons of that Family may live under other Names, and in other Families. And thus it is, that the Families of the ten Tribes of *Israel* are long since lost in the World; all the *Jews* now known being of

* Limbor. p. 99.

the Family of *Judah*, as distinct from *Israel*. So that the Family of *Judah*, consisting of the Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, with the *Levites*, are still preserv'd to suffer, a visible example of God's just Judgment and Indignation against them: The very names of all the other Tribes of *Israel* being so far lost, as that not one of them is now known, nor does any *Jew* so much as pretend to be of any of those Tribes.

Tho' it is very probable that many of the ten Tribes are incorporated (albeit they may not know it) into the two remaining Tribes, yet all go under the name of the two Tribes: And therefore the two Tribes are they only who are said to suffer; as they only (and such of the ten Tribes as were then incorporated with them) were concern'd in the rejecting and crucifying of their *Messiah*.

But as the Punishment of the two Tribes has been so many hundred years continu'd longer than that of the ten Tribes, for this their greater sin of crucifying their *Messiah*, so there was a plain and visible reason for the, at first, greater Punishment of the ten Tribes. 1. They rebelled from under the House of *David*. 2. They fell into Schism against the House of *Aaron*, and set up new Priests of their own. 3. As a consequence of both these they set up a false Worship, in the Calves of *Dan* and *Bethel*; and return'd not from their Idolatry, their Schism, and Rebellion, till their extirpation.

And we may see a very legible Hand of God upon them, in great Judgments, all along from their revolt.

Judah had many bad Kings, but some eminently good.

Israel had a succession only of nineteen Kings from their defection, among whom there was not one that was good.

And they were carry'd away captive one hundred and twenty years before the captivity of *Judah*.

But then the captivity of *Judah* having been continu'd so much longer than theirs (as before has been said) swells up the Punishment of *Judah* now to exceed theirs, as their Sin in crucifying their *Messiah* has far exceeded all the Sins of the House of *Israel*.

Let me add to this the many and miserable Massacres and Destructions of the two Tribes since our Saviour under the several false *Messiahs* whom they set up; in one of which they suffer'd more than in either of the Destructions of *Jerusalem*, by the *Chaldeans* or the *Romans*, as before has been shewn from their own confessions.

Now let us consider, that at the Day of Judgment there is no representation of Nations, but every Man suffers for his own Sin: National Judgments are only in this World.

And hence it is observable, that no wicked Nation has ever yet escap'd a national Judgment in this World: Tho' God may bear long with them, yet if they do not repent, by a national sorrow and amendment, Judgment overtakes them even here: For no where else are there any national, either Mercies or Judgments.

And as all Nations have been wicked in their several degrees, so have they every one been severally punish'd according to their demerits, even before the sons of Men.

But there are no Judgments that have befallen any Nation so legible as what have been sent upon your Nation; particularly upon the two Tribes. No Nation, since the Earth began, has been kept under so long a captivity and dispersion; so wonderfully preserv'd, so remarkably punish'd, and preserv'd for Punishment. And, when God's time shall come, for a glorious Restoration, in the acknowledgment of your only true and divine *Messiah*!—O that this were the time!

But

But the learned * *Jew* has another Answer, viz. that the *Jews* have not been free from Idolatry since their return from the captivity of *Babylon*, nor are at this day; and therefore that the comparison must fail which we draw betwixt the Punishments that have come upon them for their former Idolatries, and this sixteen hundred years dispersion, after they had forsaken their Idolatry; which, he says, they have not yet forsaken. He says †, that they have it in the utmost abomination, and avoid it wherever they can; but that for fear, or other base motives, very many of them have turn'd *Mahometans*, in all the Dominions of the *Turk*, in *Africa*, in *Asia*, in *Persia*, and *Arabia*. But tho' this be an Apostasy, and forsaking of their Law, yet he does not charge it as Idolatry, because the *Mahometans* do not worship God by Images. But then he returns upon the Christians, and says, that since the Idolatry of the Church of *Rome*, multitudes of the *Jews* have, to avoid Persecution, embrac'd the *Popish* Idolatry in divers Countries: And even in our own times (says he) we have fresh experiences of it: He names the whole *Neapolitan* Synagogue of *Barcelona*, and all the others in *Catalonia*, who turn'd to the Church of *Rome*: And in *Spain* and *Portugal* they have turn'd so fast, that he says, *Ex Judæis apostatis fere omnes & Principes, Nobiles, & Populares, originem ducunt: Quod in iis Regionibus adeo notum, ut nemo dubitaverit; i. e. that almost all of them, Princes, Nobles, and Commons, are sprung from apostate Jews: Which is so well known in those Countries, as that none doubt of it: Notwithstanding* (as he says) *for the obtaining of great places and honours, especially ecclesiastical, they are oblig'd to renounce Judaism, and to bring certificates that they are not descended of the Jews: Which* (as we may easily believe him) *are attainable at that as well as other Courts, where Money is not wanting.* This indeed does plainly shew the suspicion, at least, that they are descended of the *Jewish* race. He says moreover, that many of their Clergy, Bishops, and even of the Inquisitors themselves, are *Jews* in their hearts; and dissemble Christianity for the avoiding of Persecution, and to gain Honours and Preferments; of whom (he says) some do repent and fly, as they can: And that *there are in Spain both Bishops and the gravest of their Monks, whose Parents, Brothers, and Sisters, do fly into this Countrey* (that is, into *Holland*) *that they may freely profess Judaism. That many of the Fryars, Augustins, Franciscans, Jesuits, Dominicans, have there, and in several other Countries, renounc'd their Idolatry, i. e. of the Church of Rome.* This, I suppose, he wou'd make an argument of their returning back to *Judaism*: but he does not deny that there are many christian Countries who have thrown off the Idolatry of the Church of *Rome*, and yet do not *judaize*. But now, to consider all this whole excuse:

1. If many *Jews*, to avoid Persecution, submit to idolatrous practices; as this learned *Jew* confesses, that he himself had often bow'd the Knee to *Baal*, for which he begs God's Pardon; yet this is still but the defection of particular persons, and cannot be compared to those national Idolatries, wherein their Kings, and Priests, and People did concur, of their own choice, without any force or compulsion; as were their many Idolatries before the captivity of *Babylon*, and none the like since: Their principles were then corrupted, but not since; for they confess that they have Idolatry in the greatest abhorrence, tho' many of them cannot resist unto Martyrdom.

2. But this learned *Jew* has afforded us a very material consideration; for if all *Spain* and *Portugal*, or the greatest part of them, and likewise many in other Countries, are descended of the stock of the *Jews*, this may let us in to conjecture what is become of the ten Tribes. It is certain they

* Limbor. p. 101. n. iv.

† Ibid. p. 102.

are dispers'd among other Nations: And tho' they have lost their Name, and consequently their Nation, yet their Posterity must remain somewhere under other denominations. It is reasonable to believe that many of them did return to *Judea*, after the two Tribes were restor'd to their Countrey, and *Jerusalem* and their Temple were built again: And consequently are mix'd among them to this day. It will not be so easy, without this, to reconcile the vast numbers of the *Jews* that were destroy'd in the Seige of *Jerusalem*, under their several false *Messiahs*; and that are now dispers'd all over the World: From whence I make these inferences.

1. That many of the ten Tribes might be involv'd in the guilt of crucifying their *Messiah*, and standing out against him unto this day, tho' all going then under the name of *Judah*, or the two Tribes; and consequently sharing with them in the Punishment.

2. If the *Spaniards*, *Portuguese*, and other Christians, are of the race of the *Jews*, they must be of the ten Tribes; so far at least as they were mix'd with the two Tribes: And they turned more into other Nations than the two Tribes; because they have lost their Name and Nation, which only survives in the two Tribes. Therefore the ten Tribes may be said to be more converted to Christianity than the two Tribes; who only, by name, of all the Tribes, persist in their infidelity against *Christ* our Lord.

This will make the Punishment of the ten Tribes, for their Idolatry, Schism, and Rebellion, much less than that of the two Tribes, for the rejecting and crucifying of their *Messiah*; and this Sin of the two Tribes to be much greater than that of their own former Idolatries, as the Punishment of it has been many ways more remarkably transcendent: Which I pray God you may lay to heart as you ought.

Acts xxi. 20.
vi. 7.

Acts ii. 41. iv.
4. v. 14.

3. Many *Myriads* of the *Jews*, as well Priests as others, were converted to Christianity, in the beginning of the Gospel, upon conviction of what they themselves had seen and heard: About three thousand at one Sermon, five thousand at another, *Multitudes both of Men and Women*. These, with their Religion, lost (in time) their Nation, or the name of *Jews*, having embrac'd that of Christians in the stead of it: And their Posterity are Christians, tho' of the *Jewish* race.

Now, by reasonable computation, there are more of these Christian *Jews* at this day in the World, than of all that are known by the name of *Jews*.

For the *Jews* were almost all cut off, and utterly extinct, in the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*: And more afterwards by *Adrian*, for the adhering to their *False-Messiah Barcosbas*. And all that now go by the name of *Jews* are sprung from the small remainders that were left out of these destructions, like brands pluck'd out of the fire.

Mat. xxiv. 16.

Whereas the Christian *Jews* escap'd all these, and all that came upon the other *Jews*, for their several *False-Messiahs* before-mention'd. And which is wonderfully observable, the Christian *Jews* that were in *Jerusalem* when it was besieg'd, were sav'd by a miraculous providence: The Seige being unaccountably rais'd for a short time, till the Christian *Jews*, taking hold of that warning of our *Saviour*, fled to *Pella*, a City in the Mountains; and thereby escap'd that dreadful overthrow, which swept away the unbelieving *Jews* that waited their fate in *Jerusalem*. By this it appears, that the stock of the Christian *Jews* has increas'd and spread much farther than that of the Infidel *Jews*; whose Tree was twice cut down by *Titus* and *Adrian* even to the ground, and left to spring again out of the old Root; besides the many great loppings afterwards, under several others of their *False-Messiahs*. Whereas the believing *Jews* have encreas'd and multiplied without any of these interruptions; and spread far and wide thro'

thro' the World. From whence we must conclude, that much the greatest number of the *Jews* are converted, and have embrac'd the Christian Faith; and by this means are deliver'd from that servitude and dispersion, which now lies only, as a curse, upon those Infidel *Jews* who continue in their obstinacy against the *Messiah*.

Let me here take notice of another passage in the place before-quoted of *Limborch*, where the learned *Jew*, speaking of the defection of so many of the *Jews* to Idolatry, to Mahometism, &c. according to the Countries where they live, wishes the *Jews* were as good as this Argument of the Christians wou'd suppose them, *viz.* That they had reform'd from their Idolatry since their return from the Captivity of *Babylon*, and were in other respects better than before, excepting that sin of rejecting their *Messiah*, and persisting in it: Which this learned *Jew* will by no means allow; but, to avoid the force of this Argument, he makes the *Jews* now more wicked than ever. Upon which occasion I wou'd mind you of your exposition (before mention'd) of the LIII. of *Isaiah*, which makes them most holy and righteous, (see p. 40.) and that their dispersion was for the conversion of the *Gentiles* by them; whereas now you may make them grow more and more wicked, and that they are corrupted every where with the Idolatries and Delusions of the Nations, instead of converting them.

Theodor. Hackspan, in his Book before quoted, p. 394. cites the *Jewish Rabbies* and *Talmud* making the ancient *Jews* much better than the modern: He quotes *Jalkut* upon the first of *Isaiah*, and upon these Words, that *Righteousness* lodged in Jerusalem. R. *Juda*, F. R. *Simonis*, says, *That there was not a Man then to be found in Jerusalem, in whose Hands any sin was to be found.* But how was this? *The daily Morning-Sacrifice did cleanse the sins of the Night; and the daily Evening-Sacrifice, the sins of each Day; so that none was to be found in Jerusalem upon whom there was any sin.* Thus he. But of the *Jews*, after the daily-Sacrifice did cease, it is said in the *Talmud* by *Jochanan Massech. Joma*, cap. 1. *That a Nail of the former Jews was better than the whole Body of the after Jews:* Because the daily Sacrifice was wanting, by which the former *Jews* were cleansed.

See how vile the modern *Jews* are here made, ever since the destruction of the second Temple! How vile this learned *Jew* here makes them! And this, that they might find an excuse for the delay of the *Messiah* thus long after the time foretold by the Prophets.

But at another turn, when they apply what is said of the sufferings of the *Messiah* in the LIII. of *Isaiah*, to their own present suffering state; then they are *the righteous Servants of the Lord*, and *there is no deceit in their Lips!* Then do they apply to themselves all that righteousness, which is there spoken of the *Messiah!* At one time they are more vile than the Heathen among whom they are mix'd; at another time they are righteous above all that are on the Earth, and by their righteousness the *Gentiles* are to be converted.

These contradictory pretences, set up severally as they are pinch'd, shew the desperateness of their cause: Therefore I will labour this point no further, but proceed to another Topick.

VIII. It is strange that you will adhere so obstinately to the Letter of those promises made to *Levi*, which yet you must acknowledge, are, (according to the Letter) and have been long broken; and yet so easily get over the Letter of the promises concerning the *Messiah*; which can never be fulfill'd but in the Person of *Jesus Christ*.

Especially considering that in that famous Prophecy of the *Messiah*,
R Psal.

Psal. cx. it is expressly said, that he shou'd be a Priest, not of the order of *Levi*, but of *Melchisedec*. Here was a new Priesthood; and a change of the Priesthood does necessarily infer a change also of the Law. In your sense of the promises to *Levi*, you make that promise of the future Priesthood after another order, to be a contradiction to the promises made to *Levi*; but in our sense, they both stand together, and the one fulfills and compleats the other. If you will admit no change of the *Levitical* Priesthood, you must throw off the *Psalms* of *David*, as well as the Gospel of *Christ*. Then consider, that the promise to the Priesthood, of which *David* then prophesy'd, was confirm'd by an Oath, that God would not alter his Purpose, *I have sworn and will not repent*: There was no Oath to the Priesthood of *Levi*. Again, the Priesthood of the *Messiah* was declar'd to be eternal: *Thou art a Priest for ever*. And the Type of this Priesthood in *Melchizedec* was more noble than that of *Levi*; because *Abraham* the Father of *Levi* and of all *Israel*, did pay an acknowledgment to the Priesthood of *Melchizedec*, as superior to his own, in paying of Tythes to *Melchizedec*, instead of receiving Tythes from him, and being blessed by *Melchizedec*, as his superior.

When the flowing in of the *Gentiles* to the Church is describ'd, it is written, *I will take of them for Priests and for Levites, saith the Lord*; or, if this were to be understood of the *Jews*, yet the Covenant with *Levi* would be at an end if the Priesthood were enlarg'd to let in those of other Tribes. And it is promis'd, *ye shall be to me a Kingdom of Priests*. This could not be under the *Mosaical* Dispensation, but it is under the evangelical; where the Priesthood, which is design'd to serve the whole Earth, is not, it cannot be confin'd to one Family, or Tribe, or Nation: And so the whole Kingdom of God, which is the whole World, as they that are made capable of the Covenant of Grace, so also of the Priesthood.

And if the whole *Gentile* World were gather'd unto you, (as you expect) then surely one Tribe of *Levi* would not be sufficient for Priests to them all: So that according to your own expectation there must be a change. And yet,

IX. Your great objection is, that God cannot alter any thing that he has once ordain'd. It is true, God is immutable, and cannot change; and what he ordains must answer the ends for which he has ordain'd it: He does not always tell us what those ends are, and therefore we cannot always tell when they are accomplish'd. But when he pleases to make known to us the ends for which he has ordain'd such things, what it is they tend to, and when they are to be accomplish'd; then when they are accomplish'd at the time he has nam'd, to think this any breach of Promise or Alteration in God, which is the highest proof of his Veracity and Unchangeableness, is a great weakness in our understandings, and our great unhappiness when this betrays us to oppose and fight against the Counsel of God, and forfeit our share in his glorious Dispensations, all ordain'd to bring us to Bliss.

I. This objection of yours, which keeps you from Christianity, is that which has divided the *Samaritans* from you. They stick to the institutions given to the Fathers, to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*; and think that what was after commanded to *Moses*, cannot alter what God had before appointed. Our Fathers worshipped in this Mountain, (said the Woman of *Samaria* to our *Messiah*) and ye say that in *Jerusalem* is the place where Men ought to worship. Our Lord determin'd the case on your side, against the *Samaritans*, and said that *Salvation is of the Jews*: But by the same argument that you can defend your selves against the *Samaritans*, you must yield up the cause to the Christians; for if God could alter his institutions

tutions from what he gave to the Fathers, to what he commanded by *Moses*, why not from what he commanded by *Moses*, to what he instituted by *Christ*?

2. If you say, that the argument will run on to all changes, as from what he instituted by *Christ*, to what it is pretended he a-new reveal'd to *Mahomet*, and so on to the end of the World; and then nothing can be certain:

I answer, That *Mahomet* could not prove his pretended Revelations by those marks as *Moses* and *Christ* did; and they only, as shewn in the first part of this Discourse: And we may safely venture all the Impostures in the World to counterfeit these Marks, and to believe them, if they can.

But in the next place, *Christ* was foretold by *Moses*: Yea and all the Prophets that follow after, as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold of these days in which our *Messiah* came into the World, and fulfill'd all that they had prophesy'd of him: So that the Gospel is a confirmation and fulfilling of the Law, and bears witness to it. Deut. xviii. 18.

But tho' the *Alcoran* does acknowledge both the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and so far bears witness to them; yet it cannot shew that *Mahomet* was foretold either by *Moses* or *Christ*, or by any of the Prophets: Nay, *Christ* has told that he is the last, and none to come after him; and therefore gives us caution to believe none such: So that the *Alcoran* is in direct opposition both to the Law and the Gospel.

If *Moses* had said that he himself was the last that God would send, then could not you expect any *Messiah* to come: But since *Moses* has told us of a Prophet that God would send after him, and commanded all to hear him, and threatens God's Judgments upon those who will not hearken to the Words of God which he shall tell them; what difficulty should you make to hearken unto him, who has come with the same Attestation and Seal of God as *Moses* himself did? Deut. xviii. 19.

3. If you say, that you are forbidden, *Deut. xiii.* to trust even Miracles against what *Moses* commanded: That Scripture shall be considered by and by, and it will be shewn, that it extends only as to the worship of false Gods; and that they are not true but seeming miracles that are there spoke of.

But your *Talmud*, (*tit. de Synedrio*) gives this as a standing rule, that any command whatsoever may without scruple be transgress'd by the command of a Prophet; that is, who works Miracles to attest his Mission.

This is to be understood of those commands which stand only upon positive precepts of God's institution, and have not a moral, which is an indispensable obligation, in their own nature.

And of this there are many examples in Scripture, even where no Miracles were wrought to warrant them; but they gave place oft-times to cases of necessity and publick good.

How oft have the treasures of the Temple, which were hallowed, being dedicated to God, and the very Gold upon the Doors and Pillars of the Temple, been given to heathen and idolatrous Kings (when other treasure there was none) to procure peace to the Kingdom upon great emergencies? And no censure past upon this?

David, in a case of necessity, eat of the hallowed Bread, and those who were with him, of which it was not lawful for any but the Priests to eat; and was blameless. 1 Sam. xxi.

The command of the Sabbath was transgress'd as oft as the eighth day for the circumcision of a Child fell upon that day.

Joshua, and all the Men of War, compass'd *Jericho* on the Sabbath-day. Circumcision (so positively commanded) was omitted forty years in the Wilderness. Josh. vi. Chap. vi. 5.

1 Sam. vii. 7, 17. *Samuel* sacrificed at *Mizpeh*, and built an Altar at *Ramah*, neither of which was the place that God had appointed; which was contrary to the general command, *Deut. xii. 13, 14.* And, besides, *Samuel* was no *Levite*, and therefore it was death for him to offer Sacrifice, by *Numb. xviii. 7.*

1 King. xviii. 38. The same did *Elijah*, (who was not a *Levite*) and had God's approbation by a great Miracle then shewn.

Deut. xii. 5, 6. The place of which *Moses* spoke, that God would chuse to put his Name there, was establish'd at *Shiloh*, which bore the Name of the *Messiah*, and was called the *Tabernacle* which God had pitched among Men. It remained there from the days of *Joshua* to *Samuel*, about four hundred and fifty years: And thither they brought their Tythes, Sacrifices, &c. and came up yearly to worship, as *Moses* had commanded, to the House of the Lord, which was there.

Yet this was alter'd by the authority of *David* and *Solomon*; who set it up at *Jerusalem*, and moreover, made several changes in the courses of the Priests and the *Levites*, and other parts of the Worship of God, which *Moses* had commanded; particularly as to the time of the *Levites* Service, which, by the commandment of *Moses*, was from the age of thirty to fifty: But this, by the last words of *David*, was alter'd, and they were to begin their Service at the age of twenty. And the reason is there given, because the manner of their Service was changed, not being so laborious as when they were to carry the *Tabernacle* upon their shoulders: The practice of which ceas'd when the House of the Lord was built at *Shiloh*, after the conquest of

Canaan; for then the Ark was fixed, and all the Tribes repair'd to it at *Shiloh*, and it was not carry'd about with them from place to place as formerly: Yet this alteration of the age of the *Levites* Service was not made till the time of *David*, but serv'd ever after.

And there was no Prophecy going before to warrant these changes; nor had *Moses* spoke any thing of them.

But he spoke expressly of the *Messiah*, and imply'd changes to be made by him: For he gives strict charge to *hearken to what he should command*; and threatens God's Judgments to those who shou'd refuse. Now what occasion was there for this, if he had no more in commission than *Moses* had, and were to command nothing more or less than *Moses* had done? If he were only to reinforce what *Moses* commanded; that was the business of lesser Prophets, and wou'd make him less than *Moses*; which I suppose none of you will say.

But beside *Moses*, we have the joint voice of all the Prophets, which do in express terms declare, that the *Messiah* would make great changes from what *Moses* commanded, and introduce a much more glorious state into the Church; which *Isaiah* expresses by new Heavens, and a new Earth; and tells us, that at that time, God wou'd throw off the *Jews*, and make others his chosen; And ye (says God to your Nation) shall leave your Name for a curse to my chosen; for the Lord God shall slay thee, and call his Servants by another Name. And, In those days, saith the Lord, they shall say no more, The Ark of the Covenant of the Lord; neither shall it come to mind, neither shall they remember it, neither shall they visit it, neither shall that be done any more. Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the House of *Israel*, and with the House of *Judah*; not according to the Covenant that I made with their Fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the Land of *Egypt*.

And it is told that the *Messiah* should be a Priest, but not of the Order of *Levi*, as before shewn. And, as your Priesthood, so it is said, that God wou'd reject and put an end to your Sacrifices, and bring in their place

place the great and only expiatory Sacrifice of the *Messiah*. *Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire; Burnt-offering and Sin-offering hast thou not required: What then? A Body hast thou prepared me, (says the Messiah) and lo I come, to do thy Will, O God: In the Volume of the Book it is so written of me.* Psal. xl. 6, 7.

Thus it is written of the *Messiah*, and of the changes which he was to introduce: Yet you will have none of them, because they are changes; tho' you make no scruple of the changes by *David*, *Solomon*, and others, of which there were no Prophecies: Nor did they attest their *Mission*, as our *Messiah* has done, by such a multitude of Miracles, and of such a wonderful nature, as never before were shewn upon the Earth.

Nay, you your selves have made alterations, without the command of any Prophet that you can produce, or of any Miracles to warrant you. For you are commanded not to add to what *Moses* commanded, as well as not to diminish: Yet how many Traditions of your Elders do you observe, that were never commanded by *Moses*? As the washing of Pots and Cups, &c. Neither is that all; for you have Traditions quite contrary to the Laws of God, and which render them of none effect. *Moses* said, Honour (that is, support) your Father and Mother: But ye say, if a Man has made a voluntary *Corban* or Gift of what he has, tho' in reversion, to the Temple, or other use of your Law; he is free from that part of the fifth Command, which you have thus enervated by your Tradition. And many other such like things do ye. Nay, you have laid an eternal fund of Traditions to vie with the written Law: These you suppos'd deliver'd to *Moses*, and by him orally convey'd to your Elders, of which they have the keeping, and their stock is inexhaustible. And these you make of equal Authority to the written Law. Deut. iv. 2.
v. 32.
xii. 32.
Josh. i. 7.
Prov. xxx. 6.

What Prophet or Miracle had you for changing of the posture in eating the Passover, so positively commanded, *Exod. xii. 11*? Yet after you were at rest in *Canaan*, you made your own construction upon the equity of the Command, and releas'd your selves from the trouble of that manner of eating it.

You likewise added a *Post-Cænium* to it, which you observ'd with as much strictness as the Passover it self.

You added Baptism to Circumcision. And several other things which were not commanded in your Law.

Yet you reject your *Messiah*, because you say, he made alterations in the ordinances which *Moses* deliver'd.

X. From what has been said, I hope it will not be a difficult task to remove from you all scruple as to that Master Objection, which you most insist upon, grounded upon the xiii. of *Deut. v. 1, 2, 3.* where it is said, *If there arise among you a Prophet, or a Dreamer of Dreams, and giveth thee a Sign or a Wonder, and the Sign or the Wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods (which thou hast not known) and let us serve them: Thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that Prophet, or that Dreamer of Dreams; for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether you love the Lord your God with all your Heart and with all your Soul.* From hence you wou'd infer, that you are not to believe our *Messiah*, let his Miracles be never so great, because he seeks to turn you after other Gods. Hag. ii. 7.
Gen. xii. 1.
xviii. 18.
xix. 10.

Ans. 1. The Sign or Wonder here mention'd, is not any true and real Miracle; but only telling of something which might afterwards come to pass. And this has happen'd, and may happen many times by chance, which yet may seem a Wonder to the People, and it is only against these

false and seeming Miracles that God here guards his People; which he sometimes permits for the trial of their Faith. Therefore observe the Word Miracle is not us'd here, only a Sign, a Wonder, or a Dream.

But none can work a true and real Miracle but God: And it cannot without the highest Blasphemy be suppos'd, that God would work a Miracle, on purpose to set his Seal to a Lie. If this were possible, it would destroy all revelation; for how cou'd we know when it were true or false? Therefore where there can be no doubt as to the Miracle, there can be no scruple as to the Revelation which that is brought to attest.

Now the Miracles of our *Jesus* were such as that there can be no manner of doubt concerning them: The most harden'd *Deist* upon the face of the Earth, if he allow'd the matters of fact, would grant them to be true and real Miracles. And you must either allow them to be such, or throw off all those of *Moses*, which were neither so great, nor so many.

This is the first Answer I give, which concerns the nature of the Sign or Wonder that is spoke of *Deut. xiii.* The next Answer is concerning that thing for which such a Sign, or Wonder, or Dream, is produc'd; and that is, *to go and serve other Gods.* And as to this, consider,

2. What are these Gods here spoke of? It is told, *ŷ. 7. Namely, the Gods of the People which are round about you, nigh unto thee, or far off from thee, from the one end of the Earth, even unto the other end of the Earth;* that is, all the Gods of the Heathen World: And against all these our *Jesus* is as severe as your *Moses*, and confirms this very Text, and all that *Moses* commanded against them. They are called Devils over and over again. And Christianity, wherever it has come, has rooted out all the *Pagan* Idolatry more than ever the Law has done.

Obj. 1. If you say that our *Jesus* would have Men to worship himself. *First*, That is none of the Gods mention'd in this place of *Deuteronomy*; for you will not say that any of the Heathen did worship the *Messiah*. *Secondly*, You do not refuse Worship to the *Messiah*: *David* call'd him

1 Cor. x. 20, 21. Lord, and said of him, *Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever—* And God, *even thy Goa, bath anointed thee—* And says to the King's Daughter (that is, the Church) *he is thy Lord, and worship thou him.*

Zech. xiii. 7. And God calls him his Fellow or Associate, and commands all the Kings of the Earth to *kiss* (that is, to worship) *the Son* (for that was an act of Worship.) And *David* speaks of him (which can be apply'd to *Solomon* no otherwise than as he was a Type of the *Messiah*) *They shall fear thee as long as the Sun and Moon endure, throughout all Generations—* He shall have Dominion from Sea to Sea, and unto the Ends of the Earth—

Pfal. lxxii. 5, 8, 11, 15, 17. All Kings shall worship, or fall down before him; all Nations shall serve him—Prayer shall be made ever unto him; or, he shall ever be adored—All the Nations of the Earth shall be blessed in him, and all the Heathen shall praise him. These are the very Epithets given to the *Messiah*

(and can belong properly to no other) who is called the *Desire of all Nations*; and that in him all the Nations of the Earth should be blessed; and to him shall the gathering of the Gentiles be: Which is to *Christ* our *Jesus*, but was not to *Solomon*, unless in a very low sense, as he was greatly fam'd for his Wisdom, which made him much respected by many of the Heathen;

but they had no relation to him, nor were gather'd unto him as their King or their Saviour, as they are now to our *Jesus*, whom *Solomon* did but faintly represent: And if you should apply the Worship before-mentioned to *Solomon*, then surely, much more to the *Messiah*. So that the Worship of him is establish'd in your own Scriptures, and comes no way within the prohibition of *Deut. xiii.* which respects only the Worship of the heathen Deities. Let me add here what your *Talmud* (*tit. de Synedrio*) says, that

Jesus

Jesus is not the Name of any Idol, nor can be reckoned such, when the Christians do refer the honour they pay to him, to God the Creator of all. And (*tit. Schebuoth & Shabbath*) agrees with *Rabbi Solomo*, who upon *Gen. xxii. 18.* does acknowledge, that God might take upon him human Nature, and thinks that he had done it, for a time. And the *Chaldee Paraphrase* (upon *Hosea i. 7.* and other places) calls the *Messiah* the *Word of God*, the same that our *St. John* calls him, (*Joh. i. 1, &c.*) And your *Talmud* upon *Taanith*, says from *Isa. xxv. 9.* that at that time God would be pointed at and shewn even with the Finger.

The above-quoted *Psalms*, which speak of the Worship of the *Messiah*, are own'd to refer to the *Messiah*. The second *Psalms* by *David Kimchi*, *Abraham Esdra*, *R. Jonathan* in *Beresith rabba*, and that most learned *Rabbi Saadia*, who owns the same of *Psalms* cx. as the *Chaldee Paraphrase* does of *Psalms* XLV.

But there needs not attestations: For these Scriptures are express'd in such a strain, as may indeed be accommodated, at an infinite distance, to transactions here below; but cannot be properly apply'd, nor verify'd of any but the *Messiah*: And some are such as can in no way be adapted to any other. What other did *David* call his Lord? What other claims the Worship of all the Kings upon the Earth? Whose Kingdom but his is without end? And extends to the *uttermost part of the Earth*? All which, in the second *Psalms* is given to the *Son*, but was not given to *David*. Neither was it given to *David* that his flesh should not see corruption, as it is promis'd, *Psal. xvi. 9, 10.* but was verify'd of none that ever enter'd the grave, except only of our *Messiah*.

Obj. 2. You urge our doctrine of the holy Trinity as inferring plurality of Gods; and so to be brought within the prohibition, *Deut. xiii.* But you cannot say that this is any of the Gods of the Heathen, who only are express'd in that command: When we profess to worship none other but that one only God, who spoke to your Fathers in *Horeb*, out of the midst of the Fire; and we detest all thoughts of any other God. Our great *Messiah* taught us this to be the *first of all the Commandments*, that *the Lord our God is one Lord*. And all expositions of the blessed *Trinity*, or inferences from it, that do in the least interfere with this, we condemn as impious and heretical. Mark xii. 29.

But whether this one most simple and un-compounded Nature of God may not be communicated to three eternal Persons, without either confusion of the Persons, or dividing of the Substance, does in no way interfere with the Unity of the Nature; because this very hypothesis does suppose the Unity of the Nature in the strictest sense that is possible. And if we should be under great difficulty (as how can it be otherwise?) in explaining such an unfathomable Mystery, yet can it not infer Poly-theism upon us, while we are ready to part with all rather than to admit of that.

You know we bring many proofs for this out of your Scriptures of the Old Testament, (some are nam'd hereafter) and you cannot infer from hence that we do not own these Scriptures, (nay this is a proof that we do own them) only that we do not understand them aright. And if you should prove against us that we do not rightly understand (who does?) the divine incomprehensible Nature, while we contend as earnestly as you for the necessity of its Unity, you cannot charge us with Poly-theism for our mistake in other matters: And therefore this can never come under the prohibition of *Deut. xiii.*

I say not this that I would wave entering with you upon this subject; but there is not room for it in this short Essay: It wou'd require a discourse by itself. All that I am at present concern'd in, is to shew you, that this can be

be no cause for your rejecting of our *Messiah*. There are some call'd Christians who say that we have mistaken our *Messiah* in this point; but I would be loath to clear you from the objection by that method: Only thus much it shews you, that if we have mistaken the Gospel, so have we the Law too, as to the doctrine of the holy Trinity: And this can be no more an argument that we set up Poly-theism against the Law, than against the Gospel, which as strongly asserts the Unity of God as the Law, and confirms all that the Law says of it. Therefore if you reject the Gospel because we would infer a Trinity from thence, you must upon the same account reject the Law too. If our inferences are not just, the Gospel is cleared as well as the Law; and if our arguments do hold, then the Law does infer a Trinity as well as the Gospel.

Nor is it we Christians alone that would infer a Trinity from your Law, your own Cabalists do distinguish God into three Lights; and some of them call them by the same Names as the Christians, of the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit; and yet say that this does not at all break the Unity of God. Your famous *Philo* expresses the same in many places: Upon the *Sacrifices of Cain and Abel*, he says, That God was accompany'd with his two supreme Virtues of Power and Goodness: And that God being one, did produce, out of his clear Mind, three Operations, of which each is unmeasurable or infinite; for that his Powers are unlimitable. And in his second Book of the *Husbandry of Noah*, he distinguishes these into τὸ ἐν, τὸ δευτέρου, τὸ τρίτον, i. e. Being, Power, and Goodness. In his *Allegories* he calls the Word by the Name of God, and the Maker of the World, or the great Instrument of God, whereby he made the World, the same as our Gospel, *Joh. i. 3*. And in his Book before quoted of Husbandry, he calls the Word by the same name as we do, *Heb. i. 3*. *Χαρακτὴρ*, the express Image of God. *Moses* the Son of *Nehemannes* calls him the Angel, the Redeemer, who is called the Face of God; that is, says he, God himself, the same that appeared to *Jacob* at *Bethel*, and said to *Moses* in the Bush, *I am the God of thy Father*, &c. the Lord that should come to his Temple; and the Angel of the Covenant prophesied of *Mal. iii. 1*.

Maimonides in his Book of *Foundations*, and after him *Joseph Albo*, distinguish in God. First, That which knows. Secondly, That which is known. Thirdly, The knowledge it self.

But I will not detain you here with quotations; our *Eusebius*, in his Book of the *Preparation of the Gospel*, p. 327. tells you that all your Rabbies, after the God of all and his First born Wisdom, do join into the same divine Nature a third, whom they call the Holy Ghost, by whom your inspir'd Persons were enlightened. And you do all generally agree, that this Holy Spirit was not any thing that was created; and yet you distinguish it from him that sent it. Your Rabbi tells us that in the Word *Elohim* there are three degrees, each distinct by its self, yet all one; join'd in one, yet not divided from one another.

And, as you make that Holy Spirit which inspir'd the Prophets, not to be a Creature, yet distinct from him who sent him: So you make what you call the *Schekinah* to be a Divine thing; and distinguish it not only from God, but from that Holy Spirit. As in your *Jerusalem Gemara*, of *Documents*, chap. 3. And the *Babylonish Gemara*, tit. *Joma*, cap. 1. Your *R. Jonathan*, in the Preface *Eckah Rabbah*, says, That the *Schekinah* waited three Years and a half upon Mount Olivet, expecting the Conversion of the Jews.

Luk. xxi. 37.
xix. 29.

Luk. xiii. 7.

This was the place where our *Jesus* (the true *Schekinah*) made his abode: And whence he rode into *Jerusalem*, to accomplish his blessed Passion. And the time of his preaching, was about three Years. So long he

he said, he wou'd bear with the obstinate *Jews*. This may be apply'd, as to what your High-Priest said, tho' himself knew not the true import of it. Joh. xi. 51.

Now then, all these fore-cited Testimonies to the holy Trinity, whether of *Jews* or Christians, are not the setting up of any other God, but only searching into the nature of that God whom we acknowledge: As, to give an example (tho' any parallel to God must be at an infinite distance) we argue three great Faculties in our Soul, the Understanding, the Memory, and the Will; and that these may be understood, without either confusion of the faculties, or division of the substance of the Soul. And suppose that some shou'd object, that this was making of three Souls. I say, that whatever the consequence might be from this *Hypothesis*, yet that no Man cou'd be justly charg'd with holding three Souls in Man, who profess'd that he held but one. We are not to be charged with the consequences of an opinion, so as to infer that we do not hold that opinion: For we may not see all the consequences of what we hold. Therefore tho' three Faculties shou'd infer three Souls, yet cannot he who holds three Faculties, be charg'd with holding of three Souls, while he does but hold one Soul; and thinks that the contrary, does not follow from his holding of three Faculties in the same Soul.

Thus, tho' three Persons did infer three Gods: Yet does not he hold three Gods, who holds three Persons in one and the self same God.

If you say, that this will excuse all Idolatry, as of those who worshipp'd the Sun, &c. because of God's suppos'd residence there: I answer, no; because supposing of that residence, yet it wou'd be Idolatry to worship the Sun, or any thing else, merely because of God's residence in it. As you wou'd have thought it Idolatry to have worshipp'd the Temple, or the cloud of Glory, because of God's special presence, which was there afforded.

But they did not think it to be Idolatry, was it therefore none? No, our thoughts cannot alter the nature of things: And there are sins of ignorance. None ever confess'd, no, nor I believe, thought himself to be an Idolater: For then, it must be suppos'd, that he would not continue in it. But he that adores one God in three Persons (supposing him mistaken in his judgment) comes not under either of the branches of Idolatry. *First*, Of a false Object. *Secondly*, Of a false manner of Worship. For the manner, there is no pretence: That consists in the Worship of God by Images (which he has forbidden) whether artificial, of our own making; or natural, by any Creature of God's making; as any of the Host of Heaven, Sun, Moon, or Stars; or any thing here below, as of Men, Birds, Beasts, Fish, &c. tho' the Worship be referr'd to God, as represented by them; or from his suppos'd residence or presence in them. This is Idolatry in the manner of our Worship. But nothing of this can be apply'd to the three Persons, which are suppos'd to be God himself. This was your Idolatry in the golden Calf; which you did not take to be God himself, that you yourselves had made; nor could such folly be suppos'd in your *Solomon*, as to think the Images he made, to be that God that made him. This was the Idolatry forbidden in the second Command.

Then, for the first Command, which relates to the object of Worship. If that be taken for setting up any Creature as the supreme Being; or giving divine Honour to Angels or other Ministers of God, as inferior or middle Deities, betwixt the supreme Being and us, as the *Heathens* thought their *Dæmons*, whom therefore they call'd *Dii Medioximi*: In neither of these senses, can Idolatry be apply'd to the three Persons suppos'd to be in the Divine Nature. For 1. They are not Creatures: Nor 2, any inferior Deities; nor so suppos'd to be; but all equally to partake of the same

one Divine Nature; as the three Faculties do of the same one and indivisible Soul. And therefore whatever mistake may be suppos'd in the *Hypothesis*, yet it cannot come under any notion of Idolatry. And no other-wise can the Worship, or paying of Divine Honour to the Son or *Messiah* (already prov'd) be excus'd from Idolatry, than by acknowledging him to be the Word of God (as you your selves have call'd him) that is, one of the Divine Persons in the Godhead. And this does avoid all notion of Idolatry in the Worship of him; and can no ways come under that prohibition of *Deut.* xiii. against worshipping of the false Gods of the *Heathen*. You lay not this to the charge of your own *Talmud* and *Rabbies*; who give the same expositions of your Scriptures as we do. And you know how many of them do think, that a plurality of Powers in the one nature of God is intimated in the very Name of God, *Elohim*, which is the Plural Number; and in these Texts, among many others of the Old Testament. *Gen.* I. 1, 26. III. 22. XIX. 24. *Psal.* XLV. 6, 7. LXVIII. 18. CX. 1. *Isai.* IX. 6. XLVIII. 16. *Jer.* XXIII. 6. *Mich.* x. 2. *Zech.* II. 8, 9. III. 2. XII. 10. Now may we not reason upon these Texts, as you have done, without imputation of Polytheism? And so of the Texts in the Gospel? And when you come to embrace the Gospel, (which God send) we will reason with you, as with some amongst our selves, upon what proofs are there, answerable to, and explanatory of those Texts in the Old Testament, which favour the Doctrine of the holy Trinity; and then, and not till then, will be the proper time to enter with you, at large, upon this Controversy.

But what I have now said, I hope, will be sufficient to remove all scruple from you against the Gospel, from that Text of *Deut.* XIII.

And then that other Text. *Deut.* XVIII. 19. will look very terribly upon you, that whoever should not hearken to the *Messiah*, when he came, God wou'd require it of him. And you feel it severely, that God has requir'd it.

3. But to put an end to this objection from *Deut.* XIII. the *Jews* have yielded it; if they will allow that learned *Jew* who disputed with *Limborch* to give their true sense: And that according to their own *Talmud* before-quoted (*tit. De Synedrio*) which says, *That any Command may be transgressed, by the Command of a Prophet, i. e. who can work Miracles to prove his Mission.*

And says that learned *Jew**, *If Christ, after he rose from the Dead, had publickly said to the whole Congregation of Israel; Hear, O Israel, I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt; and now have redeemed you from a greater captivity of sin; whom you have sacrilegiously put to Death: Absque dubio (says he;) without doubt, all Israel had believ'd, even to this present day. Nor had there been room left for any doubt, or suspicion.* Thus he; and he thereby yields, that such a Miracle as this, wou'd have convinc'd all the *Jews* to believe *Christ*, when he call'd himself God. And therefore he must grant, that, notwithstanding of what is said, *Deut.* XIII. Miracles are sufficient to vouch even the Divinity of *Christ*. And then the dispute must only lie upon the Miracles recorded in the Gospel. For the truth of which I refer to what is said in the first part against the *Deists*

XI. I wou'd in this place call upon you to reflect, how very exact and particular God has been in fulfilling all the promises he has made unto your Nation. One especially; which does confound the *Deists*, who call for ocular demonstration, and have it, to their astonishment, in seeing, at this

* *Limbor. Collat.* p. 132.

day the fulfilling of a most wonderful Prophecy and promise made to your Nation, so many ages past.

The Deists have made you, of all People, their reproach, because you have been call'd the peculiar People, the holy Nation chosen of God before all Nations upon the Earth. Yet *ye were the fewest of all People.* Deut. vii. 7.

And they call'd you the most inconsiderable and contemptible: And thence argue (in their bold and prophane manner) the injustice and nonsense of God's preferring these to all the great Nations and Monarchies upon the Earth.

They will not believe that God had more regard to the *Jews* than to any other People; or gave any Prophecies concerning you. They say, you coin'd those Prophecies after the facts they speak of. But they demand the fulfilling of a Prophecy, which they may see. And this that I speak of is obvious to the eyes of all the World, it is recorded, *Jer. xlv. 28. Fear thou not, O Jacob my Servant saith the Lord, for I am with thee, for I will make a full end of all the Nations whither I have driven thee, but I will not make a full end of thee, but correct thee in measure, yet will I not utterly cut thee off.* You will find the same, *Ch. xxx. 11.* And *Ch. xxxi. 36, 37.* it is written, *If those ordinances depart from before me, saith the Lord, then the seed of Israel also shall cease from being a Nation before me for ever. Thus saith the Lord, if Heaven above can be measur'd, and the foundations of the Earth searched out beneath, I will also cut off all the seed of Israel, for all that they have done, saith the Lord.* See the same repeated, *Chap. xxxiii. 24, 25, 26.* And confirmed, *Isa. xxvii. 7. xxix. 7, 8. liv. 9, 10. lxxv. 8. Ezek. vi. 8. xi. 16. xii. 15, 16. Amos ix. 8, 9. Zech. x. 9.* And this was pursuant to what was promis'd in the Law, *Lev. xxvi. 44. Deut. iv. 31, &c.*

Now let us see how literally this is fulfill'd at this day. The great and famous Monarchies, who, in their turns, govern'd the World, and successively had destroyed the *Jews* (the *Assyrian*, the *Babylonian*, and the *Roman*) are all vanish'd as a dream; there is not one of them left: Their very names are lost in the Earth. But your Nation, tho' *sifted among all Nations* (as your Prophet *Amos* expresses it in the place above quoted) *like as Corn is sifted in a Sieve*, yet are you preserv'd a visible distinct People, in all the Nations whither you have been scatter'd. And the rage of many Kings and Governments have been let loose against you to root you off from the face of the Earth, and you had no helper; yet the Lord was your Helper, and put it out of the power of all the Earth (tho' without any visible opposition) to infringe the Promise he had made to you.

The Deists dare not say that these Prophecies were made yesterday, or not before the fall of these Monarchies; especially of the *Roman*, the greatest of them. And what a folly, as well as vanity, had it been in the *Jews* to have forged such audacious and provoking Prophecies, to have thus dar'd all the powers of the Earth to extirpate them, who hated them, and had them perfectly at Mercy!

And here let the Deist take notice of this wonderful instance, fresh before their eyes, of God's particular regard to this most despis'd and contemptible People (in their account) above all the other Nations of the Earth, how great and honourable soever: This is a standing Miracle exhibited to the whole World.

Yet is there no partiality in this, as the Deists weakly reason; for as *Moses* was a Type of the *Messiah*, so the Church of the *Jews* was of the Christian, whose Pales are enlarged to take in the *Gentiles*, as often promis'd in your Prophets: By which means your Nation was indeed a Type of the whole World, (represented in the long garment of the High-priest,

Wisd.

Wisd. xviii. 24. by *Israel* call'd the *First-Fruits of God's Increase*, *Jer.* ii. 3.) And consequently the Blessings of which the *Jews* partook; the Promises made to them, and miraculous Protection over them, was taking possession in the Name, and securing the reversion of the *Gentile* World in the same glorious Inheritance. And it was indifferent as to the good of the World which Nation had been pitch'd upon as their Type: But God chose the least, that his Power and Protection over his Church might be more visible; and to shew that she must struggle thro' many difficulties and temptations; yet never be extinct (tho' often distress'd) when all the powers and glory of this World shall vanish as Smoke before the Wind.

Deut. vii. 7.
viii. 17.

Moreover, if God had chosen any of the great and powerful Nations of the Earth for his peculiar People, to whom if he had given his Promise to continue them for ever, the scorners would have blasphem'd, and said, that God was still on the strongest side: And they would have ascrib'd their preservation to their own power and greatness. This is the reason God gives why he chose the *fewest of all People*, lest they should say it was thro' their own power and might that they were preserv'd: Besides, the peculiar Nation being (as before has been said) a Type of the christian Church, it was necessary that the odds, as to the World, should be against that Nation; which should subsist not by worldly strength and politicks, but by signal and miraculous Providences. Thus the Church was best represented as greatly Distress'd, but wonderfully Preserved.

Exod. xii. 37.
xiii. 18.
xiv. 13, 14.

And here, O ye *Jews*, behold an equal Promise of our *Messiah* to his Church, and as miraculously fulfill'd, as that before-mention'd to yours. He promis'd, as before quoted, that his Church should continue *even unto the end of the World*; that he would be all that time with her, to preserve her, and that the *Gates of Hell* should never prevail against her. And when was this promis'd? Even at the beginning, when his Religion was low and contemptible, hardly yet known in the World. And the Devil has been let loose (as against *Job*) to spare only her Life; all things else have been put in his power: All the rage and madness of Kings and States and Mobbs have been exerted against her to destroy her, for many ages together: And she was destitute of all human help; nay it was made unlawful for her to help herself, or take arms in her own defence, against her persecuting Kings, as it was not permitted to you, tho' an army of six hundred thousand Men harness'd, besides a great mixed multitude, against *Pharaoh*, *Ahasuerus*, &c. But she was commanded, as you, only to *stand still, and see the Salvation of God*; yet still she insisted upon the Promise of her Preservation made to her by her *Messiah*; nay more, of her Victory at last over all these her Enemies; and boasted of it before them while they were worrying of her without controul; and told them, that it was not in their power to destroy her. Yet all this notwithstanding, how miraculously did our *Jesus* perform his Promise, in his now almost seventeen hundred years preserving and supporting her under all her Persecutions, and giving her Victory and Triumph! And she still trusts in that Promise, that it can never fail. Could any Power less than divine have foretold this Preservation, and have effected it for so long a time without human means, without sword or policy? This is not the least of the Miracles which God has shewn, as to you, so to us, in these Promises so full of wonder, so visibly fulfill'd, and now every day fulfilling. And this is not a mean argument to join you to us, when you see the same God working so wonderfully for you and for us, for us only of all the whole Earth; none of whom can boast such Promises, and such Performance, so uncontestably true, and so truly miraculous. Therefore I beseech you to hearken at last to the wise reasoning of your own *Gamaliel*, *lest ye be found Fighters against God*. For if this Work had not been of God,

Acts v. 38, 39.

God, it could not have so stood. You first spent your rage against this *Stone*, Mat. xxi. 42. which your *Builders* refused, and as he foretold you, it has *grinded you to powder*. 44. Will you not yet confess that *this is the Lord's doing*, and that it is *marvellous in your Eyes*!

And now, O ye People greatly beloved, and grievously punished, did your God ever fail you in any Promise that ever he made to you? You are, and have been many Centuries preserv'd only upon the Almighty Power that there is in his Promise, too strong for all the armed Legions of Earth and Hell, which have overthrown mighty Empires, and every thing else but you, and his Church represented by you. Believe it, your Preservation since your return from *Babylon*, has been greater than in it, in *Egypt*, or in the Wilderness. And can you imagine that he who has wrought so many *Miracles*, and still continues them, lest any of his works shou'd fall to the Ground; can you think that his great Promise of the *Messiah*, and the time of his coming, so particularly describ'd, is come to nought? As to the time, you confess it has fail'd, if not fulfill'd in our *Jesus*. And where the time (as of your seventy years Captivity, *2 Chron. xxxiv. 21. Jer. xxix. 10.*) is nam'd, there it is impossible that there should be a failure as to the time.

See how the Promise made to you of your deliverance out of *Egypt* Exod. xii. 40. was fulfill'd, even to a day; and how exactly your forty Years in the Wilderness answer'd to the forty Days of your spying out the Land. Nor did your many and repeated Provocations all along that time, put off God's Promise one day farther. See then and consider, how punctually our *Messiah's* coming was according to the stated times and ages prefix'd, as it is set down in the first Chapter of our Gospel according to St. *Matthew*, *ch. 17.* The Generations from *Abraham* to *David* fourteen Generations; from *David* to the Captivity fourteen Generations; and from the Captivity to *Christ* fourteen Generations. God's fix'd and determinate times are not to be alter'd. 41. Numb. xiv. 34.

The time and place of the *Messiah's* coming, as foretold in the Prophets, is one of the surest marks by which we must know him. To that end they were so particularly set down: And if these fail, so may all the rest.

How do you expect to know your *Messiah* when he does come? He cannot vouch himself from the time of his coming foretold by the Prophets; for that is past, and there is no other time prefix'd.

Will he prove his Mission by Miracles? And will he shew greater than our *Jesus* has done? Can he fulfil the Prophecies of the *Messiah* by not coming at the time they have nam'd; so much as our *Messiah*, by fulfilling all the circumstances of the Prophecies, as to time, place, &c.?

XII. Born of a Virgin, ^a of the seed of ^b *David*, in the Town of ^c *Beth-lehem*; within four hundred and ninety ^d years of the building of the second Temple; before the Scepter had quite departed from ^e *Judah*; to whom the gathering of the *Gentiles* has been, as to their *Messiah*, as well ^e as the *Messiah* of the *Jews*. This is an astonishing mark and notorious, and insisted upon over and over again in the ^f Prophets; and of which none that ever took upon them to be the *Messiah*, except only our *Jesus*, had the least shadow of a pretence. And consequential to this, that he should make the ^g *Heathen* Nations forsake their Idolatry, and destroy their Idols. No Nation of the *Heathen* was ever brought to this by the Law; but how many have by the Gospel? By the way, you may see by this, how unreasonable your exception is against our *Messiah* from *Deut. xiii.* as if he introduc'd the Worship of the *Heathen* Deities; which he only

^a *Isai. vii. 14.*
^b *xi. 10.*
^c *Mich. v. 2.*
^d *Dan. ix. 25.*
^e *Gen. xlix. 10.*
^f *Psal. ii. 8.*
lxxii. 8, 11, 17.
cx. 2.
Isai. ii. 2. xi.
10. xlix. 6. lii.
15. lv. 5. lx. 3.
lxv. 1.
Zech. ix. 10.
Hos. ii. 23.
^g *Isai. ii. 18,*
20. xxxi. 7.
Ezek. xxx. 13.

Zech. xiii. 1, 2. has effectually destroy'd. He only stopp'd the Mouths of their Oracles; which within a hundred Years after his coming, were all totally silenc'd in the reign *Trajan*. He only deposited his ^b flesh in the Grave, in hope that it shou'd not see corruption. They gave him ⁱ Gall to eat, and Vinegar to drink. They ^k pierced his Hands and his Feet; and cast Lots upon his *Vesture*. They upbraided him in the same ^l Words foretold. His very ^m price was foretold, and how the Money should be disposed of; That ⁿ a Bone of him should not be broken. Again, the particular manner ^o of his riding into *Jerusalem* upon an Ass; which your most learned *Rabbi Saadia* expounds of the *Messiah*; as also the ii. and cx. *Psalms*, and other Scriptures before-quoted. I cou'd enlarge upon this Head, and shew many more particulars, wherein our *Jesus* did, and does exactly answer to the several marks given of the *Messiah* by the Prophets.

Which is so strong an argument, so past all possibility of cheat or contrivance, that the first of our Apostles reckon'd it even beyond Miracles, or rather, as the greatest of Miracles, greater than those shewn to our outward Eyes. For proving the Mission of *Jesus*, from their being eye-witnesses of his Majesty in his miraculous Transfiguration; and the voice which then came to him from the excellent glory, *Which Voice* (says he) *we heard when we were with him in the holy Mount*; he adds as a yet further proof, *We have a more sure word of Prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a Light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts*. Pray God it may; and that he may open your understanding, as he did of his Apostles, that they might understand the Scriptures, that thus it is written, and that thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day: and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all Nations, beginning at *Jerusalem*. All which you see fulfill'd, yet you will not believe it! You see all fulfill'd that he foretold so particularly of the destruction of *Jerusalem*; and that that age in which he spoke, should not pass till it was fulfill'd, tho' there was then no appearance of it.

See. Ezek. xxi. 10, 13. vul. The Sword. that destroyed Jerusalem call'd the Scepter of God's Son.

XIII. What Witchcraft then is it, what heavy Judgment lies upon you, that you shou'd harden your hearts against this *Messiah*, in expectation of another, in whom the Prophecies of the *Messiah* can never meet (for the time is already past, as you your selves confess) against this *Messiah* who shed his Blood for you, who dy'd praying for you, who offer'd up himself a sacrifice to purchase eternal Redemption for you; which the Blood of Bulls and Goats could never do! The very Institution of sacrifices does declare, that God would require satisfaction for the sins of Men; and that without shedding of Blood there could be no remission; not of Blood less noble than our own; but of the great *Messiah*, of dignity and merit sufficient to make satisfaction for the sins of the whole World. And now I appeal to your selves, whether this Scheme of God, in *Christ*, reconciling to himself laps'd humanity; and thus triumphing over all the powers and malice of that Serpent the Devil, who seduc'd Man into disobedience, be not more worthy of God; a demonstration of greater power, and wisdom, and goodness; and a more literal fulfilling of that first Promise of the *Messiah*, than giving to any one Nation (tho' it were your own) the conquest over your Enemies, and a temporal reign upon Earth?

Yet this is the Objection you have against your second *Moses*, as against the first. Where is the *Inheritance of Fields and Vine yards* that was promis'd to us? You hanker after these poor perishing things, and neglect your eternal Inheritance; which was figur'd by them. You long more

Gen. iii. 15.

Num. xvii. 14.

more after an earthly than a heavenly *Canaan*; and for a little rest there, than a rest for ever. Therefore you reject our Spiritual, and chuse to your selves an earthly and fighting *Messiah*: But you cannot have him. And God, in Mercy, has turn'd you out of your beloved *Canaan*, and given it to the basest of Men, to take off your minds from it; and to instruct you that that is not the end of the Promise; and because you prefer it to the glorious Purchase that our *Messiah* has made for us; which the Angels desire to look into. But ye think *scorn of that pleasant Land*, where there is everlasting Victory, and Triumph, and Sabbath, and Jubilee! O shut not your eyes wilfully against your own Happiness! Call it to mind, and shew your selves Men. Is not this a more exalted and rational completion and archetype of your Law, than the Tables for municipal Statutes, to distinguish you of some short time from other People? If that be all the import, (as you would have it) of the whole glorious Dispensation to *Moses*: Was this worth or proportionable to that astonishing Appearance upon mount *Sinai*, and all that wonderful œconomy of Miracles, by which your Law was established? But if you will look (with us) to the end of your Law, then you will see every tittle and iota of your Law fulfill'd, exalted, glorify'd in the heavenly Reign of our *Messiah*, the second *Adam*; the innocent *Isaac* that was sacrific'd; the *Joseph* that was sold by his brethren, for their future Preservation; the *Moses* who delivers us out of *Ægypt*, the slavery and thralldom of Sin and Hell; and conducts us safe thro' the wilderness, the tentations and distresses of this wretched life; our *Josbua*, who opens our way into the heavenly *Canaan* thro' Faith; in whose blessed Passion and Sacrifice for us, when lifted up upon the Cross, like the Brazen Serpent in the Wilderness, the mortal biting of our spiritual Serpent the Devil is cur'd, and our Souls eternally sav'd. These are the glorious things that were shewn to *Moses* in the Mount; after which pattern he was commanded to frame the Tabernacle, and all the Institutions thereof, as Types and Shadows of those things (*by Faith* in which *the just shall live*) which were to be *perfected in the Heavens*. And will you now reject the pattern for the Types? Will you degrade your Law, to mean nothing beyond the outward senses? Nothing but what is visible and temporary? To have no spiritual and eternal signification? Do we therefore make void the Law? Yea, we establish the Law: We carry it whither it was intended: We shew an eternal and heavenly Light shining thro' it all, and every institution of it: We look with reverence and great veneration upon it, as the School-master that was ordain'd to bring us unto *Christ*, as the ladder that was set to climb up into Heaven. But you will not climb with us; you say that the top does not reach to Heaven, therefore you stop short upon the lower steps. The patriarchal Dispensation before the Flood was one step; the *Abrahamical* another; the *Mosaical* another; and you still expect another, the last and most perfect under the *Messiah*: Yet you reject it now it is come, and there is to be no other.

Be not afraid to lose your Law or your Prophets, you will hear them read every day in our Churches; and their true and full import explain'd and fulfill'd in the Gospel: For the Gospel is the best Comment upon the Law, and the Law is the best Expofitor of the Gospel: They are like a pair of Indentures, they answer in every part; their harmony is wonderful; and is of itself a conviction: No human contrivance could have reach'd it: There is a divine Majesty and Foresight in the answer of every Ceremony and Type to its completion. And there is one yet to be compleated. O the glorious day when that shall come! That is, the grafting you in again to your own *Olive-Tree*, the *Fatness*, the *Sweet*, the *Marrow* of your Law, fulfill'd in the *Messiah*. For we do believe, *that blindness*

Exod xxv.40.
Hab. ii. 4.

Rom. xi. 25,
26, &c.

is happen'd to Israel but in part, till the fulness of the Gentiles be come in; and so that all Israel shall be saved: For the gifts and calling of God are without Repentance. God hath concluded all, us first, and then you, in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all; that the praise may be to God, and not to us; that no flesh should glory in his presence. O the depth of the Riches both of the Wisdom and Knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his Judgments, and his Ways past finding out! For of him, and thro' him, and to him are all Things. To whom be Glory for ever. Amen.

XIV. But tho' the Judgments of God are in themselves unsearchable, yet they generally move in the road of second causes: And so far it is lawful for us to look into them; and sometimes necessary in order to our duty, as being not only brought upon us for our Sins, but continu'd by them: So that by discovering the causes, we may prevent or shorten our Judgments.

Therefore I would here enquire a little into some of those most visible causes which have all this time, and do still harden the *Jews* in their obstinacy, against the receiving the Doctrine of *Christ*.

And some of these are on the *Jews* side, and some on the Christians.

I. First for the *Jews*. They have since *Christ* came quite altered their own Doctrine and Topicks from whence they us'd to argue before, on purpose to avoid the plain proofs thence drawn for our *Jesus* being the *Messiah*. To instance in a few:

1. There are great presumptions, that they have alter'd and corrupted the very Text of their own Scriptures of the Old Testament, in those places which speak of the *Messiah*, which gave the marks of him, and pointed out the time of his coming. However this they cannot deny, that whether by the loss of the Vowels in the *Hebrew* Tongue, or from whatever cause, that Language is now render'd so uncertain, beyond any other in the World, as that one word bears many different significations, insomuch that every Text almost will afford perpetual jangling: Which has made some of your most learned *Rabbies* complain that your Scriptures are become, in the Words of the Prophet, before quoted, as a *Book seal'd up* to you: And that the true sense of them will not be known till the coming of the *Messiah*, who will restore the Vowels and right Knowledge of the *Hebrew* Tongue.

It is long since the *Hebrew* has ceas'd to be the vulgar Language of your Nation, and consequently to be well understood by the *Jews* themselves, who now learn it at Schools, as other Men do. *Josephus* complains of the loss of the *Hebrew* Tongue among the *Jews* in his time, and it was so long before.

This occasion'd that the *Greek* Translation of the seventy was publickly read in the *Jewish* Synagogues many years before the coming of *Christ*.

This Translation they thought to have been divinely inspir'd, and made great boasts of it; as you may read in *Josephus*, and many other of your Authors: And it continu'd in this reputation with you, and was read in your Synagogues till *Christ* came, and for about an hundred years after: Then you rejected it because of the plain proofs that were brought out of it for our *Jesus* being the *Messiah*; and set up the spurious *Greek* Translation of *Aquila*, who was an Heathen, a Christian, and a *Jew*, which he then made when the *Hebrew* Tongue was so greatly decay'd from that Purity which it confessedly retain'd when your seventy Priests made that famous Translation for *Ptolemy* King of *Aegypt*, about three hundred years before *Christ*: And was never question'd by any of you, but held in the highest

highest veneration all that time, till after the coming of our Saviour, because of the flagrant testimonies it bore to him: And were it now admitted as it formerly was amongst you, and as it truly is, the best comment at least, upon the *Hebrew* Text, to determine the sense of it when the words are doubtful, and (because of the present defect in that language) of various and different significations; I say if this were admitted, (which you cannot refuse, without casting reproach upon all your predecessors for three hundred years before *Christ*, who did admit it, and upon your selves for so doing, and confessing that you have done it unreasonably) you wou'd not be able to maintain your hold against Christianity. Are not the quotations of your Scriptures, which are in your learned *Philo*, (who liv'd in the days of *Christ* and his Apostles) and of others your chief *Rabbies* before that time, more according to the Translation of the seventy than of the *Hebrew* Text, as you have it at present? And what reason can you give why you dare not quote that Translation still? But because it renders the sense of the *Hebrew* so, as leads it directly upon our Saviour, and cannot be extended farther; and it cuts off those vain and precarious excuses which you would draw from the present uncertainty of the *Hebrew* Text. Yet none of your latter Expositions can pretend to any authority equal to that of the seventy, even your selves being the Judges. This shews that you are not dispos'd to find out the Truth, but bent to shut the door against it.

2. As the *Jews* have thus manifestly stood out against the conviction of the holy Scriptures, by inventing and using these Arts to corrupt them, at least to hide and obscure their true meaning; so have they for the same reason, *viz.* in prejudice to our *Messiah*, alter'd their former principles and notions, which they had received by Tradition from their Fathers. Thus finding that the notion of the *Λόγος*, or *Word of God*, which was universally receiv'd amongst the *Jews* before *Christ* came, and largely insisted upon by *Philo*, that learned *Jew*, even in the apostolical age, that, as before has been noted, he was God, and yet a distinct person from God, the Father of all; that he was *Χαρακτὴρ*, the express *Image of God*; the great *Δύναμις*, *Instrument* or *Power* by which God made the Worlds; the *Ἀρχηγός*, *Supream Archetypal*, *High-priest* and *Mediator* betwixt *God* and *Men*; of whom the High-priest under the Law was a Type and Figure, by outward communion with whom, Men were made capable of, and had a title to the inward and spiritual communion with the *Λόγος*, and by him of reconciliation and acceptance with God. From this notion of the *Λόγος*, St. *John* disputes according to the receiv'd principles of that age: And having prov'd *Christ* to be the *Λόγος*, he in his *Gospel*, *Epistle*, and *Revelation*, gives him the titles which were usually ascrib'd to the *Λόγος*, of *Light*, and *Life*, and *Truth*; and from having communion with him, infers that we have also communion with the Father. But the *Jews* finding that these principles led directly to the Divinity of our Saviour, and all that is said of him in the Gospel, presently forsook their own principles, and as early as *Justin Martyr* began to deny them; as *Trypho* the *Jew* did, and put *Justin* upon the proof of the *Λόγος*, being a divine Person, &c. which he did out of *Philo*, and other approv'd Authors of the *Jews*.

It is plain that the *Jews* thus understood it when they accus'd our Saviour of Blasphemy, and of making himself God, because he call'd himself the *Son of God*: For they call'd themselves the Sons of God, in a large sense, as so adopted, and in federal Covenant with God. But they knew it was the receiv'd notion among them, that the manner how the *Λόγος* was the *Son* or *Word of God*, was natural, as proceeding from the Nature of God; and that for any to call himself the Son of God, in this sense, was to make himself God: Whence it is plain that they thought the *Λόγος* to be *God*.

3. The *Jews* finding that the mystical and primary sense of their Law did refer to the *Messiah*, and was most exactly and particularly fulfill'd and compleated in our Saviour; rather than be convinc'd by this, they have now (as the learned *Jew* that disputed with * *Limborch*) deny'd that the Law was typical, or referred to any more perfect State: The contrary of which is plainly intimated, *Exod. xxv. 40*. From whence our Apostle convincingly argues, *Heb. viii. 5*. But the *Jews* now will have no Type in the Law, or the Office of the *Messiah* to extend beyond temporal Conquests, to any spiritual or heavenly Acquisitions; sticking in the bare Letter of the Law.

But *Philo*, and the *Jews* before him, did largely insist upon the mystical, which they made the principal end and intendment of the Law: As indeed it is, and most apparently so, if we duly consider the Law itself, and the Prophets, who often mind us of it: And without which they cannot be verify'd (as before is shewn) and their meaning runs low and contemptible, no way answering the Magnificence and Glories which are there reveal'd.

Gen. xlvii. 9. *Jacob* confess'd himself and his Fathers to be *Strangers* and *Pilgrims* on
Heb. xi. 14, the Earth: Whence our Apostle does argue very forcibly, *That they who*
15, 16. *say such things, declare plainly, that they seek a Country: And truly if they had been mindful of that Country from whence they came out, they might have had opportunity to have return'd; But now they desire a better Country, that is, an heavenly.* If the Land of *Canaan* had been all their view, and they had understood the Promise made to them of *Canaan* to have had no farther meaning than the Letter, only the temporal enjoyment of that pleasant Country, they needed not have wander'd from it as they did; for *they might have had Opportunity to have return'd* to it.

1 Chr. xxix.
15.

When *David* was in possession, and King of it, he declar'd himself to be then in a Pilgrimage, and a *Stranger* in it.

This shews they had a farther prospect, and that they extended the Promise made to them of *Canaan*, to mean principally and ultimately the heavenly *Canaan*; of which they understood the earthly *Canaan* only as a Type: And if *Canaan* it self was a Type, no doubt *Jerusalem* must be so too, and the Temple with all the Service of it, that is all your Law.

Your *Cabala* makes your outward Law but the *cortex* or shell of the hidden Mysteries that are contained it.

Yet you are now grown to that violent prejudice against this (tho' you would stick to your *Cabala* too, and think it divinely inspir'd) because it leads directly upon Christianity, that your learned *Jew* has set up this Principle † *Quod Cultus externus, ut talis, est interno multo perfectior*: And as a just consequence of this, *Quod externus non minus Deo gratus, quam internus, i. e. That the outward Worship, as such, is more perfect than the internal*. And therefore, *That the outward Worship is not less grateful to God than the internal*. These are the Titles of his Chapters. And the end of setting up these desperate Positions is, to obviate the christian Argument, That the inward and spiritual Worship is chiefly regarded by God: And consequently the inward and spiritual meaning of the Law is much preferable to the Letter and outward observances: That therefore there is a spiritual sense in the Law, which exceeds the Letter; or which is typify'd by it: That this is fulfill'd in *Christ*, who has thereby consummated and perfected the Law. To oppose this, the *Jews* are driven to that extremity, as here you see, to prefer the outward Worship, as such, to the inward; contrary to the tenor of their own Law, and their

* *Limbor. p. 62. & alibi.*

† *Limbor. Collat. n. xi. xii. p. 118, 120.*

Prophets, where the inward Circumcision of the Heart is so often inculcated and prefer'd to that outward in the Flesh: Nay the outward Institutions of the Law, where the inward and spiritual meaning and intendment of them is not regarded, are declar'd to be hateful and abomination to God. Isai. i. 11, 20
 The inward is not only prefer'd, (*I desire mercy and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings.* Hof. vi. 6. *Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire, but mine ears hast thou opened*) but, in respect to the inward, the outward are said not to have been commanded by God; Psal. lx. 6.
 that is, they were commanded for the sake of the inward: And therefore, Jer. vii. 22, 23.
 without respect to the inward, the outward were not commanded.

To rid you out of this perplexity, your learned Jew has advanc'd a strange sort of an Argument to maintain his Paradox before mention'd, of preferring the outward, as such, to the inward Worship and sense of the Law; where he explains his foresaid Position thus, That the outward is not to be suppos'd without the inward: And that the outward, as including the inward, is preferable to the inward. But this, instead of solving the case, makes no case at all of it. It is no more than this, whether two be not more than one? Whether both outward and inward be not more than the inward alone? Which no body will dispute with him. But then this cuts off all comparison betwixt the outward and the inward: And consequently makes no sense of those Texts before mentioned, and many others, where the same comparison is insisted upon. And when the Jew says, that the outward, as such, is preferable, &c. what does he mean by as such? Is it, the outward, as outward? Which any one would take to be the meaning. But his meaning, as he explains it, is, the outward, as such, that is, as both outward and inward.

So very thin, and contradictory are these strain'd excuses you have set up against the spiritual, which is the main and principal intendment of your Law: Because it cannot be fulfill'd but only in our blessed Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, and his spiritual Kingdom.

4. The modern Jews have, since *Christ's* time, gone away from the constant Tradition of their Fathers before *Christ* came, viz. That the *Messiah* wou'd shew himself to the World, and vouch his Commission by Miracles; of which sufficient has been said before. And this contrivance discovers plainly their guilt, that it is not conviction which they want, but that they are resolv'd not to be convinc'd. Joh. vii. 31.

5. They have not only departed from the Traditions of their Fathers; but they have invented new and strange conceits, of which their Fathers, before *Christ* came, never dreamt. As of two *Messiah's*, the one a suffering, the other a triumphing *Messiah*: To answer these two states of suffering and triumphing, which were foretold of the *Messiah*; and both fulfill'd in our blessed Saviour. To avoid which, the Jews, since his time, have invented these two *Messiah's*. The Jews, in our Saviour's time, even the Apostles themselves, till after his Resurrection, had not the true notion of the sufferings of the *Messiah*, much less of his Death. When he spoke of it, his Disciples rebuked him; and understood nothing of it. Matth. xvi. 22.
 And the Jews Luk. xviii. 34.
 told him, *We have heard out of the Law, that Christ abideth for ever*: Joh. xii. 34.
And how say'st thou, the Son of Man must be lift up? that is, crucify'd. They were looking out then, as you are now, for a temporal fighting *Messiah*, who shou'd restore again the kingdom to Israel. They thought not then of the sufferings of the *Messiah*: Far less did they dream of two Aet. i. 6.
Messiah's; one to suffer, the other to conquer. Luk. xxiv. 26.
 You can shew no footstep of any such Doctrine amongst the Jews before *Christ* came. And it shews the distress your latter Rabbies were driven to, when they cou'd find no shift, but so groundless and foolish an Invention: Which is of a piece with

with your other fulsom and ridiculous Legends (before mention'd) of the *Messiah's* sitting these one thousand six hundred years amongst the *Lepers* at the Gates of *Rome*. That he is in Paradise, but ty'd in a Womans Hair that he cannot come. The mad and nonsensical Stories of your *Behemoth* and *Leviathan*: Of God's weeping when your City was destroy'd: Of his daily study in the reading of your Law: And such other delirious fancies, as shew the greatness of your Judgment, threaten'd 2 *Theff.* II. II. and visibly fulfill'd upon you, more than upon any People, God sending you strong delusion, that you shou'd believe such monstrous, and even contradictory lies; because you received not the truth, that ye might be saved; but had pleasure in unrighteousness, in such rabbinical and shameless Fopperies, they deserv'd not to be call'd Forgeries, on purpose to elude the infallible demonstrations which our *Jesus* gave of his being the *Messiah*. These are the great, tho' pitiful Obstacles, on the *Jews* side, which hinder their embracing of Christianity.

II. I come now to other Obstacles, which lie on the *Christians* side.

First, The learned *Jew* that disputes with *Limborch**, complains of the great scandal given to the *Jews* in the Popish Countries.

1. By the Idolatry which they see practis'd there. They cannot bear to see the great God painted like an Old Man in their Churches and Mass-Books, in their Shops and Houses, and publickly sold by allowance: This they take to be the sin so strictly prohibited, *Deut.* IV. 15, 16. in the many other Scriptures. Besides their worshipping of Saints, Angels, &c. See *Sandys's Speculum Europæ*.

2. There is another strange sort of Impediment, which the *Jews* have met with in Popish Countries; that is, That if any of them turn'd Christians, they forfeited all their Estates, on pretence that they or their Ancestors had got them by Usury. Of this several good Men in the Church of *Rome* have complain'd; as *Bradwardinus*, l. I. de *Causa Dei*, chap. I. *Coroll.* part 32. *Cardinalis a S. Severina in Catechismo generali pro Catechum.* cap. 20. *Gasparus Belga a Jesuit, in Epist. Ormutina (est inter Epistolas Indicas)* wrote An. 1549. speaking of one *Rabbi Solomon*, who desir'd Baptism, says, that he, and many others would have embrac'd Christianity, if it had not been for that Law amongst the Christians, that they should be oblig'd to restore whatever they had got by Usury. This I have taken out of *Hornbeck contr. Judæos. Lugdun. Batav. An. 1655. in Prolegom.* p. 31. where he cites more Authorities; as of *Job. Gerson apud Bo-chellum. tit. de Judæis.* and amongst us, *Edwin Sandys, de Statu Relig.* cap. 41. *Georgius Theodorus, de statu Judæorum in Repub. Christian.* cap. 9. He says that this custom was taken away by a particular Bull of Pope *Paul III.* by the Council of *Basil.* Sess. 19. And of *Lateran*, under *Alexander III.* c. 26. How it is at this day at *Rome*, in *Spain*, *Portugal*, and other Popish Countries, I cannot tell; but Sir *Edwin Sandys* in his Book before-quoted, wrote An. 1599. says, that when he was in *Italy*, the same forfeitures were still exacted of the *Jewish* Converts, except where the Pope gave dispensation; which he knew was granted only to some few Physicians, their gains not being suppos'd as got by Usury: But it stopp'd the Conversion of others.

Secondly, I come now to the reformed Churches, where the *Jews* meet with neither of the fore-mentioned impediments: But whether many of the *Jews* do come out of the *Popish* Countries, as the learned *Jew* confesses to

* *Limbor. Collat.* p. 102.

Limborch, on purpose to avoid the Idolatry in the Church of *Rome*, to which many of them are forced to comply, to save their Lives or estates; and others are tempted to it, and counterfeit Christianity for the sake of preferments, especially in *Spain* and *Portugal*, as before has been told; and whence many of them do fly into *Holland*, where there is universal Liberty of Conscience, and that they may profess and practise their *Judaism* openly: This has brought so many of them into *Holland*, more than to other of the Countries reformed.

1. But there is another sort of impediment which they meet with there, that is, the various Sects which are tolerated, and own'd as Churches, tho' most opposite and contradictory to one another. This goes violently against the fixed and stated principle of the *Segullah* or *Peculium*, which God deliver'd to the *Jews* from the beginning, and implies the true notion of a Church, as being a *Peculium* or select Society, gather'd from amongst the rest of Mankind; under Governors and Laws, with promises and privileges of their own, peculiar to themselves, and independent of all others upon the Earth. Now the *Jews* cannot think this *Segullah* transferred to a christian Church, where there is no notion of any *Segullah* at all; or such a lame one, as admits and excludes no body. A Park without Pales! Which reduces the Church from a Society to a Sect, only to believe such things, without being subject to the Governors or Laws of the Society, without any principle of Unity. A Church without a Bishop! A Body without a Head! This *Latitudinarian* no-principle is so perfectly adverse to the receiv'd notion of the *Jews* all along, that they can as easily believe no Faith as no Church: And can never think their Faith terminated or fulfill'd in that Church, whose constitution is not fram'd alike to theirs: For how otherwise was theirs a Type of ours? A Type is so call'd from its likeness to what it does represent: And what resemblance is there betwixt the Church in *Jerusalem*, under one High-priest; and in *Holland*, where Episcopacy, of which that was the Image, is abolished? What agreement betwixt the Temple, into which none were admitted but Proselytes to the Constitution as well as Faith of the *Jews*; and that Church whose doors are open to all comers and goers; which has no Communion, by admitting of all Communions; and makes no Communion necessary? How was the one Altar of the *Jewish* Church a Type of Altar against Altar in every Parish? Of one hundred opposite Altars, that is, Communions, at *Amsterdam*, yet all acknowledg'd to belong to the christian Church? It is true, opposite Communions may agree in many things, as all do in some things; but how they can be call'd one Church, is as difficult for a *Jew* to apprehend, as a Church without a Communion, that is, a Society which has no Society. A Church, and not a *Peculium*, is an open Inclosure: And a Society without Government is as great a contradiction. And other Government than monarchical in the Church the *Jews* never understood, nor did God ever appoint: Not that all Churches in the World should have one visible and universal Head upon Earth; more than all the Kingdoms of the Earth are to have one universal Monarch under God; to whom the whole World is one Kingdom, tho' compos'd of many different and independent Kingdoms: As the one catholick Church may consist of many independent Churches, which all make one Church to Christ. Of each of these under her own Bishop, the Church of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem* (being itself a particular Church) was a Type under her High-priest. And as he was a Type of Christ, the *Messiah*, the archetypal and universal High-priest and Bishop of the catholick Church; so the Church of the *Jews* may be call'd a Type also of the universal Church; as that Nation was a Type of the whole World; of which the High-priest wore a representation as well as of the *Segullah*, as before

has been observ'd from *Wisd. xviii. 24.* For God is King of all the Earth, tho' more especially of his Church.

The miraculous performance of that Promise of Perpetuity which God made to the Nation of the *Jews* has been discours'd before; but here I would take notice of one great means by which it has been brought to pass: Which is, the strict notion that the *Jews* still retain of the *Segullah*. Those many *Myriads* of them, who, at first, went over to Christianity, found as strict a notion of the *Segullah* there; and saw how it was transferred, as from the beginning it was intended, from the *Segullah* of *Moses*, to that of the *Messiah*. It was indeed but the same Church or *Segullah* under different oeconomies or dispensations. But those whose eyes were blinded, that they saw not this, remain'd in their Infidelity, and stuck to their old *Segullah*: And God, who brings good out of evil, has made this a means, the great means, of keeping them a distinct People to this day. For should the *Jews* turn so much *Latitudinarians* as to lose this notion of the *Segullah*, and grow indifferent in their rites and customs; if they should inter-marry with the Nations whither they are scatter'd, and conform to their customs and manners; they would soon lose both their Name and Religion; and by being mix'd with the rest of the World, grow undistinguish'd from them, as a River when it is emptied into the Ocean.

If it be objected, that then the aforesaid Promise of God would be broken, of preserving them for ever a distinct People; and therefore, that this Promise stands in the way against their conversion:

I answer, that it did not stand in the way against their conversion in the beginning of Christianity; for the *Jews* who then turn'd Christians did not at all, for that, lose their Name or Nation: And they were plainly distinguish'd from the converts of the *Gentiles*.

Acts vi. i. xxi.
25.

Mat. x. 5.

Luke xxiv.
47.

Acts x.

Acts xi.

Joh. x. 16.

Mat. xx.

To make this more clearly understood, let us consider, that when *Christ* first sent forth his Apostles, their Commission was limited to the *Jews* only, in the strictest sense; *Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any City of the Samaritans enter ye not. But go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.* Here the *Samaritans*, tho' *Jews*, are excluded because they were Schismatics, and not strictly within the *Segullah*. And thus it continu'd all *Christ's* Life-time: The Gospel went not without the pale of the *Segullah*. After *Christ's* Resurrection, then he extended their commission farther, and bade them go and preach among all Nations, but still beginning at *Jerusalem*: To shew that there the christian *Segullah* was first establish'd, and derived from thence, as from the root, to spread among all nations. But it appears not that the Apostles, even long after that time, understood the full extent of this their commission: For till the Vision of the *Sheet*, *Peter* himself did not know that the *Gentiles* were capable of being admitted into the christian *Segullah*: Of which he was convinc'd by a great Miracle then shewn in the descent of the Holy Ghost upon *Cornelius*, &c. which satisfy'd the rest of the Church who contended with him, for his preaching to the *Gentiles*. So that till this time the christian *Segullah* consisted of none but of the *Jews* only: Into which the *Gentile* Profelytes were afterwards admitted, even as into the *Jewish Segullah* under the Law. *Christ* foretold the future calling of the *Gentiles*: *Other Sheep I have which are not of this Fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my Voice*, said *Christ* to the *Jews*: And signify'd to them, that the *Gentile* converts should at last be made equal to them, and in some respects be preferred before them, in that parable of those call'd at the eleventh hour; and that the first call'd should be last, and the last, first. He shewed likewise that his Mercy extended even to the *Gentiles*, by his Compassion to the Woman of *Canaan*: But at the same time he asserted the prerogative of the *Segullah*,

or

or Church of the *Jews*: Whom he calls the Children, in comparison of Matth. xv. 26. whom the *Gentiles*, were but *Dogs*, (as it is express'd, *Rev. xxxii. 15.*) that is, out of the *Segullah*. *I am not sent* (said *Christ* to her) *but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel*; that is, the *Segullah* was to be set up only with them, to whom only he himself preach'd: The *Gentiles* were to come in only as Profelytes to the *Jews*. And that not by the Ministry of *Jesus* himself, but only of his Apostles, after his Ascension. In all things the preference was given to the *Jews*. And the Christian *Segullah* was first fixed amongst them. They are the *natural Branches*. *Theirs is Christ*, Rom. xi. 24. the Apostles and first Christian Church. And we freely confess, as our Blessed Lord has taught us, that *Salvation is of the Jews*. He reveal'd Joh. iv. 22. not himself to the *Gentiles*, he wou'd not answer a word to *Herod*, or *Pontius Pilate*: But he declar'd himself expressly to your High-Priest Luk. xxiii. 9. and *Sanhedrin*. He did good to all, even to the *Gentiles*, and heal'd their Matth. xxvii. 14. sick; his mercy is over all his works: But much more eminently to his Church, his *Segullah*. The *Childrens Meat* is reserved only for them: There only it is to be had. Therefore all are invited to go thither for it. All are capable of being adopted Children, by their admission into the *Segullah*: And the Children who forsake it, or are justly turn'd out of it, fall to the condition of *Dogs*, *for without are Dogs*.

The twelve Apostles were chosen with respect to the *Segullah* of the twelve Tribes. Our Saviour himself makes the allusion; when he said to them: *Ye shall sit upon twelve Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of Israel*. And the Names of the twelve Tribes are describ'd as written upon Matth xix. 28. the twelve Gates of the *New Jerusalem*; and answering thereunto, the Rev. xxi. 12, Names of the twelve Apostles, upon the twelve Foundations. Then the calling of the *Gentiles* after the *Jews*, was in the like manner signify'd in the number of the *seventy* whom our Lord ordained some time after the Luk. x. 1. Apostles. For the *Jews* divided the World into seventy Nations; there being just so many Sons of *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japheth*, recorded in the x. of *Gen.* who are said to be divided, after their Tongues, and after their Nations. Thence the *Jews* conclude, that there were seventy Nations, and seventy Languages, the Languages distinguishing the Nations; because each sort'd to those of his own Language; and so those of each Language made a distinct Nation. It would be hard otherwise to conjecture how the World shou'd be divided into several Nations, without such a force and necessity put upon them, and leading them, I may say, irresistibly into it, by the miraculous division of Languages. For we cannot very easily suppose, that the whole World shou'd meet together, to canton it out into several Nations, by a free and equal Vote, and to number out who, and how many shou'd belong to each Nation, and to name all the Kings or Governors of each Nation, as it is done in the x. of *Gen.*

Now the *Jews* believe that this division of the World into seventy Nations, was done by God with a particular respect to his *Segullah* to be afterwards set up in *Israel*; whose Sons, that descended with him into *Aegypt*, are recorded, *Gen. xlv.* and are just seventy. They think this to be intimated, *Deut. xxxii. 8.* where it is said, *When the most High divided to the Nations their Inheritance, when he separated the Sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the People according to the number of the Children of Israel*. And *Y. 7.* shews this to have been a Tradition of the *Jews* in the days of *Moses*.

Therefore, as our blessed Saviour sent out at first twelve Apostles, with respect to the twelve Tribes, and limited them to preach to none other: So did he afterwards appoint other seventy also, with respect to the other Nations of the World, who were, in time, to be brought into the *Segullah*.

And

And it is observable, that in the Commission given to the seventy, *Luke* x. there is no such restriction as is given to the twelve, *Matth.* x. 5. of not going to the *Gentiles*, or *Samaritans*. Tho' the Door was not fully open'd to the *Gentiles*, till the *Vision* of the Sheet, *Act.* x. as before has been said.

After this, the *Gentiles* came in abundantly to the *Segullab*. But the first Christian Church was wholly of the *Jews*, and establish'd in *Jerusalem*; whose Bishop did answer to the High-Priest; and was the Principle of Unity to the Christian *Jews*, as the High-Priest was to the other. So that the *Segullab* was preserv'd intire; only transferr'd from the *Jewish* High-Priest, to the *Jewish* Bishop. It was not the *Gentiles* who converted the *Jews* to Christianity; but the *Jews* converted the *Gentiles*. And the *Gentiles* came into the Christian *Jewish* Church; and appeal'd to it, upon all occasions. And thus it continu'd till after the destruction of *Jerusalem*. But the Name of *Jews* seems to have been appropriated to the Infidel *Jews* upon their many and notorious Rebellions, under their several *False-Messiah's*; in which the Christian *Jews* were not concern'd, nor in the punishments and odium which thereupon follow'd, nor in the Laws that were made against the *Jews*; and so, by degrees, came to lose the Name of *Jews*, and become undistinguish'd from the *Gentile* Christians: For then the Name of *Jew* grew by Custom, to be a discrimination of Religion, and not only of a Nation: So that when a *Jew* now turns a Christian, he is no longer call'd a *Jew*.

But when the time shall come (God send) that there will be a general Conversion of the *Jews*, then there will be no reason to take from them the Name of *Jews*: That Name will then only distinguish their Nation. And it will then, no doubt, be the most honourable of any upon the Earth: *Rom. ix. 4, 5.* *To whom pertaineth the Adoption, and the Glory, and the Covenants, and the giving of the Law, and the Service of God, and the Promises; whose are the Fathers; and of whom, as concerning the Flesh, Christ came.*

Then it will no longer be thought a reproach in *Spain* and *Portugal* to own, that they are (as before has been quoted from the learned *Jew*) descended of the race of the *Jews*; and to take that Name upon themselves. And other Nations will strive for the same Privilege. Then may be fulfill'd, even literally, what is written, *Isai. xlii. 5.* *One shall say I am the Lords; and another shall call himself by the Name of Jacob: And another shall subscribe with his hand unto the Lord, and surname himself by the Name of Israel.* And thus the Name and Nation of the *Jews* will be magnify'd and exalted above all that are upon the face of the Earth; and perpetuated according to the forementioned Promise of God, while Sun and Moon shall endure. And then, when the fulness of the *Gentiles* shall come in, the *Jews* will be the head, and not the tail, and, as God has promis'd you, *Deut. xxviii. 17. 12.* *Thou shalt be above only; and thou shalt not be beneath. And the Lord thy God shall set thee on high, above all the Nations of the Earth.*

Then shall the ten Tribes appear: Who now perhaps are the greatest Monarchies upon Earth: And then will be acknowledg'd as such.

See what a glorious state of your Nation depends upon your Conversion! And it may be more glorious than all this that I have said: Even all that temporal Grandeur and Empire which you expect. Tho', when all that is done, it comes infinitely short of the heavenly and eternal glories, which our *Messiah* has purchas'd for us: And of which all these earthly greatneses are, in their utmost extent, but faint types and shadows; and therefore far from the primary and ultimate intendment of the Law; which is already fulfill'd in the spiritual conquests and reign of our *Messiah* over all the powers of Hell and Death.

I take not upon me to determine, that the Preservation of the Name and Nation of the *Jews*, upon their Conversion, will be just as I have said. But this we may depend upon, that the Promise of God will be fulfill'd; and that he will never want means to bring it to pass: And therefore, that the Conversion of the *Jews* will be no hindrance to the perpetuating of their Name and Nation, as he has promis'd.

And let their Conversion begin (*cum Bono Deo*) in this Church and Nation; where the good providence of God has prepar'd the way, by freeing you *Jews* here from those Obstacles which obstruct your way in other Christian Countries. Here you see no Images or Pictures of the great God in our Churches; nothing in our worship which you can call Idolatry or Superstition. * Here you may see an Episcopacy, Presbyters, and Deacons, answerable to your High-Priest, Priests, and *Levites*: And the *Segullah* of the Temple perpetuated and continu'd in the Church: In which, as in the Temple, and now in your Synagogues, the publick Service and Worship of God is celebrated in the vulgar Language of the Nation, with the Solemnity and Gravity of a well compos'd and digested Liturgy. And lastly, here are no Forfeitures or Mulcts upon you for your acknowledging and returning to your true *Messiah*: But you may reasonably presume, that all due encouragement will be given to you towards so glorious a change: And to convince you, that we seek not yours but you. The Lord open your eyes.

2. Let me add, that you will be here free from another great scandal which you have met with more frequently in *Holland*, that is, *Socinianism*, to which some, that oppos'd you there, made too near approaches. And if they had converted you, it had not been to Christianity; but rather to Idolatry, in paying divine honours and adoration to *Christ*, while they suppose him but a Creature. † And they deny any to be Christians who refuse this divine adoration and invocation to *Christ*. Whereby they have excluded all our *English* Unitarians (as the *Socinians* here call themselves) from being Christians, who deny this to *Christ*; tho' they sometimes (when they boast of their antiquity and universality) derive themselves from these transmarine *Socinians*; and pretend to be of one faith with them. But your learned *Jew* before-mention'd, argues against them, that *Christ* cou'd not be the Heavenly King, unless he were God himself (whatever the *Socinians* dream to the contrary) because that no mere Creature cou'd be present and assist every where. ‡ *Non potest esse Rex cælestis, nisi fuerit Deus ipse (quidquid Sociniani contrarium somniaverint) etenim nulla pura Creatura potest ubique assistere & providere.* This vast prejudice you will likewise avoid in the Church of *England*, where these *Socinian* Heresies, on both sides, are detested and exploded.

If you take scandal that such differences shou'd be amongst those who call themselves Christians, remember that your *Sadducees* deny'd the Resur- A. 23. 8.
rection, and both *Angels and Spirits*; which takes away the future State of Heaven. ** And this you now believe, and make it a great Article of your Creed; and say, that it was always the faith of the *Jews*; therefore you cannot object it against us, that there shou'd be divisions, even in fundamental points, and Schisms amongst us; since there has been the same amongst your selves, your *Samaritans*, *Saducees*, &c. And you will not think that this hurts the truth, to those who hold it.

III. There is yet one great, and the Master difficulty of all, that stops the way to your Conversion, which I have reserv'd to consider by it self

* Hierom ad Evagr. † Racov. Catech. Sect. 6. c. 1. ‡ Limbor. Collat. p. 69.

** Limbor. Collat. p. 106.

in this last place, because it is the foundation of all those that lie on your side: And which, if clearly remov'd, will compleat your Conversion so far as to leave you no other defence, but plain obstinacy. It is that loose and precarious account which you give of the ground and foundation of your faith, on purpose to avoid that demonstration which there is for the truth of the Gospel, and as said before, there is the same for the truth of the Law: But you will rather quit that irrefragable and sure foundation, and lose the certainty of your Law, than yield to the shame or greater certainty that there is for the Gospel: Or otherwise you have not yet known the true foundation upon which you ought to stand.

For the learned *Jew* * before mention'd establishes the faith of the *Jews*, not upon any grounds of certainty of which other Men may judge besides the *Jews*, which are common to all Men, and stand upon the general reason and conviction of Mankind: But only upon the credit they are to give to their Fathers; not as Men but as their Fathers, and as they stand in that particular relation to them: For God (says he) *does not send us to the Gentiles, to ask of them; but bids us ask only of our Fathers, and give full credit to them.* And therefore (continues he) *if the Tradition of our Fathers told us the same of Moses, as it does of Christ, that is, That those matters of fact which are written of him in the Law, were not so done as he there tells; we shou'd as little believe Moses, or what he wrote, as we do the Gospel; which we disbelieve for the same reason, viz. Because our Fathers tell us, that those things related in the Gospel, were not so done, as is there related.*

Ans. 1. Your Fathers have not told you so: They have confess'd to the matters of fact recorded in the Gospels. Nor can you deny them, without answering the first part of this Discourse, and joyning with the Deists against all Revelations whatsoever, as well those made to *Moses*, as those given by *Christ*. Your Fathers indeed said, that *Christ* wrought wonderful works by the power of *Beelzebub*: But that is confessing to the matter of fact: And may be objected against the Miracles of *Moses*, or any other whatsoever. Which is before consider'd, p. 37

But as your Fathers who believ'd not in *Christ*, when he came, cou'd not, nor did they deny the matters of fact of *Christ*; and so give the strongest sort of evidence, that of Enemies, to the truth of them; and consequently, to the truth of his Doctrine, which they were brought to vouch: So, as before is told, p. 60. many Myriads of your Fathers did embrace his Doctrine; and by the computation there made, there must be many more Myriads of their Posterities, than of the Infidel *Jews*. So that here the question is not betwixt the Tradition of your Fathers and of the *Gentiles*; but of those of your Fathers who did believe, and those who did not believe in *Christ*. For Christianity is nothing else but a Tradition of the *Jews*; to which the *Gentiles* did come in: For as shewn before, the first Christian Church was wholly *Jewish* without any mixture of the *Gentiles* for a considerable time.

Now then, since you have the Tradition of your Fathers on both sides, what method are you to take? What method did you take in the contrary Traditions of the ten Tribes, which grew among them in succeeding Ages, after their defection to Idolatry, under *Jeroboam*? Your learned *Jew* † gives a good Rule, *viz.* To recurr to the original pretended of each Tradition; and there see upon what foundation it began. That of *Moses* was grounded upon Miracles exhibited before all the People. Not so of *Jeroboam*, who pretended to no such thing; only to give a different exposition

* Limborc. Collat. p. 130.

† Limborc. Collat. N. v. p. 138, 140.

of the Law of *Moses* to countenance his Idolatry; which Exposition became, in time, a Tradition to their posterities.

And this is exactly your case, as to Christianity. Your Fathers did at first embrace it upon the conviction of those many Miracles shewn publicly before their faces; but those of your Fathers who did not believe, did not deny the matters of fact, only put a different construction upon them, saying that they were wrought by *Beelzebub*.

And those *Jews* who believed and their posterities, are many more (as before shewn) than those *Jews* who remained in their Infidelity: If that were an argument: For the Tradition of two Tribes was true, and that of ten was false. Therefore we must recurr to the Original, and that must determine the Tradition on either side. And the argument insisted upon in the first part against the Deists stands wholly and irrefragably on our side: And besides has the Tradition of all your Fathers, so far as to acknowledge the matters of fact (which in consequence is the whole) and the major number were convinc'd by them: Or if not the major number then, yet certainly much more so now in their posterities; having, by the miraculous Providence of God, escap'd the dreadful Destruction at *Jerusalem*, and under your several false *Messiah's*, which pursu'd those of your Fathers only who harden'd themselves in their obstinacy against *Christ*. So that the Tradition of your Fathers does not lie in your way, to prejudice you against Christianity: The most it can oblige you to is to examine the several Traditions of your Fathers: And that is it to which we would invite you. Consider then first the Tradition of your christian Fathers, who call themselves by the name of their *Messiah*, as you have done by the names of your Fathers, *Heber*, and *Israel*, and *Judah*: And this was foretold by the Prophet, *Thou shalt be call'd by a new name, which the Mouth of the Lord shall name*. Therefore tho' these your Fathers have lost the name of *Jews*, yet they may say in the words of the same Prophet, *Doubtless thou art our Father, tho' Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not; thou, O Lord, art our Father, our Redeemer, thy Name is from everlasting*. This is an everlasting Name by which they are now call'd, even the Name of our God; whereas they were heretofore call'd only by the name of your Fathers in the Flesh; but now of your Father in Heaven. Consider I say the Tradition of these your christian Fathers, that it is on the affirmative side; whereas the Tradition of your unbelieving Fathers is altogether upon the negative, particularly in that great article of our Faith the Resurrection of *Christ*: Which being done in the sight only of a few Soldiers who were capable of being brib'd, you trust wholly to their no evidence, that *his Disciples stole him away while they slept*. For how could they know this if they were asleep? Yet this is all the foundation you have for your negative. But for the affirmative, there were *many infallible proofs*, *Christ being seen of his Disciples forty days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God. He was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve, after that he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part (says our Apostle) remain unto this present, when he wrote*. These were too many to be *brib'd*, not with *large money*, as you gave to the Soldiers, but with stripes and imprisonments and death, to have conceal'd such a forgery; when any one of them might not only have avoided these Persecutions, but, no doubt, have got much more large money than you gave to the Soldiers for such a foolish excuse as they made: For any one of these five hundred could have effectually discover'd the contrivance, if it was one, and stifled Christianity in its cradle: And one evidence on that side would at that time have born down five hundred on the other. And the Christians putting you to the tryal of this, when these

Isa. lxii. 3.

Isa. lxiii. 16.

Acts i. 3.

1 Cor. xv. 5, 6, 7, 8.

Mat. xxviii. 12.

these many witnesses were alive: And that not one of them could be tamper'd with either by bribes or threats! That all should stand it out even to the death!

But we have surer evidence than all this, even infallible. And that is, the many Miracles which the Apostles shew'd in attestation to the truth of this: Miracles as flagrant and notorious as those which *Christ* himself had wrought: And which have all the four marks before-mentioned, that do infallibly demonstrate the truth of any matter of fact.

These are the grounds of the Tradition of your christian Fathers.

And all the ground for the Tradition of your unbelieving Fathers is nothing else but that senseless story of the Soldiers, sufficiently ridiculous to confute itself, were there no evidence at all on the other side.

Let me add to this, that your christian Fathers had all these difficulties to struggle with, which do now keep you back from Christianity: They hung as much as you upon the expectation of a temporal Kingdom of the *Messiah*. The very Apostles of our Lord were not wrought off of this, all the time that he liv'd with them: And they resum'd their hopes of it after his Resurrection. They were ignorant of his Resurrection: *For as yet they knew*

Acts i. 6.

Joh. xx. 9.

Luke xxiv.

11.

Joh. xx. 25,

27.

Luke xxiv.

39. to 49.

not the Scriptures, that he must rise again from the dead. And so far were they from concerting of this, that they would not believe it when it was first told them by those who had seen it: *Their Words seem'd to them as idle Tales, and they believed them not.* And when all the other Apostles had seen the Lord, yet would not *Thomas* believe even them, till he had more than even ocular demonstration, to thrust his *Hand into his Side*, and put his *Finger into the print of the Nails*. Nor was this peculiar to *Thomas*: For when *Christ* appeared first to the rest, they were as hard to believe: And he afforded them the like demonstration, not only to see and hear him speak to them, but to handle him, and examine the Wounds in his *Hands and Feet*, and farther, to eat before them. And as a yet more forcible conviction, he minded them how he had told them all this before: And that it was agreeable to the Scriptures of the Old Testament; *And he said unto them, these are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfill'd which were written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me. Then opened he their Understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures, and said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the Dead the third Day: And that Repentance and remission of Sins should be preached in his Name among all Nations, beginning at Jerusalem: And ye are witnesses of these things.* Our blessed Lord suffer'd his Disciples to be thus slow in believing, thereby to confirm our Faith the more; but he would not permit them to proceed upon their mission, notwithstanding of all this evidence, till they should have yet farther credentials, such as no Man could refuse without the highest obstinacy, and which is the utmost that God can outwardly exhibit, that is, the Power of Miracles. *But tarry ye* (says he) *in the City of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with Power from on high.* And this was granted them at first by a most stupendious Miracle, in the descent of the Holy Ghost at *Pentecost*, inspiring them, in an instant, with all Languages: Which was visible not only to the *Jews*, but to multitudes of other Nations, then at *Jerusalem*: *And the same day about three thousand were converted.* And by the many Miracles which the Apostles were enabled to work afterwards, many *Mucjades*, *Myriads* of the *Jews*, and a great company of your *Priests* were obedient to the Faith. These were your Fathers; therefore reject not their Tradition. Compare with this the Tradition of your other Fathers, who believed not; which is built only upon a negative, of which there is no proof at all. Then

Acts ii. 41.

Acts xxi. 20.

vi. 7.

Then I desire you to recollect what has been said before, from p. 77. to p. 79. of your having forsaken the constant Tradition of your Fathers before *Christ* came, in so many particulars as are there set down; and having invented new and contrary Traditions on purpose to prejudice your selves against Christianity. See likewise before *Seet. IV.* p. 46.

And if Traditions must take place, why not the most ancient? These sure are most authentick: And they are more Traditions than the latter; for it is age that makes Tradition: Yet you reject the most ancient Traditions of your Fathers, while you set up their Tradition as your only infallible rule!

This is the first answer I give to your objection of following the Tradition of your Fathers, upon which you lay so great a stress; and which being remov'd, you will have little left to say. But tho' I think this answer very sufficient, yet because this is the main hinge of the controversy, as your learned *Jew* has stated it, and insists mightily, and almost solely upon it, thro' all his dispute with *Limborch*; and thence we may reasonably suppose that it is the *jugulum causa*, the last effort you have to defend your selves; I will therefore proceed upon it, even as stated by your selves, and shew farther the weakness of it, supposing that none of your Fathers had embrac'd Christianity.

Ans. 2. This as stated by your selves, is running into that circle in which the Church of *Rome* have intangled themselves, of proving the authority of the Church by the Scriptures, and the authority of the Scriptures from the Church: Which cannot be avoided while, in this dispute, they consider the Church as exercising any act of authority; for that authority must be prov'd before it can be acknowledg'd: And if it be prov'd from the Scripture, and the Scripture receives its authority from the Church, then the authority of the Church is prov'd only from the authority of the Church.

But if the Church be brought herein only as a witness, with the rest of Mankind, upon the common reason and principles of Mankind; the assurance of the senses of Mankind, and the infallible manner of deducing matters of fact from former ages, and distinguishing the true from the false, and those which are certainly true, from those which only may be true (which is the method taken in the first part of this discourse) then the authority of the holy Scriptures, and the facts therein contained, being established upon the common principles of Mankind, the Church may justly build her authority upon what she finds given to her in the holy Scriptures.

And thus may you justly argue from what you find attributed to your Church by the Law; having first vouched the truth of the matters of fact of *Moses*, as deliver'd in your Law, from the notoriety of the facts, and impossibility of any imposture therein, as is done in the first part.

But if, as this your learned *Jew* does, you ground the truth of *Moses* himself and all that is said of him in your Law, and consequently of the Law it self, upon that credit only which your Law bids you to have to your Fathers, as being your Fathers; you give up the whole cause, you run into the circle of believing the Law for your Fathers, and your Fathers for the Law, which is proving the same thing by itself.

Ans. 3. Your *Samaritans* vouch'd the Tradition of your Fathers and theirs against you: *Our Fathers worshipped in this Mountain, and ye say that in Jerusalem is the place where Men ought to worship.* Joh. iv. 20.

Your ten Tribes did vouch likewise the Tradition of their Fathers for their Idolatries and many vile abominations: Nay even the two Tribes in their captivity vouched the same; *We will burn Incense unto the Queen of Heaven, and pour out Drink offerings unto her, as we have done, we* Jer. xlv. 17.

and our Fathers, our Kings, and our Princes, in the Cities of Judah, and in the Streets of Jerusalem.

If you say, that they deviated in this from the Law; and that in this case we must have recourse to the first giving of the Law, and the ocular evidence that was then shewn to all the People of its being sent to them from God, as has been before quoted from your learned *Jew*; I answer, that this is still appealing from the Tradition of your Fathers; and shews that there is something else to be look'd to: This is owning that there may be a corrupt Tradition of your Fathers.

And therefore tho' the *Jews* were bidden to learn these things from their Fathers, who had seen them, (there was all the reason in the World for it, for they could learn them from none other) yet the assurance and credibility of what their Fathers had seen was not grounded upon that relation in which they stood to them, as being their Fathers; but as their Fathers were Men, and as such could not be deceiv'd in what they saw and heard: And the assurance of that Tradition by which these facts were convey'd to after-ages, was not solely grounded upon the kindness and affection of their Fathers, who cannot be suppos'd willing to impose upon their posterities, as this learned *Jew* does argue; but upon the nature of the Tradition, which was incapable of any imposture, as has been argued in the first part.

For other Men will pretend to the same kindness towards their children as the *Jews*: And Men that are deceiv'd themselves, will transmit their deceits to their Children: Thus all Errors are continu'd. Therefore we must recurr to the original, and there examine the truth upon the common principles of Mankind; and see how this has been transmitted to us; and bring the nature of the Tradition to the standard of the same common principles.

But if the *Jews* will stick to the Tradition of their Fathers, as the ultimate rule, from which there is to be no appeal, then they must stick to all their Traditions, right or wrong: For if they pretend to any rule whereby to judge of their Traditions, then their Traditions are not the ultimate rule.

And it is strange to see how far this false notion has carry'd the *Jews*, even to acknowledge no other certain proof of the being of a God, but the Law of *Moses*; nor any other for that, but the Tradition of their Fathers, which I come next to insist upon.

Ans. 4. This foundation which the *Jews* have given of their Faith, can never convert any other People to their Religion; because others have the same deference for their Fathers, as the *Jews* have for theirs: And the *Jews* can give no reason for the contrary. Therefore the *Jews* insisting only upon the Tradition of their Fathers, without farther proof, give the same liberty to all in whatsoever they have receiv'd from their Fathers.

This our learned *Jew* confesses: For being prest by *Limborch* to shew what Arguments the *Jews* have against the Heathen, he freely owns, that they have none at all; and bestows a whole Chapter to prove it*. That the *Jews* can only dispute with the Christians, who acknowledge the Books of *Moses*: For that the *Jews* have no other Topick whereby to prove certainly even that there is a God; nor any other proofs for the Books of *Moses*, than the Tradition of their Fathers, who they suppos'd wou'd not deceive them; and because these Books bid them hearken to their Fathers, and not to the Heathen. And if any shou'd deny these Books, says he, *Est Atheus, quia non habet aliunde Dei existentiam certissime & indubitanter credat: Quamvis ex aliis principiis possit probabiliter conjectari. Neque enim sufficit Ratio, neque quod aliquis dixerit, de quo eadem fie-*

* Limbor. Collat. p. 136.

*rit Inquisitio. Hanc igitur convincere est impossibile, æquè ac Dei existentiam ac Mosis Prophetiam, per quam nobis unice constat esse Deum, i. e. He is an Atheist, because he has no other way whereby certainly to believe the existence of a God: Tho' from other Principles it may probably be conjectur'd: For neither is reason sufficient, nor what any Man says, of which the same inquisition is to be made. Therefore it is equally impossible to convince such a one, as well of the existence of a God, as of the Prophecy of Moses; by which only it appears to us that there is a God. This is mad work! For there could be no ground to believe Moses; but upon the supposition of the previous notion of a God, who sent him: How else did his Miracles vouch his being sent of God? And yet, says the Jew, by the Prophecy of Moses only it appears to us that there is a God. And therefore he concludes, that as for a Heathen who rejects both the Law and the Gospel, *ille neque ad Legem Mosis, neque ad Evangelium solidâ ratione convinci quit. i. e. That he cannot be convinc'd by any solid reason, of the truth either of the Law of Moses, or of the Gospel.* And therefore, that there is no disputing with such an one: *Contra Ethnicum non oportet disputare,* is the Title of this Chapter. i. e. *That we ought not to dispute against an Heathen.* For this the Jew confesses freely, when being ask'd, *If an Heathen shou'd deny that Moses was a Prophet, only a cunning Man who impos'd upon the People, by what Arguments the Jew cou'd prove the Divine Mission of Moses, which wou'd not as strongly prove the Divine Mission likewise of Christ? Respondeo* (says he) *me nullâ demonstratione Mosis Prophetiam Divinam esse, contra Ethnicum probare posse: Quippe id demonstrabile non est. i. e. I answer, that I cannot prove by any demonstration against an Heathen, that the Prophecy of Moses is divine, because it is not demonstrable.**

And he says the same as to the *Mahometans*, that they have their Tradition too, deriv'd from their Fathers of the Miracles and divine Mission of *Mahomet*. And therefore that they can say to us, *Quod si Mahometi revelationem negaverimus, Mosis, etiam & Christi negare possunt, cum nullam rationem producere queamus, quæ suæ sectæ confirmationi non inferviat. i. e. That if we deny the revelation of Mahomet, they may likewise deny those of Moses and of Christ, seeing we can produce no reason for them, that will not serve likewise for the confirmation of their Sect.* And he grounds all upon this bottom, which he takes as granted; *Quod alicujus præteriti, nec etiam Dei, existentia, ullâ ratione demonstrari potest. i. e. That the existence of anything that is past, or even of God, cannot be demonstrated by any reason: Ideo argumentum nequit esse cum Ethnico. That therefore there cannot be any Argument against an Heathen.*

Now here I beseech you to consider how you have given up the whole foundation upon which the truth of your Law does stand, lest you shou'd be forc'd to submit to the truth of the Gospel, which stands upon the same foundation. You have render'd your Law wholly precarious, while you tell all the World, that there is no reason to be given for it, that is, none to convince an Heathen, a *Mahometan*, or any who denies it. For reason is reason to all the World: And nothing can be true, for which there is not a reason sufficient to convince Gain-sayers.

You have by this confirm'd both Heathens, and *Mahometans*, as well as Christians in what you think to be gross Errors, and displeasing to God, by allowing them the same foundation for their Faith that you have for yours: i. e. The Tradition of their Fathers. And therefore you think that they have the same reason to stick to theirs, as you have to stick to yours. Which your learned Jew often confesses: Speaking of the reasons produc'd

Christianity. Then you proceed freely upon the certain and indisputable

on the Christian side, he says, * *Et meâ saltem sententiâ satis bonæ sunt & efficaces, ut Christiani eas amplectantur, & in suâ fide roborentur: Non verò ut Judæi Christiani fiant, i. e. They are in my opinion good reasons, and sufficient for the Christians to embrace them, and to be strengthened in their faith: But not for the Jews, that they shou'd become Christians.* This is a strange sort of reasoning! For these reasons cannot be good reasons, unless they are true. And they cannot be true to one, and false to another, if they are rightly apprehended; unless the same reason can be both true and false. It is impossible that both Judaism and Christianity can be true; as impossible as that our *Jesus* is the *Messiah*, and that he is not the *Messiah*. And there can be no good reason for our believing him to be the *Messiah*, which must not operate as strongly for your believing of it. That is, if it be true, you ought to believe it: And if it be not true, we ought not to believe it. Therefore your yielding that we have sufficient reason to believe it, must conclude inevitably against your selves, that you think it to be true: Otherwise you cou'd not think that we had sufficient reason to believe it.

If you say, that this was a slip in that learned *Jew*: That he ought not to have made that concession: And that you are not bound by it. Consider, that this was all that was left him to say: That he has manag'd your cause with great subtilty: That he took this way to avoid answering the plain and undeniable reasons which prove the truth of the Gospel; by yielding them to be such as to Christians, but that they are not the same as to the *Jews*: Which turns the cause upon a new foot, and diverts the question.

But if you like not his management, and think you can make a better plea for your selves; then you must answer the reasons given on the behalf of Christianity, particularly those urg'd in the first part against the Deists: And this is all that I desire to bring you to. And now you have your choice, whether you will do this; and put your cause upon this issue: Or otherwise stick to that evasion which this learned *Jew* has made for you.

There is another thing I wou'd ask you upon this head. You expect the conversion of all the World to your Religion, in the reign of your *Messiah*: And you have given this as one reason of your dispersion, that you might convert all Nations, among whom you are scatter'd, as has been taken notice of before.

Now I wou'd ask, how you are to convert them? You confess that there are no arguments to be us'd against them. You leave the Christians in full possession of their faith, and say, they have sufficient Reason for it. And for Heathens, &c. who do not acknowledge the Books of *Moses*, you say, they are not to be disputed with; how then are they to be converted by you?

Besides that your learned *Jew* complains (see before p. 59.) That the *Jews* are perverted to the Idolatries and other corruptions of the Nations where they live, instead of converting these Nations.

But suppose that it will be otherwise when your *Messiah* comes, and that then, or some time before, you will begin to convert the Nations; this conversion cannot be by arguments, for you confess you have none against them. How then? There is no other way but that of *Mahomet*, by the sword: And this is the way it seems that you expect. Your learned *Jew* says †, That there is no other Miracle needful for the *Messiah*,

* Limbor. Collat. p. 132. & alibi passim.

† Limbor. Collat. p. 55.

whereby to vouch his Mission, but one only, this, *viz.* To gather the Jews out of all Countries of the World; to restore the Throne of David to its ancient and a greater Majesty: And to bring all Kings and Nations to the true Worship of God; and to love and esteem the Jews, which (says he) wou'd be such a Miracle, and so notorious, as to leave no room to doubt of it.

The uncertainty of this mark of your *Messiah*, is shewn before, p. 53.

In the next place, this wou'd be no greater a Miracle than the successes of the *Romans* and others, from a small beginning; or of *Mahomet*, who boasts the same; and to which every wickedness has a title, so it be prosperous enough.

Your *Rabbi Menasseh* (de *Resurrectione*, l. ii. c. xxi. as quoted by *Hornbeck* contr. *Judeos*, l. ii. c. i. p. 114.) gives up this Argument, and says, *Non est tantum Miraculum*—That it is not so great a Miracle, if the *Messiah* shou'd conquer many Nations and Empires; since we see it often happen, that mean and abject Men have arisen to Kingdoms and Empires, and became Lords of many Lands. Yet this learned Jew, who writes later, is forc'd to come back again to this no Miracle; for they can find none other.

And in expectation of this, you reject all the true and indubitable Miracles of our *Messiah*; and his much more miraculous conquests of the *Gentile* World, as well as of *Myriads* of the *Jews*, without force of Arms or any allurements to flesh and blood, but on the contrary, by inviting them to self-denial, sufferings, and death: Which sure is a more extraordinary, and more miraculous sort of conquest, and shews more of divine power, than what is perform'd by the arm of flesh, outward force, or sensual incitements, like that which you expect, and like that of *Mahomet*, and other Impostors.

But tho' you shou'd conquer, as you expect, yet it will not follow that you will thereby convert all Nations.

It is not in a Man's own power to change his sentiments of things, without sufficient reason to convince him, at least what he thinks a sufficient reason; much less can such a force be put upon him by any other. No outward conquest can reach to the Soul, or alter our judgment and understanding.

And therefore, according to what you now profess, that you have no Argument on your side, but your long expected conquest, it will not follow, if you obtain'd it to morrow, that you shou'd thereby convert any one Man in the World to your Religion; for perhaps there is not one Man in the World that thinks conquest alone to be the true decision of controversies in Religion: And if so, then every Man must think that Religion to be false, which pretends to no other title but that of conquest.

See how inextricably you have involv'd your selves on all sides, in those various shifts you have set up to harden your selves against the flagrant truth of the Christian Religion! You have thereby undermin'd the whole foundation upon which the truth of your Law it self is demonstrable; and which you can never recover by any other means than those which establish the truth of our *Jesus* being the *Messiah*; which are the same that establish the truth of *Moses*, and (as has been said) are not compatible to any Impostor whatsoever.

You pretend to us Christians, that you have no Arguments against the Deists or Heathen. Why? Because it is impossible for you to bring any Arguments for the truth of *Moses*, which will not likewise demonstrate more strongly the truth of our *Jesus*. But to the Heathen you say not so; you pretend to argue with them, when you can get out of sight of Christianity. Then you proceed freely upon the certain and indubitable

proofs which you have for the truth of *Moses*, when you are not afraid that Christianity should come in at the same door: This appears in your Book *Cofri*, (whether that story be real or feign'd) which contains your arguments against the Heathen. But in the presence of Christianity they are all struck dumb, like the Oracles among the Heathen: Not that the arguments for the truth of *Moses* are fallacious like those Oracles; but as their deceit was superseded by the brightness of the Gospel, so are you stopt from daring to make use of the Truth, because it makes against you: And you are forc'd to betray the cause of *Moses*, while you stand out against that of *Christ*. You cannot be true *Jews* or Disciples of *Moses*, till you turn Christians. Then you may (as we do freely) urge the absolute certainty of the Revelation made to *Moses*: Which now you dare not do, because the same topicks prove as demonstrably the Truth of Christianity; rather than admit of which, you have laid your foundation in the sand of your Fathers Traditions, so explain'd, as to give you no advantage above all the traditionary fables of other Nations; which you allow to have the same motives of credibility to them, as yours to you; and consequently, to be as true as yours.

This was not the method you took to make profelytes before *Christ* came. Then you had free use of your arguments, and a success proportionable: But now you seem careless what becomes of your Religion, so you can overthrow Christianity: Therefore having chosen a false and insufficient foundation for your own Faith, you would complement ours with the same.

As your learned * *Jew* does when he asks, *What reason there is why a Heathen should believe any who preach'd to him the christian Faith, and Miracles of Christ and his Apostles?* The first part of this discourse against the Deists is a direct answer to this question, and serves the *Jews* as well as the Deists: But this learned *Jew* did, and all the rest of you must think that question to be unanswerable: And as such it is here propos'd. But then will not the question occur, what reason the Christians have to believe it? Or the *Jews* to believe the Law and Miracles of *Moses*? Your learned *Jew* was aware of this; and therefore obviates it thus, *Neque par ratio est de Christianis & Judæis, qui interruptâ Traditione, &c.* That there was not the same reason for the belief of the Christians and the *Jews* who receiv'd it by an uninterrupted Tradition from their Fathers. This puts the christian Faith upon as good a bottom as the *Jewish*, that is the same, viz. Tradition from their Fathers; and if they have no other, they both stand precariously, and have no more to say for themselves even than the Heathen. This the learned *Jew* does not oppose, and therefore explains himself, that by his question he did not mean those Heathens who had long since believed the Gospel, and so receiv'd it by tradition from their Fathers. *Sed quare nunc barbaræ Gentes, in suis Ritibus semper educatæ nostris Traditionibus fidem præstabunt, eò solum quòd à nobis proponantur?* i. e. *But why the now heathen Nations, who have always been educated in their own Rites, should embrace our Traditions, merely because they are propos'd to them by us?* Indeed merely because they are propos'd, is a very bad reason; and yet it is all that the *Jew* thinks there is in the case, as before is shewn. But here he joins the christian and the *Jewish* Faith together, and makes both stand upon the same bottom; and that the same with the foundation even of the heathen Religion: That rather than not overthrow Christianity, he would sink his own Religion with it, and leave no true reveal'd Religion in the World, (all others but these falsely pretending to it) and so serve the ends of the Deists to all intents and purposes.

* Limbor. Collat. p. 51.

He endeavours to rivet this, as he thinks, securely by the long Tradition of the *Popish* Legends, which, he says*, were believ'd by all *Christendom* for more than a thousand years, and no less Faith given to them than to the Gospel itself. His mistakes in reciting matter of fact I am not now upon; these prevail'd only in the *Latin* Church, nor in all that neither; nor for so long a time as he imagines. The greatest part of the christian church, in the East in *Africa*, &c. never heard of most of them, nor have to this day: And those of the Church of *Rome*, who, tho' Men of sense, pretended to believe them, yet durst not put them upon the same foot with the holy Gospel: The learned and more knowing among them called them *pia fraudes*, and pleaded for them only as such, as pious cheats to raise the devotion of the simple and more ignorant amongst the People. But (as said before, p. 24.) none of them can pretend to those four marks set down, p. 11. n. 2. whereby the truth of the Miracles of *Moses* and of *Christ* are infallibly demonstrated. And therefore if any of these Legends were true, in whole or in part, yet we cannot have the same grounds for believing of them, as we have for the Law and the Gospel.

IV. Both of which you seem willing to mistake, in your deep prejudice to the Gospel: For the chief end of the coming of the *Messiah* being to *bruise the Serpent's Head*, who had seduced Man to Sin; to *finish the Transgression*, and to make an end of Sin, and to make reconciliation for Iniquity; you now contend, that Men were never under the Curse of God: † *Quod neque aliquando fuerunt homines sub Dei maledictione—Quod non constat ex toto sacro textu illa ira Dei contra genus humanum, neque illa aeterna maledictio: Neque memini in quatuor Evangeliiis me legisse hoc secretum à Christo fuisse detectum: Quare putamus id postea inventum, ut aliis dogmatibus fundamentum substerneretur. i. e. That neither this Wrath of God against Mankind, nor that eternal Curse does appear in the whole sacred Text: Neither do I remember to have read in the four Gospels that this secret was discovered by Christ: Therefore we think that it was invented afterwards to lay a foundation for other Opinions.* This is a bold and desperate assertion: Let any Man read *Mat. xxv. 46.* and *Job. v. 29.* and see whether eternal Judgment be not there threaten'd; and whether these be not as it were repeating the very words of *Daniel*, chap. xii. 2. That *many of them that sleep in the dust of the Earth shall awake, some to everlasting Life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.* Compare likewise, *Mark ix. 44.* with *Isa. lxvi. 24.* and then tell whether there is not a punishment after death for the wicked, and whether this be not reveal'd as well in the Old Testament as in the New.

If the *Jew* will criticise (as some Christians have done) upon the words Eternal and Everlasting, and say, that they mean not a duration without end, I will give two answers.

I. That my business with the *Jew* is not now about the eternity of Hell; but whether there be any punishment at all after death: Because all the ends which the *Jew* proposes of the *Messiah's* coming, respect only this life: And they deny any that are dead to have any benefit by the *Messiah*: ‡ And if so, then his making reconciliation for Iniquity cannot deliver any mortal from the punishment after death.

And this punishment being describ'd in the Texts before quoted, and several others of the Old Testament, to be exceedingly greater than any we can endure in this life; consequently the greatest benefit that we can receive by the *Messiah* is totally frustrated by the *Jews*: And they cannot deny

* Limbor. *ibid.* p. 133.

† Limbor. *Collat.* p. 54, 55.

‡ Limbor. *Collat.* num. 17. p. 70.

but

but that the ends which the Christians propose for the coming of the *Messiah* are exceedingly more noble and more beneficial than those which they propose; and fully as agreeable to the letter of the Text, of bruising the Head of the Serpent, and making reconciliation for Iniquity, and something more so than our deliverance from worldly enemies, who are not so properly call'd the Serpent as the Devil is: And our deliverance from his power is more strictly call'd a making an end of Sin, and finishing of Transgression; and more truly an everlasting deliverance (in whatever sense you will take that word) than any temporal deliverance: For if by Everlasting you mean only temporal, yet it is the highest expression of temporal, and the greatest of temporal deliverances.

Let me not be mistaken, as if by *Eternal* and *Everlasting*, the *Worm* not dying, and the *Fire* that never will be quenched, &c. I favour'd at all their constructions which would make all these to mean nothing but temporary, tho' a very long duration; but I would not intermix new subjects in this discourse, and expatiate into long digressions; especially where the present controversy does not require it: Therefore I go to my second answer.

2. If these words *Eternal*, &c. can be thus turn'd, or if they cannot, I desire to know from the *Jews*, what plain Text they have in all the Law of *Moses* for everlasting Life in Heaven; and in order thereunto, for the Resurrection of the Dead, which they profess firmly to believe? They gather these from Texts, which, as themselves confess, do bear another and a temporal meaning, respecting their outward state in this World; but which withal do (they say) typically represent their future glorious state in Heaven, their true and everlasting *Canaan*. Yet they will not allow any thing in their Law to be a Type of the *Messiah*. Why? Because the Law does not expressly say that such a thing is a Type of the *Messiah*: Which yet it says as much as that *Canaan* was a Type of Heaven; that there will be any Resurrection of the Dead, or eternal Life after that. What express Scripture have they for what Rabbi *Manasseh Ben Israel*, in his treatise of the *Resurrection of the Dead*, does affirm to be the common opinion of the *Rabbins*? viz. **That all the Israelites, even those that are dead, shall be partakers of the Kingdom of the Messiah: And that to this end all those that are dead shall be raised again; by which Miracle the wicked being converted, shall acknowledge the true God, and forsake their errors: That then there shall be an end of this World, and a new one arise, or a change of this into a much better condition, wherein the Moon shall be as bright as the Sun, and the light of the Sun sevenfold more than it is now: At which time the Demons and evil Spirits shall be destroyed; and the Trees bear Fruit every Month: And then, that God shall make a noble Feast to the Righteous out of the Fish the Leviathan: And that there shall be Peace among the wild Beasts; neither shall they hurt Men in that holy Land: That then the Temple of God shall be built again; and the holy Land be again divided amongst the Tribes: Where they shall eat and drink, beget Children, and each be marry'd to his own proper wife, &c.* This *Turk's* paradise after death they can gather out of the words of the Law! They can find there their sumptuous Fish-Dinner upon the great Whale *Leviathan*! But nothing of the heavenly Kingdom of the *Messiah*: Nothing of their deliverance from Sin and Hell; but eating and drinking, and lying with Women. They should, upon this their scheme of their state after death, answer the question which one of the *Sadducees* ask'd of our Saviour concerning the seven brethren who had one wife, *whose wife she should be at the Resurrection?*

* Limbor. Collat. p. 221, 222.

And now I beseech you to consider, is not this a fatal delusion, that you should reject all the plain Prophecies of the *Messiah* because they do not, in such express words as you would dictate, lay open every particular of his spiritual State and Government: And (at the same time) turn these Prophecies to such wild and groundless Fancies as are no ways typify'd by your sacrifices, or any institution in your Law; nor can fill up, in any tolerable measure, the glories and extent of all those magnificent Prophecies concerning the Kingdom of the *Messiah*, wherein God hath prepared for those who shall be thought worthy of it, not Wine and Women, and eating, such gross carnal pleasures as we are made capable of in this frail life; but such things as *since the beginning of the World Men have not heard, nor perceiv'd by the Ear, neither hath the Eye seen?* Yet because they are not particularly describ'd (which cannot be so as we could understand them) you will not believe them, or that they reach beyond enjoyments of sense. And for this sole reason you reject your *Messiah*, because he brings you glories so far beyond all that you looked for: Tho' that likewise, in the above quoted Text, and many others of your Scriptures, has been foretold to you. Isa. lxiv. 4.

And it is likewise shadowed out to you in this, that there was no sacrifice or expiation in your Law for the most heinous crimes, such as Blasphemy, Idolatry, Murder, Adultery, Incest, &c. as your learned *Jew* confesses*.

Nay lesser Sins than these, as that of *Eli's* not effectually restraining, tho' he reprov'd his Sons, *were not to be purg'd with sacrifice, nor offering for ever.* 1 Sam. iii. 14.

Some *Jews* fancy that the yearly sacrifice of expiation made an atonement for all their Sins.

We see, not for this of *Eli's*; and consequently not for greater Sins.

The yearly sacrifice was but a sacrifice, tho' more solemn than the daily sacrifices: And therefore it purg'd all those Sins only which could be purg'd by sacrifice.

If all the Sins of the *Jews* had been purg'd every year, then had they not been remember'd, brought to account, and so grievously punish'd as we have seen, and was oft threatened in the Law, in after ages, more than to the third and fourth generation: And it was a noted observation of your Fathers, that there was a grain of the golden Calf in all your after Judgments; *i. e.* that that Sin was never totally forgiven; but still call'd to remembrance upon every fresh provocation: It is said, *I will visit upon her the Days of Baalim, wherein she burnt Incense to them:* And all the goodness and godly reformation of *Josiah* could not pacify God for the Sins of *Manasseh*; which he would not pardon, but for them remov'd *Judah* out of his sight. *And surely this Iniquity shall not be purg'd from you till ye die, saith the Lord God of Hosts.* Hos. ii. 13.
2 Kin. xxiii.
26. xxiv. 3, 4.
Isa. xxii. 14.

Therefore there were some Sins which were not purged by the legal sacrifices; and these were the greatest of their Sins: They were but the lesser sort of Sins that were purged by them. How then were the greatest purg'd? If you will say, by repentance only, without any sacrifice.

Ans. The lesser Sins require repentance: And do they need sacrifice too, when the greater Sins are purg'd without it? Or are greater Sins more easily purg'd than the lesser?

Here then behold your Law declaring of it self that it is not perfect. That there was a farther and more efficacious sacrifice and atonement for sin than what was under the Law; and this for the greatest of your sins.

* Limbor. Collat. p. 209.

Deut. xxvii.
26.

Then cast your eye upon that Text in your Law, *Cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this Law to do them*: And consider, that there was no atonement or sacrifice in your Law for the greatest and most heinous breaches of the Law. How then shall you be deliver'd from this Curse? Or can you enter into eternal life without your being purg'd from this Curse? Do you expect to be admitted into Heaven, while cursed and in your Pollutions? Can any cursed thing enter there? Then reflect upon the desperateness of that position of yours. * *Nos verò nec Redemptionem quam expectamus, nec Messiam ipsum pro animarum salute, nec pro gloria eternâ consequendâ, necessaria esse credimus. i. e. We do believe that neither the deliverance which we expect (by our Messiah) nor our Messiah himself are necessary towards the Salvation of our Souls, or for the obtaining of eternal glory.* Now then, if neither in the Law, nor in the future Reign which you expect of your *Messiah*, there will be any propitiation or sacrifice for the greatest of your sins, how do you expect to be purg'd from them? Or must you enter into Heaven before you are purg'd from them? Or were sacrifices only needless Ceremonies, and not effectual for the purging of those Sins, which were purgeable by them? Or were greater sins easier purg'd, that is, by repentance only; than lesser sins, which, besides repentance, were not to be purg'd without sacrifice also?

I confess, all this is out of doors, and urg'd to no purpose, if it be true which you have advanc'd (as before quoted) that Men, by the fall, were never under the curse of God; and therefore needed no deliverance from it. That *Israel* was an holy Nation, because they are so call'd in Scripture, and that *Aaron* was commanded to bless them: And God said to *Balaam* that they were blessed. All which says your learned *Jew* † is so contrary to their being eternally cursed, *ut neque Deus ipse posset ea componere; That God himself cannot reconcile it.*

I suppose he intends to come off by the word eternal, that it is not reconcilable with their being eternally under the Curse of God: Because there are so many places in the Law and the Prophets which speak of their great wickedness, and being under the temporal Curse of God.

But blessing is as contrary to cursing in this World, as in the next: For they are opposites in the nature of the thing: And therefore if the Authority of such Texts, as those before quoted, will free them from the eternal, it must also from the temporal Curse, or from any Curse at all.

But why then are they call'd holy and blessed, if they be under the Curse? I suppose neither *Jew* nor Christian need be instructed in this, it is so known and common a distinction; Men are call'd holy or blessed upon a personal, or a relative account, as they are holy in themselves, or as related to holy things. Thus a Nation or People taken into federal Covenant with God, more peculiarly than any other Nation upon the Earth, may be call'd blessed above all the Nations of the Earth: And an holy People, in respect of the holiness of their Laws, Covenant, Promises, &c. given to them by God.

Yet these may be a wicked and a cursed People, in respect to their practice, if they live not pursuant to their holy Law. Thus said *Moses* to your Nation, *Understand therefore, that the Lord thy God giveth thee not this good land to possess it, for thy righteousness; for thou art a stiff-necked People.* And says God himself, *As I live saith the Lord God, Sodom thy Sister hath not done, she nor her Daughters, as thou hast done, thou and thy Daughters—Neither hath Samaria committed half of thy sins.* And again, *Ye are cursed with a curse; for ye have robbed*

Deut. ix. 6.

Ezek. xvi. 48.

y. 51.

Mal. iii. 9.

* Limbor. Collat. p. 98. ad finem.

† Limbor. Collat. p. 55.

me, even this whole Nation. Yet all this while, that Nation was call'd the *Holy Nation*; and *Jerusalem* the *Holy City*, when it was full of Murderers, because there was the Temple and stated Worship of God. Are these now such contradictions that God himself cannot reconcile? Behold the same People blessed and cursed, at the same time, but not in the same respect. Therefore trust not in your being call'd the Holy People, notwithstanding of which you see you may be cursed; not only here but hereafter: For, as said before, to be blessed and cursed, is as great a contradiction in this life, as the next; and for a moment, as for eternity. And you find and complain, that you are cursed here upon many temporal accounts: And urge your great sins as the cause of your *Messiah* delaying his coming. Now sin is as much a contradiction to holiness, and more than the Curse of afflictions and punishment. Therefore if you can reconcile your being the Holy People with your being, at the same time, such great Sinners, you have solv'd the contradiction your selves, which you thought too hard (when it made against you) for God himself: And you must at last grant, after all your struggling, that, by the fall of *Adam*, Men were put under the Curse of God; from which there were no sacrifices in your Law sufficient to purge our Souls: That therefore another and more efficacious sacrifice than the blood of Bulls and of Goats, was necessary for the purging of our sins. And you reject this sacrifice of our *Messiah*, upon pretence that it is not clearly and in express words reveal'd in the Old Testament, without any figurative and dubious Phrases: While, at the same time, you build your hopes of Heaven, and explain the resurrection of the dead in such a manner, and upon such Texts, as, by no force, can be screw'd to those wild meanings you put upon them. Jer. vii. 4.

And on the other side, when the death and sacrifice of the *Messiah*, and the satisfaction thereby made to God for our sins are reveal'd in those plain and express words, That *He made his Soul an offering for sin: That God saw the travel of his Soul, and was satisfy'd: That he laid upon him the iniquity of us all: That he poured out his Soul unto Death: And was number'd with the transgressors: And he bare the sin of many: And made intercession for the transgressors, &c.* then (as before shewn) Death must not mean Death, nor must any of these words be taken literally; but you put such forc'd and figurative interpretations upon them, as can by no means bear, which is prov'd, p. 43. Isai. liii.

You except against figurative expressions; yet you use them. You turn the plainest words into figures; and then tell us, we have no plain words: You deduce consequences (as your notion of the resurrection, &c.) from words which are no ways plain, nor can mean what you infer from them: You raise Doctrines, (as of the *Leviathan*, &c.) from no words at all in your Scriptures; yet you require for our Doctrines, positive words out of your Scriptures; and when you have such, you will not accept of them.

What Scripture can you produce for your monstrous Story of *Armillus*? which *Hoornbeck* (cont. *Jud.* p. 253.) relates out of your Author *Avkrt Rochel, sub signo Messiae septimo apud Hulsium* p. 51. You suppose that a Company of most profligate Fellows, will invent a new sin; that they will take a beautiful Stone-Statue of a Woman, that is in *Rome*; and warming it, will lye with it; that from thence it will conceive, and at last bursting, there will come forth a Child, whose Name shall be call'd *Armillus*; that he shall be twelve Cubits high, and betwixt his eyes the length of a span: That he will say to the wicked, I am your *Messiah* and your God; that they will believe in him, and make him their King; and that to him will be gather'd all the posterity of *Esau*: That your first *Messiah Ben Joseph* of the tribe of *Ephraim* will fight against him, with thirty

thirty thousand *Israelites*; and shall have success in the first Battle; but in the second Battle, that your *Messiah* will be kill'd, and his Army routed. That the Angels will take away the dead Body of your *Messiah*, and keep it with those of the Patriarchs. That after this shall arise your second *Messiah Ben David*, of the tribe of *Judah*, and *Elias* with him; to whom the *Jews* that are left shall be gather'd, and oppose *Armillus*. That God shall destroy *Armillus* and his whole Army by fire and brimstone and great stones cast down upon them from Heaven. Then that *Michael* shall sound a trumpet so loud, as to open the Graves, and raise the dead in *Jerusalem*: And that the first *Messiah Ben Joseph*, shall then be rais'd, who was kept under the gates of *Jerusalem*. That then the *Messiah Ben David* shall be sent to gather the dispersed of the *Jews* from amongst all Nations: All of whose Kings will bring them upon their shoulders, &c.

This is the manner by which you interpret the Scriptures; several of which are quoted in this relation (as *Psal.* cx. 1. *Zech.* xiv. 3. *Ezek.* xxxviii. 22. *Obad.* i. 18.) as being to be fulfill'd in the above mention'd story of *Armillus*.

Which as it is wholly destitute of truth, or even probability, the mad excursion of groundless imagination; so does it in no sort come up to the Prophecies in the holy Scriptures concerning the *Messiah*, or the types of him therein exhibited; which are all fulfill'd, even to an *iota* in our blessed Lord and Saviour.

Yet you reject him, as not being sufficiently reveal'd in Scripture; while you think you can deduce from thence this beastly and unworthy legend of *Armillus*.

You have been told before of the strange uncertainty you are at in the marks you have set up, whereby to know your *Messiah*, when he comes. This you have reduc'd all to success; which cannot be known till the tryal: And that has ended in your destruction, all the way hitherto, in the many experiments you have made under your several *False-Messiah's*. And you can never be sure, in any other who shall hereafter set up.

Nay farther, you must be sure to be ruin'd, by whomsoever shall first set up, by this Scheme which you have laid down: For your *Messiah Ben Joseph* must first come, and be slain, and your Armies routed by *Armillus*: So that it is not success, but ruin that must be the mark of your first *Messiah*. This is great encouragement for any of you to follow whomsoever shall set up next for your *Messiah*.

You have had many such *Messiah's* already: And whenever *Ben Joseph* shall come, he must be another unfortunate *Messiah*. You must, by your own reckoning, be once more undone, before your *Messiah Ben David* can come. And when your *Messiah Ben Joseph* shall come, and be defeated; how will you know, by that mark, that it is he? That mark you have had in all the *Messiah's* you ever yet set up: So that you will be still left to expect a farther destruction: Thus deplorable is your state!

Besides, which of these *Messiah's*, is it *Ben Joseph*, or *Ben David*, to whom all those marks given of the *Messiah* in the Scriptures do belong, as to the time, place, and other circumstances of his coming? Or do some belong to one, and some to the other? Then you must tell which belong to which, or else you may be deceiv'd in both; at least, you can be sure of neither.

XV. Neither of them can possibly now have that mark insisted upon before, *Sect.* v. p. 47, &c. of the general expectation of the whole Earth, not only of the *Roman* Empire, but of all the East, that a wonderful and extraordinary Person shou'd be sent into the World, about that time, who

who shou'd be universal Monarch of all the Kings of the Earth. And accordingly three Kings came out of the East to Worship our *Jesus*, guided by the miraculous leading of a new Star rais'd in Heaven to point him out.

But there is no such expectation now in the World, but only amongst you. Therefore none of your *Messiah's* can come with that mark, which seems even necessary, to introduce such a Saviour into the World.

For to suppose such a Person design'd by God, from all eternity, to be universal Lord and Saviour of the whole Earth; and that all the dispensations which God ever gave to Man, were directed to him, as the center, and completion of all; it wou'd seem necessary and proportionable to such an œconomy, that so glorious a Person shou'd be not only foretold, but prefigur'd in types and observances: Nay it cou'd not be otherwise, if all the institutions of Religion were to be compleated in him; for that wou'd naturally inferr that they were, that they cou'd be no more than types and fore-runners of him to whom they pointed.

Thus *Christ* is said to have been promis'd *πρὸ χρόνων αἰώνων*, which words Tit. i. 21 if they shou'd not reach the length of our *English* Translation, viz. *Before the world began*; (by which the revelation of the great *Messiah* must have been made to the Angels in Heaven, before the Creation of Man, or of this lower World) yet this we are sure of, that *Moses* has told us he was promis'd to *Adam* and *Eve*, immediately upon their fall. Then were sa- Gen. iii. 15: crifices instituted, as types of the great and only sacrifice which cou'd bruise the Serpent's head, and make atonement for sin: Which, by that promise, was reserv'd for the seed of the Woman; and therefore cou'd not be fulfill'd in the blood of Beasts.

This institution of sacrifices descended from that time, thro' all the Posterities of *Adam*, as a necessary part of Religion, and the worship of God: And even the Heathen retain'd so much of their original institution, that they look'd upon them in the nature of a vicarious suffering of others for our sins: And the wisest of them did thence conclude, that there must be some more noble sacrifice than that of Beasts, whereby our sin shou'd be purg'd. This led some of them to human sacrifices: But still that was not blood more noble than our own: And they cou'd go no farther.

Yet they were in expectation of the coming of a glorious Person from Heaven, who shou'd purge their sins; and introduce a new and golden age of justice and all goodness, to extend thro' the whole Earth: And they generally all over the World did expect him then to come at that time when our blessed *Jesus* was born, as before has been shewn.

But that expectation is now over. There never was such at any time, either before or after that very time: The expectation was always long before that time; but no time, except that time, was the time expected for his coming: Therefore none of your *Messiah's*, whom you still expect, can possibly enter the World with this necessary and glorious mark of the *Messiah*. For that time being over, to which the general expectation was determin'd, it ceas'd there; and cannot now be taken up again: Because, as it cou'd not be begun by concert, thro' so many distant Nations, who held no correspondence; and its beginning was never known: So for the same reasons, it cannot now be begun again; for then the beginning wou'd be known; and it cou'd not, without a Miracle, gain such acceptance as to become universal through the whole World, as it was before.

And without this, it cou'd not be said, *The desire of all Nations shall come.* Hag. ii. 7: For how was he their desire, if they expected no such Person to come?

But as neither of the *Messiah's* whom you pretend to look for, are expected by any body but your selves; and that, not by all, if any of you,

(as we have reason to believe) in good earnest: So, if they were expected according to the Scheme which you have drawn, the first would be the Contempt, and the second the Terror, but neither of them the Desire of all Nations.

And neither of these motives either of Terror or Contempt, could persuade the *Gentiles* towards the fulfilling of what is written concerning the *Messiah*. *The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and Kings to the brightness of thy rising.*

Isai. lx. 3.

This began remarkably to be fulfill'd in the coming of the three Kings from the East, to the Light, whether literal, of the miraculous star, or what that signify'd, the light of the Gospel: And these came to the *Messiah*, not, as you expect, after being reduc'd by force of Arms, and converted by his success in War, but they came *To the brightness of his rising*, to his Birth; and ador'd him in his Swadling-Clothes. *They rejoiced with exceeding great joy*, when they saw his Signals hung out in the Heavens. This joy could not come from Contempt or Fear: But he was truly the desire of all Nations; which neither of your *Messiah's* can be, by your own account of them.

Matth. ii. 10.

He was not to come as a Terror, but a Light to the *Gentiles*; as he has prov'd, not by conquering, but converting of them.

And towards this, it was necessary that he should come under all those circumstances which were proper for the obtaining of such an end; to persuade the *Gentiles* to receive him, as a Legislator sent from Heaven, for spiritual and eternal purposes, and not with any design upon their temporal Government, or for any secular bye ends of his own.

Therefore he ought not to have come in the outward pomp and grandeur of the World; but the farthest remov'd from it that was possible: Of mean, but virtuous Parentage, his life to be led in poverty and afflictions, and his death, ignominious. He must have come in a corrupt and wicked age, to oppose iniquity in its torrent: And hence it naturally follows, that he must be persecuted, even to the death. And that his death could not be deferr'd long, after his beginning to preach publicly; for that a wicked World could not long bear it. * Which was the reason *Socrates* gave at his tryal, why he taught privately so long; for that otherwise he must have perish'd sooner: And so have been able to do less good.

And we may reasonably suppose that this was one cause why our blessed Saviour did not begin to preach, till he was thirty years of age. And about three years after, was crucify'd.

Matth. iv. 17.

Luk. iii. 23.

Plato describing the character of a perfect just Man, says†, that he shall be scourged, tormented, fetter'd, and at last having suffer'd all manner of evils, that he shall be crucify'd, or cut in pieces, as the sacrifices were.

And says, ‡ That it is necessary they should wait till such a one should come, to teach them how they ought to behave themselves towards God and towards Man. O when shall that time come? (says he) And who shall be that Teacher? How greatly do I desire to see that Man, who he is?

And he says**, that this Lawgiver must be somewhat more than of human race: For that as beasts are govern'd by Men, so must Men by a nature which is superior to their own; and therefore, that this Man who was to be the universal Lawgiver to Mankind, must likewise partake of the Nature

* *Plato* Apol. Socr. † 'Ο δίκαιος μαστιγώσεται, σκελεύσεται, δεθήσεται—Τελούτων, πάντα κακά παθών αναχινδύλυσθήσεται. *De Repub.* l. 2. ‡ 'Αναγκαῖον ἔστι περιμένειν ἕως ἄν τις μάθῃ ὡς δεῖ πρὸς Θεὸν καὶ πρὸς Ἄνθρώπους διακρίσθαι. Πότε ἔν παρέρσεται ὁ Χρῆς ἔσται; καὶ τίς ὁ παιδύσων; ἡδιστα γὰρ μοι δοκᾷ ἰδεῖν ταῦτα τῶ ἄνθρωπον τίς ἐστίν. *Alcibiad.* *Precat.* ** *De Leg.* l. 4.

of God. This was the ground of the heathen notion, in feigning their heroes and dæmons to be begotten by the Gods. So agreeable (but far exceeding) was our *Jesus* in his Nature, and all his Qualifications, to the notion and expectation of the *Gentiles*! And therefore have so many of them gladly submitted unto him.

But such a *Messiah* as you *Jews* do now describe yours to be, as it was far from what the *Gentiles* expected, and therefore he could never convert, tho' he should conquer them; so it seems indeed that your selves do not expect any such an one, as you pretend, only for an excuse.

Some of your *Rabbies* saying, that he is come; some, that he will never come; some, that he will not come in this World till the Resurrection of the Dead; others, that his coming is not material, nor to be plac'd amongst the fundamentals of your Faith; others, that his coming is no way desirable, as bringing greater mischief with it than advantage to the *Jews*; others, forbidding all enquiry into the time of his coming, as indeed despairing of it.

Of all these particulars see the authority of your own *Rabbies*, in *Hoornbeck contr. Jud.* l. 2. p. 114, 115, and 123. There you will find, in *Codice Sanhedrin*, *R. Hillel* saying, *That no Messiah shall be given to Israel; for that they have had him already, in the days of Hezekiah King of Judah.* And in your *Talmud*, *R. Ula* says of the *Messiah*, *Let him come, but let me not see it*: That is, for the miseries it will bring to the *Jews*, in gathering them out of all countries, where they are peaceably settled, to forsake their houses and possessions, and follow their *Messiah* to wars, and the calamities that attend them: Especially considering what has been before said, that they must certainly expect destruction and ruin under their first *Messiah Ben Joseph*: For all which, their possessing, at last, the Land of *Canaan*, will be no sufficient reparation; they living now in Countries as good as that, and enjoying both ease and plenty. So that the Conquests of their *Messiah* may bring greater glory to him; but no good to the *Jews*, proportionable to the miseries they must endure in fighting for him. Upon all which Considerations, *R. Ula* had reason to say, *Let him come, but let me not see him.* The same said *Rabbi John*, in *Codice Sanhedrin*.

And the many disappointments you have met with in your *Messiahs* hitherto, has made you forbid any to enquire into the time of the *Messiah's* coming; your *Schebet Jehuda*, p. 245. (as quoted by *Hoornbeck* p. 123.) curses those who set any time for the coming of the *Messiah*; and gives this reason, *That if the Messiah does not come at that time, the Peoples hearts do fail, and they think that they are put off with perpetual fruitless hope.* Therefore in the *Talmud*, *Cod. Sanhedrin*. cap. xi. *Rabbi Samuel* says, in the words of *R. Jonathan*, *Let their Bones be broken who compute the Periods of the Times.* And this may the better be forbid, because *R. Josephus Albo* has struck this article concerning the coming of the *Messiah* out of the number of your fundamental doctrines: So that now you may believe it, or not, as you please.

And how then will the *Gentiles* be converted by you? You have confess'd (as before shewn, p. 90. &c.) that you have no arguments against them; and now you seem to despair even of conquering them: Though if that were done, it would rather obstruct their conversion, as has been argu'd before.

And plain reason does evince, that the Qualifications of a *Messiah* for the conversion of the *Gentiles* could be no other than what were found in our *Jesus*: And such a one they did expect; and therefore, so readily, did give up their Names to him.

A Short Method with the JEWS.

As his Miracles were so flagrant and undoubted as to vouch him sent of God; so could not malice itself find out the least possibility of any sinister or self end in him: Therefore he lived poor and persecuted, and poured out his soul unto death as a demonstration that *his Kingdom was not of this World*.

He chose followers that were poor and unlearned; and this was necessary to obviate the objection, that either interest or craft had any part in the framing of his doctrine. He enjoined to all his Disciples the doctrine of Self-denial, and the Cross; and bade them look for nothing but afflictions in this World: And this was necessary to obviate the objection, as if either lust, pleasure, or ambition, had any part in the framing of his doctrine.

He was rejected by you, of his own Nation; and this was necessary to obviate the objection, as if he sought to gain you to his side, upon the account of obtaining the dominion over you; and then to turn your arms against the *Gentiles*.

His conquest of the *Gentiles*, by their conversion, did not begin till after his Ascension; and this was necessary to obviate the objection, as if he had sought the temporal rule over them; as *Mahomet* did over his converts, and as you propose of your *Messiah*.

And not in the first conversion of the *Gentiles*, not for three hundred years after, were any of their Kings or States brought into Christianity; and this was necessary to obviate the objection, as if the forgery of the Gospel had been supported by human authority; which rendered it hazardous for any to have detected the deceit: This was so necessary, as that we see the Deists for want of this have yet the impudence to suppose it contrary to all truth, viz. * that authority and Laws being on the christian side, was the cause that its deceit was not detected at the beginning; which is now too late to be done for the distance of the ages.

Therefore we may now see the wonderful Providence of God in this conduct: For if the Deists had the argument (as they foolishly pretend it) of the Gospel being abetted by Kings or States in its infancy, or before it was fully settled and spread over the earth; we should never get their mouths stoppt, and it would bear a great face of suspicion that some cheat might have been put upon us, when none who knew it durst discover it without apparent hazard to themselves.

And again, Kings and States might have come, by this time of day, to think that their authority had something to do in settling of the Church; and that the Gospel was beholden to them; at least sycophants and flatterers would so have complemented them: And *Eraastianism* would have had a plausible plea: It is a branch of Deism; it stands and falls with that: And if it had such an umbrage as this, it would over-run us; for it keeps its ground without it.

But *Christ* would not permit Kings to become his Servants till he had first endured three hundred years of their Persecution; to teach them that his Church was not built upon their shoulders, nor depended upon their authority: And to stop the mouths of these several sorts of Deists.

In all things, in every step of his Conduct, there does appear such divine Wisdom and Foresight, as that if any part had been otherwise than it is, the whole would have been visibly defective; and consequently, not from God: Not but that many things defective may not be from God. He makes every thing perfect in its kind to the end for which he has ordained it; but he

* Toland's *Life of Milton*, p. 91, 92. Printed An. 1699.

makes some things for higher ends than others; and in comparison, one thing is more perfect than another.

Thus the Law of *Moses* was perfect in its kind, for those ends and purposes to which it was design'd; but *Moses* was not design'd for the ultimate and universal Lawgiver; he never pretended to it, but, on the contrary, he pointed out to one who was to come after him, and denounces God's Judgments against those who should *not hearken unto him*. Deut. xviii. 18, 19.

Moses was not designed, nor his Law calculated for the conversion of the *Gentiles*.

And he had few of those qualifications which the *Gentiles* requir'd in the supreme and universal Lawgiver. He was bred up at *Pharaoh's* Court; the adopted Son of *Pharaoh's* Daughter; and learned in all the Wisdom of the *Agyptians*, who were then the most learned Nation upon the face of the Earth; he was mighty in words and in deeds; he march'd out of *Agypt* at the head of six hundred thousand Men; and having rescued his own Nation, he became their *King*: Therefore he was not free from the suspicion of design in the case; and was a Man every way qualify'd, both for wisdom, courage, and education, to have contriv'd and effected it. Deut. xxxiii. 5.

And after him his Disciples went on; according to his example, conquering with the sword. And you now tell us, that they had no other design but to gain that pleasant countrey to themselves; that the Law which *Moses* gave them, propos'd nothing to them beyond this; and that you hope for no more from the *Messiah* whom you expect, but temporal conquests to restore you to that Land again, and to subdue the whole World under you by force of arms; that there is nothing at all spiritual or heavenly in his Kingdom, but only a temporal, earthly grandeur; * that it was not meant to carry you to Heaven, but to make you great upon Earth; that the Offices of the *Messiah* respect only temporal things, and are no ways necessary towards the salvation of our souls, or eternal Life, as your learned *Jew*, before-quoted, has asserted. See before, p. 95.

Now what would *Socrates*, or *Plato*, or any of the wise Men among the *Gentiles* say to this notion of a *Messiah*? Wou'd they not have detested it, as vicious, as recommending of pride, ambition, covetousness, and the vanity of this World, against which they fought, and thought them unworthy of a philosopher, or a truly virtuous person? Therefore such a *Messiah* could never have converted them.

But, on the other hand, there is not any one circumstance or qualification which they could desire in a *Messiah*, which is not fill'd up, nay far exceeded, in their own way, beyond what they could have contriv'd, as to the strictest rules of virtue, in the Person, Life, and Death of our *Messiah*, and in all his Conduct: Shewing beyond the possibility of a deceit, or a face of suspicion, that he was a Legislator, sent from Heaven, without any temporal designs: *First*, To give the Sanction of God to Morality; which, tho' these philosophers taught truly, yet could they not stamp upon it such a seal of divine authority: And, *Secondly*, To carry them farther, and teach them the true Worship of God, and expiation of their Sins; with the assurance of everlasting Life, and the means of obtaining it: All which they confess'd they wanted, and that they did expect such a *Messiah*, or a Person anointed, a *Christ*, that is, delegated and authorized by God, to be born into the World, who should teach this Gospel, or glad Tidings unto them: And he came with such demonstration of his Commission, and divinely-wise Conduct in all his Administration, that a *Socrates*, a *Pythagoras*, or

* Limbor. Collat. n. iv. p. 53. and n. xiv. p. 66.

a *Plato*, could not only have found no objection, but must have admir'd and ador'd, as so far exceeding whatever they imperfectly had conjectur'd, tho' they were assisted with the greatest wisdom and virtue that was in all the *Gentile* World.

Thus you see that the objections which you *Jews*, and some of the lewd, and foolish Deists have made against the Poverty, Sufferings, and Death of our *Messiah*, turn all into demonstrations of his truth: And were so necessary, that, as he could not have fulfill'd the Law without them, so could he never, any otherwise, have been receiv'd of the *Gentiles*.

For God forces not, tho' he governs the wills of Men: That would be to destroy the creature he had made; for without the freedom of will, Man would not be a reasonable animal: And the wisdom of God is chiefly known, in so disposing of things, as to bring his own purposes to pass, and yet leaving Men to the full Freedom of their own wills.

This was one reason why our *Jesus* would not suffer the Devils to confess to him: And charg'd several whom he cured not to make it known till the time should come that he was to suffer: For that would have hasten'd his Sufferings, before the time, for the reason before given out of *Socrates* his defence.

It was in his power to have forc'd the *Jews* to a confession of him: But then they had not acted freely. Therefore having given them all reasonable conviction of his Mission, he left them to their freedom, whether they wou'd acknowledge him, or not. And their obstinacy did harden them still more, and deprav'd their judgment; which was a just punishment of their obstinacy, as well as a natural effect of it: For sin does always punish it self; it is its own accuser, judge, and executioner. This blinded the obstinate among the *Jews*, that they knew not their *Messiah*: For, *Had they known him, they wou'd not have crucify'd the Lord of Glory*. And thus that wonderful oeconomy for the salvation of Man, was brought about, by the greatest conduct of wisdom and goodness that was possible.

And by the same means, the conversion of the *Gentiles* was contriv'd: For had the *Jews* all generally follow'd *Christ*, the *Gentiles*, being left to their own freedom, wou'd never have receiv'd him; because they wou'd have look'd upon him as a Legislator sent only to the *Jews*; whose Law kept them at the utmost distance and detestation of the *Gentiles*: Whom therefore the *Gentiles* hated and despised, and thought it abomination, so much as to eat with them; and therefore wou'd have disdain'd to have receiv'd a Law-giver from them, who pretended to a right and a promise to conquer and overcome all the whole *Gentile* World, and subdue them under their *Messiah*; which they understood was to be by force of Arms. And tho' such a *Messiah* had set up, with never so much guise of humility and meekness, and put out the most specious declarations (as other Conquerors have at first done) if he had led the whole body of the *Jews* after him, the *Gentiles* wou'd have look'd upon all this as a trick to disarm them, by rendring them secure; and wou'd not have so been caught.

On the other hand, the *Jews* cou'd never have receiv'd a *Messiah* from the *Gentiles*: That was contrary to all the promises made to them in their Law.

Therefore, as it was necessary, with respect to the *Segullah*, that the *Messiah* shou'd be of the *Jews*; so was it necessary, in respect of the *Gentiles*, that he shou'd be rejected by the chief of the *Jews*; that he shou'd be persecuted and destroy'd by them: He cou'd not otherwise have become an universal Law-giver both to the *Jews* and the *Gentiles*.

And let me say, in respect of the Deists, it was necessary that there shou'd be a *Segullah*, or peculiar Church of God set up somewhere, in
some

some one Nation of the World; else the whole Earth wou'd have been irrecoverably sunk in idolatry: And there cou'd never, in such a frame of things, be any expiation for the sins of Mankind; who, therefore, were all represented in the Nation of the *Segullah*; and to be, by degrees, incorporated into them; and converted by them. As is shewn before, p. 82, 83.

And it was likewise necessary, that this Nation of the *Segullah* shou'd be the fewest and most neglected People of the Earth, as shewn p. 72.

And it was necessary, that the *Messiah* shou'd have been rejected by the chief and governing part of the *Jews*, the Chief Priests, and *Sanhedrin*: So was it as necessary, that he shou'd have been receiv'd and follow'd by others of the meanest and less notic'd of the *Jews*; because the *Gentiles* were to be converted by the *Jews*, and brought into their *Segullah*, as shewn before p. 82.

And these *Jews*, who at first follow'd *Christ*, were to be but few, and inconsiderable, during his life: To take away all umbrage from the *Gentiles*, as well as the governing part of the *Jews*, that he design'd any infraction upon their civil rights and liberties.

Therefore the great flowing in of the *Jews* first, particularly of their Priests, and afterwards of the *Gentiles*, was not till after the Ascension of our blessed Lord: To put them out of all fear of his going about to set up a temporal Kingdom, after his resurrection (as his Disciples expected, *Act. i. 6.*) For that had made a great noise, and given the allarm both to the High Priest and Governors of the *Jews*, as well as to the *Gentiles*: Therefore, tho' he shew'd himself openly, after his resurrection, and to so many, and at sundry times, and by such infallible proofs, as to confirm the truth of it, past all possibility of a deceit, or ground of scruple to after ages; yet he shewed not himself openly, to *all the people*. That wou'd have set the whole World in a flame, all on the suddain; who were not prepared, for they knew not as yet the design of his Kingdom, that it was to be spiritual and heavenly; till he shou'd in a long tract of time, and by degrees, bring over the whole kingdom of the Earth to his subjection, in the belief of his Gospel; not by force of Arms (for that cou'd not have done it) but according to the full freedom of their own wills, by a rational conviction. Acts vi. 7.

And it is observable, that tho' one great Article of the Apostolical Office, at first, was, particularly to be witnesses of the resurrection of *Christ*; that this, at first, was necessary to the constitution of an Apostle; and therefore *Christ* did shew himself, in a miraculous manner, to St. *Paul*, to qualify him for that Office: Yet, as himself says, it was, *Last of all, as one born out of due time*. For he was constituted to be the Apostle of the *Gentiles*, who came in to the Gospel *Last of all, as born out of due time*. Acts i. 22.

And he was the only Man among the Apostles, who had acquir'd learning by study and education: Therefore he was not admitted, till the Gospel had been first preached by the others, and fully establish'd: And he was, at first, a persecutor of it; to take away the least suspicion, that his parts or learning had any share in the contrivance of the Gospel. And then his coming in at last, did remove the prejudice, that no Men of learning and sagacity had embrac'd it. He broke the Ice, for the *Gentiles*, who were admirers of learning; and for this they valu'd him the more, and hearken'd to him.

I cou'd enlarge, in many other particulars; indeed in every particular, thro' the whole oecconomy of the Gospel, to shew the wonderful conduct, and most minute proportion that there is in every part: Which, of it self,

were

were sufficient to convince any considering Person, that the whole contrivance was divine, and that no lesser wisdom cou'd have so disposed of it.

But that wou'd require a Treatise by it self. And thus much I thought necessary for my present subject: To shew how we *Gentiles* were drawn into the belief of the Gospel, by the cords of a Man; by such methods, as overcame our reason, without destroying the freedom of our Will; such as give us the utmost demonstration of the wisdom and goodness of God, without the interposition of his almighty power, by which he governs the unthinking part of his Creation.

And as the *Jews* first brought us into the Gospel, so wou'd we now provoke them to emulation by the same methods, in which God has dealt with us; by shewing them the beauty, the harmony, and irrefragable demonstration of fact, that has convinced us of the truth of the Gospel.

The infidelity of so many of you *Jews*, was necessary (as shew'd before) towards our receiving of the Gospel, till the fullness of the *Gentiles* shou'd come in.

Rom. xi. 15. And if the *casting away of you, be the reconciling of the world; what shall the receiving of you be, but life from the dead? Amen.*

XVI. Let me now conclude, and apply all that has been said, by a short recapitulation and enforcement of the principal parts of it.

You have given up all the credibility that there is for the truth of *Moses* and your Law, rather than admit of the same credibility (and stronger) that there is for *Christ* and the Gospel. So that, as said before, and as has been prov'd, you have involv'd your selves under the necessity, either of rejecting *Moses*, or embracing of Christianity.

Your objections have been answer'd, *ex abundanti*; for after the full proof of the Miracles of *Christ* and his Apostles, there needed no more to have been said, as to receiving the Doctrine which they taught, and those expositions they gave of the Law; which stand upon as sure a foundation, and carry the same infallible credentials of divine authority as the Law it self.

And these cannot be overthrown by never so great a cloud of difficulties or objections, tho' they cou'd not be answer'd to satisfaction, without disproving the motives of credibility upon which they are receiv'd.

For we may have sufficient reason to believe many things, and yet not be able to solve all the difficulties that may arise concerning them.

As in natural things, we cannot explain the manner and conveyance of sensible objects, thro' our outward Organs to our Soul; nor the thousandth part of those difficulties which are started concerning the Soul it self: Yet no Man doubts but that he has a Soul, that he sees, hears, thinks, reasons, &c.

So in supernatural things, who can solve all that may be ask'd concerning the being and operations of God? Yet all this is no Argument against the belief of a first cause, and its essential perfections; because it is forc'd upon us by undeniable reason.

Therefore, unless you can shew the fallacy of those four marks, which in the first part are set down, to ascertain the truth of matters of fact; or secondly, shew that the matters of fact of *Christ* want any of them; all your objections borrow'd from other topicks, can signify nothing against the truth of Christianity.

And if you can shew the uncertainty of these marks; or that they are wanting to the evidence of Christianity: Then down comes your Law with it; and we must all together turn Deists.

You

You say (as has been before quoted, p. 70.) That if *Christ* after he rose from the dead, had appear'd to the whole congregation of *Israel*, &c. That this wou'd have remov'd all scruple from you; and that you wou'd, without all doubt, have believ'd him.

And now I beseech you, have you not had as miraculous confirmation of him, as even this which you require? Was not the visible descent of the Holy Ghost upon him at his Baptism, and the audible voice from Heaven, before all the People, telling them from the Mouth of God, *This is my beloved Son*, &c. was not this a much stronger indication from God, than if a Man formerly dead, had appear'd? Might not one Man be like another? Have not many been deceiv'd upon that point? Were not the Apostles hardly brought to believe it, even by many Miracles? Wou'd there not be more questions to be ask'd in that case, than in such a visible apparition from Heaven before the eyes of so many People, and in words spoke from Heaven in all their hearing?

Our blessed Saviour said to some of your Fathers, *That if they heard not Moses and the Prophets, neither wou'd they be persuaded, tho' one rose from the dead.* And the reason is plain, because the proofs for *Moses*, &c. are more indubitable than the apparition of the dead Man. Luk. xvi. 31.

But do you want even this proof? Did not *Christ* appear, after his resurrection to above five hundred of your Fathers at once? And has not this been attested by a multitude of Miracles wrought by those of your Fathers, who saw him, who eat with him and convers'd forty days with him, after he rose from the dead? Did he not appear to *Paul* from Heaven after his ascension? If not, wou'd not some of those *Jews* who then journeyed with him, who saw that light, above the brightness of the Sun; and heard the voice, tho' not the distinct words of him that spoke to *Paul*; who were struck down to the Earth, and greatly terrify'd; who saw *Paul* struck blind upon the spot, and led him by the hand into *Damascus*: Wou'd none of these have discover'd the cheat, if all this Story had been a mere invention and forgery of *Paul's*? Wou'd none of these have done it, who were so far from being favourable to the Christian side, that they were then going along with *Paul* to persecute that way, even unto the death? Would they not have done it, when *Paul* trump't it up, and the Christians laid such stress upon it, that it is told at large in three several places of the *Acts*, chap. ix. xxii. and xxvi. when *Paul*, within three days, began to preach *Christ* in *Damascus*, and confounded the *Jews* there, where those who journeyed with him were then present, and might have confounded him, if they had deny'd that matter of fact, when he adduc'd them as witnesses of it? But above all, the miracles which *Paul* wrought, as great even as this, do vouch his truth in this matter, seeing they are deduc'd to us, with all the four marks before mention'd; which do infallibly demonstrate the certainty of any matter of fact.

Moreover consider, that all these witnesses to the Resurrection of *Christ* were *Jews*, and none other. It has been before observ'd that *Christ* preach'd to none but the *Jews* before his death; so after his Resurrection he shewed himself to none other but to them: And from the *Jews* only have we *Gentiles* receiv'd the knowledge of his Resurrection, and of all the Gospel. This is a Tradition of the *Jews*, and deduced through a greater number of them, and their posterities, (as before has been shewn) than there are *Jews* who now stand out against it. These reject the Tradition of their Fathers, upon which they now lay the whole stress of their Religion; and are proof against those convictions which have converted the *Gentiles*. The christian *Jews* did not set up *Christ* for their *Messiah*; they chose not him, but he chose them: They knew him not to be the *Messiah* Joh. xv. 16.

till they were convinc'd by many Miracles; they understood not the nature of his Kingdom, but were brought by him from their notion of reigning to that of suffering with him upon the Earth. Therefore these are to be less suspected than those others of your Fathers, who set up *Messiahs* for themselves, in hopes to reign with them in the Land of *Canaan*; and have been as often deceiv'd, and suffer'd miserable destruction by it.

But, as before has been argued, there is no such visible means in the World to bring them to that temporal grandeur which they expect, and the Nation of the *Jews* to that universal honour, super-eminence, and dominion through the whole Earth, as their conversion to Christianity: Then will *Christ* be not only a *Light to the Gentiles*, but the *Glory of his People Israel*.

But chiefly and above all, I earnestly recommend to you *Jews* the consideration of your eternal State, towards which you expect no benefit from your *Messiah*; and yet without whom you can give no account how you shall be deliver'd and purg'd from those Sins for which there were no sacrifices or expiation under the Law, as has been discours'd before.

Num. xxxv.
25, 28.

There was none for those who *fled to the Cities of Refuge*: Nothing could deliver them from thence but the *Death of the High-priest*: Which was a plain Type that nothing but the Death of our great High priest can deliver us from the guilt of Sin. The like parallel might be carry'd on through every branch of your Law pointing to the *Messiah*; but that would divert too much: You have only a few instances here: The whole would take up a discourse longer than all I have written to you.

I wish even the temporal glory of *Israel*: And should rejoice that, in the day of their conversion, I should be found among those who are sprung from their stock, and shall exult to re-assume our ancient and most honourable name of *Jews*.

And let the chiefest glory, as in Heaven, so on Earth be to those of you who shall lead the way, and be instrumental in the restoration of the Families of *Jacob*.

Towards which I will with these my small endeavours join my hearty prayers; made more effectual as offered up in the communion of the holy catholick Church, that part of it especially in *England*, which prays for you, on this blessed day, to your God and our God, through the Mediation and Satisfaction made for us by your and our only *Messiah*; and after his holy Example, who, this day, poured forth his Blood with his Prayers for you upon the Cross. O Lord that this were the time when they should be heard! *Amen*. Lord *Jesu*, come quickly.

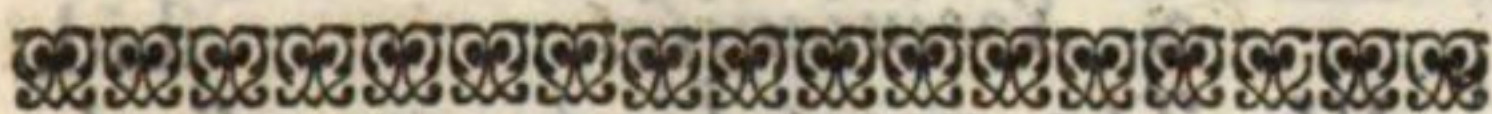
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THE
Truth of Christianity
DEMONSTRATED:

WITH A
DISSERTATION
CONCERNING
PRIVATE JUDGMENT and AUTHORITY.

To which is Prefixed a
VINDICATION
OF
The Short METHOD with the DEISTS.

IN
Answer to a BOOK lately Published with this TITLE:

[A Detection of the true Meaning and wicked Design of a Book, entitled, *A Plain and Easy Method with the Deists*; wherein it is proved, that the Author's (Lesley) FOUR MARKS are the Marks of the Beast, and are calculated only for the cause and service of Popery. London, Printed and are to be Sold by B. Bragg at the Raven in Pater-Noster-Row, 1710.]

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PREFACE to the short Method with the DEISTS vindicated.

When first I saw this Detection, I went to it with great expectation, to see what could be said against the four marks set down in the Short Method, &c. But the Title Page calling them the Marks of the Beast, and charging the design to be Popish and Wicked, I concluded it to be Grubstreet, wrote by some impotent Whigg or Dissenter, in spite to the Author, rather to give him ill names, than to answer his Arguments.

But when I had read it over, I own it confounded me. I was filled with horror and amazement, to see Christ our Lord not only blasphemed but ridiculed, and the truth of his facts and of the Gospel, put into a lower class of Probability than the most senseless Legends either of the Papists or the Heathens. Here the Cloven-foot appear'd notoriously, and shewed out of what quiver this envenomed arrow came, even of an inveterate and malicious Deist, filled with all the rage of Hell against the Glory of God manifested in that Revelation he gave to the World for the Salvation of Mankind.

And it gave me a very melancholy reflexion, to see the spirit of Infidelity let loose amongst us, and of late years appear open and bare-fac'd; and by this means to have made so many Proselytes from Christianity among all orders and degrees of Men; insomuch, that it is become a recommendation, and mark of Wit to be one of these free-thinkers; and all others are loaded with the contemptible name of priest-ridden and slavish in their understandings.

PREFACE to the

For these ends this Detection was wrote: But (blessed be God) so poor and mean, as to the reasoning part, that it must confirm any Man of sense much more in the truth and certainty of the Christian Religion, to see how wretchedly silly all these efforts are which are made against it. For this reason I thought to neglect it, and let it sink under its own weight of nonsense and contradiction. But I was told that it had effect with many, not only of the unthinking and lowest size of understandings, but with others of more capacity, whose prejudice and inclinations made every thing of this sort most acceptable and valuable to them. And that some had boasted of it, not only as a very shrewd but an unanswerable piece, against Priest-craft and all the Fourb of Revelation, to use their own expression as they have given it us in Print.

This determined me to write an Answer to the Detection. And in thinking this matter over again, I found there were other marks or evidences for Christianity, very material, besides those four which I have set down in the Short Method with the Deists. Not that these four do not sufficiently evince the truth of Christianity, and distinguish it from any false facts which ever were in the World: But there are other evidences of Christianity which no other fact how true soever either has had, or can have. These add to the evidence, tho' not to the truth of Christianity. And it is glorious to see this fact of Christ stand single in the Creation, with evidence peculiar to it self alone.

I have answered the Detection by the first four marks only, because these are what he undertook to disprove. And I have put that answer first by it self, because I wou'd not intermix it with that demonstration of Christianity which follows, and would be much interrupted, if the Discourse should break off, as frequently as the answering the Detection upon every particular would require. And tho' the last four marks which I have now added to this demonstration, would at first sight overthrow all the poor Sophisms in the Detection, none of the facts he produces as a dis-proof of the first four marks, having the least shadow or pretence of coming up to the evidence of any of the other marks; yet these not being in his view when he wrote the Detection, he might think he had gain'd his point against the first four marks, and so overthrown the Short Method; and put me to bring in fresh succours for the support of Christianity. But having demonstrated the truth of Christianity by the first four marks, I now by the others shew the glory of it; which, as the Sun, not only dispels the darkness of error, but obscures all inferior truths, that, like the lesser lights of Moon and Stars, disappear

appear at the approach of this superior light, and have no glory, by reason of the glory that excelleth.

And here I bring in the Jews, to let them see how far the evidence of the fact of Christ outshines that of their Moses, who has no share in the sixth, seventh, and eighth evidences here produc'd for Christianity; which has likewise all the other that are or can be produc'd for Moses or the Law.

I have not made the Jew a Party in this dispute, because indeed I cou'd not find what to say for his cause, supposing my self a Jew; which is the method I take in representing and discussing the opinion of my adversary, to say all I can for it, as if it were really my own opinion. But in this case, it was not in my power to put any tolerable answer in the Mouth of a Jew, unless I should make him totally give up his cause; which in an opponent would seem a betraying it. Therefore I have left it to themselves, to say more on their own behalf than did occur to me, if they can find it out; for I think their cause more naked than even that of the Deists, because they must run counter to their own Principles, and overthrow all their foundations, in defending themselves against Christianity, which is built upon them.

But in the third part of this discourse, concerning private Judgment and Authority, I have introduced the Jew as a speaker, because tho' he has so very little to say against the evidence of Christianity, upon the foot of Reason, or of the Prophecies concerning the Messiah in the Old Testament; yet if we put the proof of Christianity and the truth of the Scriptures, upon the Authority of the Church, as is done in the Church of Rome, there the Arguments of the Jew seem to me irrefragable against this foundation of Christianity. And this is the clearest manner wherein I can shew to a sincere and honest Roman Catholick the prejudice which his Church has done to Christianity, in this new Topic she has taken up to defend her self against the Reformation, of resolving our faith into the Authority of the Church, and denying us the use of our private Judgment, or the most flagrant proofs in the World against such Authority.

But as I said before to the Jew, so I do now to the Roman Catholick, That I have made his cause my own, and argued for it all that is possibly in my power. But not to preclude him from offering whatever farther may occur to him in defence of his own Tenet; which I shall be most willing to hear, and promise to consider it as impartially as I can: Because it is for my own sake, and I would not pawn my Soul for my Party.

Whoever is in earnest with Religion, would wish all the World
H h of

of his mind: And therefore as he is zealous to persuade others, so he ought to be patient in bearing the contradiction of those who oppose themselves; instructing them in meekness, while they shew any docible temper. And when this meets on both sides, the Christian Church may have hopes of Peace.

All I have desired of the Roman Catholick in this dissertation, is, to give us free liberty of reasoning together, and not to say, I have already determined my self upon the authority of the Church, and will hear no more, nor admit any Argument against it: I will not suffer any dispute concerning whatever the Church has proposed to me as of faith: It is in vain to offer to shew a Man any thing, till first you have persuaded him to open his Eyes. Yet I despair not, for Christ is the λόγος the Reason or Wisdom of God, and that ray of it communicated to us makes us Men and his image: It is part of our Nature, and we cannot divest our selves wholly of it; for we must make use of our Reason, in finding out Arguments why we should not make use of it. And since reason must be our Instructor, why should we deny it to be our Guide? Why should we exclude it in Religion, where we have the greatest occasion for it, to see that we are not misled? Must we be sharp-sighted in in our temporal Affairs, and carried blindfold as to our eternal? Must we not examine why we believe in Christ, rather than in Mahomet? Why we are not Jews this day, but Christians? Or do we take up our Religion by chance, according to the place where we were born and bred? And does not this befall most Men, by stopping their Ears against Reason? Does God admit us to reason with him? Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord; does he appeal to our private Judgment? He says, Judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my Vineyard; did he permit Abraham to argue with him? Shall not the Judge of all the Earth do right? And shall Man say to us, you are not allowed to ask us any questions at all, but to believe implicitly whatever we declare unto you?

This is the cause I have undertaken: And how shall I not hope that Reason will prevail,

Christo duce, & auspice Christo?

From my Tusculum.

All Saints, 1710.

THE



The Short and Easy
M E T H O D
 WITH THE
D E I S T S
V I N D I C A T E D.

The four Marks of the truth of Facts, upon which the *Short Method* proceeds.

- I. *That the fact be such, as that Mens outward Senses; their Eyes and Ears may judge of it.*
- II. *That it be done publickly in the face of the World.*
- III. *That not only publick Monuments be kept up in memory of it, but some outward Actions to be performed.*
- IV. *That such Monuments and such Actions or Observances be instituted, and do commence from the time that the fact was done.*

I. **M**Y *Short and Easy Method with the DEISTS*, bears Date July 17th 1697. And was but two Sheets of Paper, being wrote for the satisfaction of a Gentlewoman (tho' it is address'd as to a Man) who had been stagger'd with the Arguments of Deism even to distraction; for tho' (as she told me) she was not come to be a downright Deist, yet she was not able to answer their Arguments, nor to clear up the matter to her own mind; and what had been so often rung in her Ears, of the Story of *Christ* being but a Fable, like that of *Mahomet* or the Heathen Gods, wou'd dart into her

her thoughts in the midst of her Devotions, even at the holy Sacrament; which, said she, if Christianity be a truth, seem'd to me to be blasphemous, and that I was provoking God, while I pretended to worship him. This at last wrought so powerfully with her, that she came to abstain from all prayers, even in private; and was in a most deplorable condition, owning that she was often tempted to destroy her self, which she was afraid would be the Issue. I found discoursing with her had but little effect, for in that violent discomposure, she cou'd not give attention, but wou'd fall out into terrible exclamations, and wishing her self dead, or that she had never been born. I then wrote this Letter to her, free from all intricacies, and suited to her Capacity; and prevail'd with her to copy it in her own hand, thinking that wou'd fix her attention the more, and prevent those wandering thoughts which interrupted her consideration of what was offer'd to her in discourse. And, by the blessing of God, this had the desir'd effect, for she came to reason calmly, and at last was fully convinc'd, as she still remains; and she was able to keep her ground with the Deists by the four marks, which none of the Stories they told her of the Heathen Gods, of *Mahomet*, or the Legends, cou'd come up to. Some had the first mark, some the second, and some the third, but all stuck at the fourth, none of them had all the four. And it was by her persuasion, and of some others to whom she shewed my Letter, that I was prevail'd with to let it be made publick. And it meeting with a favourable reception, I enlarged it to four or five Sheets in the next Edition. And took in the Case of the *Jews*, which made a larger Volume.

II. I had several conferences with some Deists upon the Argument: And the Issue was, They were to find out some fact that was false which had all the four marks. And tho' they nam'd many, yet none was found that wou'd bear the Test. Nor cou'd they find any suppositious Book which had these four marks for its veracity, as the holy Scriptures have, which commenced from the time they speak of, and were written by the Actors of the facts they relate, or by Eye and Ear-Witnesses. And thus the matter has stood these 13 Years, till this detection is at last come out, and like the Mountain so long with Child, has brought forth a Mouse.

(III.) His proofs begin p. 14. And the first instance is out of *Livy* of a decree made at *Rome* for one day's supplication to *Æsculapius*, to remove a Plague that was in the City.

1. Then he quotes a very modern Author *Freinshemius*, who wrote a supplement to *Livy*, and there tells a strange Story of a Serpent that came into a Ship at *Epidaurus*, and was carry'd to *Rome*, where being arriv'd it swam into an Island in the *Tiber*, and was no more seen. And they supposing the Deity of *Æsculapius* to be in the Serpent, and that the God had chosen this place for a Temple to be built to him, did accordingly build a Temple in that Island for *Æsculapius*, and the Plague ceased. And he says *Freinshemius* quotes several Authors for this. And so he might: No doubt a Story may be handed from one to another. But who was the original Author? And what cause of knowledge had he? Was he an Eye-witness of it? Or did he dream it? Perhaps he had it from an Old Woman in a Chimney-corner, or out of a Romance, or fram'd it as such himself. Yet he has the confidence to say, That this has all the four marks.

But suppose this Story were true, what wou'd he make of it? Did this Serpent speak, and teach the World any Doctrine as sent from God? Or was it to vouch the Mission of any Person who pretended to be so sent? I think we need stay no longer with this.

2. His next is p. 19. Of two unknown young Men, who charged on the front

front of the *Roman* Horse against the *Latins*: And the same Night they two, or two such like, were seen at *Rome*, and told them the *Latins* were routed. And the *Romans* fancying these to be *Castor* and *Pollux*, built a Temple to them, and appointed a yearly Procession in memory of the happy conclusion of that War with the *Latins*. To which I say,

First, That this is told by none who were Eye-witnesses, or who liv'd near the time.

Secondly, Here is nothing but the pure fancy of the *Romans* that these were *Castor* and *Pollux*. For it is not said that these two Men told them so.

Thirdly, Suppose the fact true, this was not to confirm any Doctrine, or vouch the Mission of any Prophet or Teacher, as sent from God.

If you say, that it was a confirmation of the then *Roman* Idolatry, that God suffer'd such a wonderful thing to be done among them; it will not follow: For greater wonders than this Apparition (suppose it true) were done by the Magicians in *Ægypt*, and by the Devil when he brought down fire upon *Job's* Cattle: And this Apparition to the *Romans* was not out of the Power of the evil Spirits to perform, if God so permitted them. Of this see more in what is said hereafter upon the head of Miracles, the last *Num.* vii of this Book.

3. His next instance is p. 25. of *Sommonocodom* now worshipped in *Siam*: Where he draws a most blasphemous parallel betwixt him and *Christ*, as to his Birth, and several passages of his Life. For answer to this I refer you to the Letter hereunto annex'd from an ingenious Friend of mine, whom I desired to search for Father *Tachard* and Mr. *Gervaise* quoted for this Story in the *Detection*, I not having the Books, and being not well able at this time to go about and look after them. There you will find that the *Siamese* do not reckon this *Sommonocodom* as the founder of their Religion: That they neither know when or by whom the book they have of him was written: That they believe no God, but a continual fluxation and transmigration of Souls from eternity: That they have no certain account or history even of their own Kingdom or their civil Affairs: In short, that they are a most stupid and brutal people. And as for the senseless stories they have of their *Sommonocodom*, without the appearance of truth or any foundation, those you will see in the Letter. But from what they tell of *Sommonocodom*, his being born of a Virgin, and forced to fly when a young Child to another country from a King that would have destroy'd him, and several other passages of our blessed Saviour's Life, it is apparent that they have heard of the Gospel, or that Christianity was some time in that country, tho' it is now lost among them, as in other places. But as to the Author of the *Detection*, he is desir'd to tell us when that book which relates the Facts of *Sommonocodom* was written, and who was the Author of it? Was he a witness of the Facts? And has that book been extant ever since? Till he can answer these things he cannot say it has the four marks as our Bible has. But it shews what true pains he has taken to banter and ridicule Christianity, in picking up stories from every corner, which he thinks may blast and confound it: *The Lord rebuke him.*

He says p. 24, 25. That this *Sommonocodom*, after a long expectation of the whole Universe, was born about 400 years before our blessed Saviour. For this he quotes none of his Authors; it was a stroke put in by himself, that he might make it a parallel to what I mention in that part I added to the *Short Method* relating to the *Jews*, Sect. v. p. 47, &c. concerning the general expectation among the *Gentiles* from East to West, about the time of our Saviour's coming. This I proved, not from the holy Scriptures only, but from the best of the heathen Authors themselves, from the Sibyls, and the decree of the Senate of *Rome* pursuant to them; and grounded the time of our Sa-

viour's coming of a *Jew* to be then born, who should be universal King of the whole earth, upon this general expectation then current among the *Romans*, as well as throughout all the East; whence the *Magi* came to worship this King newly born. We have histories of the times 400 Years before *Christ*; and if there was such a general expectation of the whole universe at that time concerning *Sommonocodom*, as the *Detection* says, it is strange that no Author in the whole Universe should make the least mention of such an expectation of an universal Monarch to be born at *Siam*. Therefore till the *Detection* produces his Vouchers, and others besides the *Siamese*, who could not answer for the whole World, we must look upon this as a mere figment of that Author's own brains; and which has fully discover'd the nonsense and forgery of his *Detection*, and shews how hard it is for lies to imitate the truth.

4. He next comes to the Popish Legends, p. 30. and quotes one *E. W.* who wrote against Dr. *Stillingfleet* for some Miracles wrought by *Thomas Cantelupe* Bishop of *Hereford*; and some after he was dead. The only one he names is, p. 31. of a Child who fell from a bridge belonging to *Conway Castle* in *Wales* into the ditch twenty eight foot under the bridge, and was taken up dead, as was supposed, but recovered upon Prayers to St. *Thomas Cantelupe*. Now I can tell him of a Man who fell from a much higher Place, and yet had no Hurt at all: Was not that a greater Miracle? But he goes on, and tells from this *E. W.* p. 31, 32. how the Virgin *Mary* appear'd to a Bishop of *Arras* with a burning Wax Candle in her Hand in the great Church before all the people; and that the Candle is still preserv'd there, and *spends it self, yet loses nothing: That is* (says he) *like the Bush which Moses saw burn, but not at all consumed*. Here you see the Man, and to what End he brings in all these stories! He believes the one no more than the other! He says of that of the Candle *it is no very difficult matter to give a near guess how this juggle was contrived*. And that of *Moses* he thinks was such another juggle! But, Sir, could *Moses* juggle to make six hundred thousand Men believe that he led them through the Sea in the manner he tells; that they were fed with Manna from Heaven; that he brought Water out of the Rock before their eyes to quench their thirst? Could *Christ* juggle to make five thousand hungry Men believe he had filled all their bellies with five Loaves they saw in his Hands and two Fishes? That he had raised *Lazarus* after being four Days in the grave? Can all the Miracles of *Moses* and of *Christ* be juggled off like that of the Wax Candle? Yes, you think so, and say p. 38. "That (Miracle) of *Arras* not only exceeds the four Marks, but transcends any Miracle that was wrought by *Christ* or his *Apostles*."

Can christian ears bear this Blasphemy! O thou full of all subtilty and all mischief, thou child of the Devil, thou enemy of all righteousness, wilt not thou cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?

5. This *Elymas* in the next Words falls a raging with all the malice of Hell against those who make use of revelation, that is, of the holy Scriptures in matter of Government, deducing it from God, as from the original, and having his Authority; which is here called Slavery and Popery: And he says, "They both depend upon the same Principle (that is, of Revelation) and whosoever is capable of entertaining heartily any one of these notions, must necessarily fall at last into the other." And I have observ'd on the other hand, that whoever is capable of entertaining heartily the notion of all power being in the people, and making them the original of Government, fall most commonly, I will not say necessarily, into the other of Deism, so that they are almost convertible terms: For throwing off the Authority of God as to Government, leads naturally to the laying it aside

in Religion too, if that may be call'd Religion which has not God for its Author. And for my asserting the Authority of God in both, he says, *I am a Papist* (ridiculous!) *and have a miscreated Understanding*. And p. 39. "These (Priests) are the Dogs of Hell, that are let loose from the infernal Regions——These are the *Harpies* that defile with their filthy odious gripes whatever was design'd by God or Nature, for the pleasure, health, or welfare of the poor subjected Laity." This is always the burden of the song, O, these Priests! And you see in what a handlom manner he treats them! And how they would be treated in *England*, if his Principles shou'd prevail! And they have sadly prevail'd. Pray God stop the progress, and raise Labourers who will be faithful in his Vineyard; for *the wild Boar of the Forest doth now root it up*, many *Foxes* spoil the *Vines*, and all they that go by pluck off her *Grapes*.

6. He returns, p. 40. to give another instance of a falshood that has all the four marks, which is the known story of the pied Piper at *Hamel*, who piped a hundred and thirty Children out of town, and led them to a little hill, in the side of which a wide hole opened, into which they all went, and it closed upon them again. But whether this Story be true or false, yet he cannot say it has all the four Marks; for in the relation which he sets down of it from *Verstegan*, it is told, p. 41. that as to this of the opening of the hill, and their going into it, there is but one evidence, that is, of a lame Boy who lagged behind: This wants the second Mark of the Fact being done publickly in the *face of the World*. And if the Boy lyed or was mistaken in a fright, there is an end of the whole story. But all the use this Author makes of it, is, that if it was a cheat, he is sure, as he says, p. 42. *That the Priests had the chiefest hand in the contrivance*; though there is not a Word of a Priest in all the story, unless he takes a Piper for a Priest. But this shews his equality, and how ready he is to do justice to the Priesthood.

7. His last instance is p. 43. which leads us to the Author of the *Detection*. It is a noble performance of his own which he quotes, intituled, *Priest-Craft in Perfection*, &c. And here he enlarges with intolerable assurance, upon what he there endeavoured to prove, viz. the detection of a forgery of the *English* Divines, in foisting a clause into the twentieth Article of our Church: And he has the folly to say, that this detection too has all the four Marks. But he has had the mortification since to see the Church of *England* vindicated, and the forgery turn'd upon himself and partners; and to encrease his torment, done by a Priest; which makes the evil Spirit that possesses him gnash his teeth; and rage in his impotent malice, being now overcome by those who shall judge him at the last Day.

8. These are all the instances brought in the *Detection* to overthrow the four marks: Which he calls p. 45. *destruere aliena*, to confute these proofs in defence of Christianity. But he promises, *ponere nostra*, to give his proofs for it, in another work of his, soon (or never) to see the light. If he had intended it, he wou'd have given us some specimen of it in this, where he spends much the greatest part of his Book in bitter railing and most scurrilous reflexions, first upon my self, and then upon all Clergy and Priesthood: Which I think not worth my while to answer.

9. He concludes with personating a Deist, and telling what he wou'd say, which he does very naturally, thus, p. 47. "That he wou'd so far have entered into a nice and critical disquisition of the Matter, Weight, and Authentickness of the Books of the Old and New Testament, as to have rendred them both spurious and incredible; and consequently no competent Witnesses of what they relate, either concerning Miracles, or any other

“ other extraordinary accounts, or supernatural occurrences contained in
“ reveal'd Religion.

This is the work he has been lately about in *Holland* with his Friend *Toland* (who consecrates the Sacrament for his Dog!) and other free-thinkers, of which I have seen an account from good hands. And they are in quest of some fine old Manuscript, which will prove that *Jesus* was thirty years in *Aegypt*, and more skill'd in all the learning of that Country than *Moses*; and that they both did their Miracles by Magick. I remember an old *Jew* with whom I had frequent conversation, after I had given him one of these Books of the Deists and *Jews*, told me that there was such a Manuscript concerning *Jesus* being so long in *Aegypt*, but that they durst not produce it in a Christian Country. I ask'd him if the truth of that Manuscript cou'd be vouch'd by the four marks, which their Old and our New Testament had? He said, No, it cou'd not stand that test, but it might be true for all that. But this Author can easily supply the defect, and make it bear the four marks, full as well as these Stories to which he applies them. And I wou'd advise him, That when his *Opus Palmare* comes out, (which he has concerted with *Toland*, *Le Clerc*, &c. in aid of the Book of the *Rights*, abridg'd and translated into *French* by the latter with high commendations in his *Bibliothèque Choisie*, to detect the Apocryphal Books of the New Testament, that is, all of them) he wou'd take care to fortify his Vouchers with the four marks. Which will be no difficult task, in the manner he has done it to his *Priest-craft in perfection*.

IV. When the *Short Method with the Deists* came first out, I had Verses sent me of hideous Blasphemy, wherein our Lord *Christ* was banter'd with diabolical malice.

1. But the first that appear'd in print against it was Monsieur *Le Clerc* before mention'd, in his *Bibliothèque Choisie*, in the year 1706. *Tome* viii. p. 394, 395. Where he treats me with a haughtiness and contempt, I did not think worth notice. Had he been a friend to Christianity, he wou'd not have affronted any one for appearing on its behalf, tho' his performance had been weak; but rather have encouraged him, and kindly inform'd him wherein he had come short, and how to have improved: He wou'd have told him what other topick had been more proper for the proof of Christianity; and wou'd not have run down this, without shewing a better: Which he has not done, but refer'd it to another time, like the Author of the *Detection*.

2. And as others, when they have nothing left to say, he throws the Revolution at me—*Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?* He says, I have wrote seditious and scandalous discourses, but names none: So that he may father upon me what he pleases, as others have done. And remember that this was in 1706. So that nothing laid to my charge since can be here meant.

3. But now as to his arguments against the *Method with the Deists*, the fairest way will be to give you them in his own words, that I be not thought to misrepresent them, or abate any thing of their force. Take them then thus, translated into *English*.

“ *Pour Moi*—For my part, I am inclinable to be of Mr. *Hody's* Opinion, who thinks there were some anniversary diversions in that place,
“ which being very much frequented by the *Jews* who inhabited that part
“ of *Alexandria* which lay on the Sea Coast, some People tenaciously fond
“ of the *Greek* Version made others believe it was in memory of it that
“ these rejoicings were made in the Isle of *Pharos*. Those that have read
“ the *Greek* Mythologists, or even *Ovid's Fasti* have often observed, that
“ there were among the *Pagans*, several Festivals instituted in memory of
“ some

“ some events which never happened, tho’ these Festivals were said to bear
 “ date immediately from them. Such Fables having once obtained credit
 “ in Men’s minds, these holy-days were established by degrees, through the
 “ artifice of the Priests, who made their own advantage by them. And as
 “ their beginnings were not committed to History, in a generation or two
 “ after, the original of them was derived from the very time when the
 “ things that were thus commemorated were said to have happened. This
 “ is an useful observation against some Persons full of blind zeal, not to
 “ give it a worse name, and little skill’d in History, who make use of these
 “ institutions to prove the truth of Legends, or even of the sacred History,
 “ which stands in no need of such equivocal proofs that are as applicable
 “ to falshood as to truth. There is, I know not whom, who in compa-
 “ rison of these despises the strongest proofs of Christianity; I know not
 “ for what end, but I very much suspect it can only be to establish some
 “ deceitful Traditions, and put them upon the level with the most authen-
 “ tick Doctrines of Christianity, in order to make a profit or advantage by
 “ them. The seditious, scandalous, and violent writings of this Man can-
 “ not allow me to have a better opinion of him. I need not farther cha-
 “ racterize an Author who seeks to gain a reputation by insulting those who
 “ wou’d think it a blemish to their own, to lose their time in answering
 “ him.

I will not pretend to guess here whom he means that I have insulted: For I will not digress. But here is the full of the Argument that is made use of in the *Detection*, which is nothing else but a comment upon this Text. And now we see the combination.

4. I am willing to have as mean an opinion of my self as Mr. *Le Clerc* or the *Detection* wou’d have me: And I put not the truth of Christianity upon the issue of any topick I can make use of to demonstrate it. No, God forbid. *Let God be true, and every Man a liar.* But I may be allowed to stand by that Argument which has confirmed me and others in the truth of Christianity, till I see it fairly confuted, and some better given.

5. And I desire Mr. *Le Clerc* to prove what he charges upon me, That I despise the strongest proofs of Christianity, in comparison of those I have advanc’d. What other proof have I despised? What other proof has he named? And he should have named that stronger proof at the same time that he endeavour’d to overthrow this proof, lest having taken Men off from one foundation, and giving them no other to stand upon, he might leave them no foundation at all; and so disingage them quite from all Christianity, and make them errant Deists. And there is more suspicion, by this management, of this being the design, than of my endeavouring to introduce Popery or Paganism, by shewing such proofs of Christianity, as none of their Legends, of the one sort or the other, can pretend to; notwithstanding all the zeal Mr. *Le Clerc* or the *Detection* have shewed, to make the facts of *Christ* as fabulous as the other.

6. Therefore in defence of Christianity, I will shew the failings of Mr. *Le Clerc*’s Argument against it, and that by the four marks which he so much despises. First then, the fact of some *Jews* making others believe that the rejoicings at *Pharos* was in memory of the *Greek* Version, wants all the marks; unless Mr. *Le Clerc* can shew, that the *Greek* Version was a fact done publickly in the face of the World, and can produce a Book wrote at the time, by the Actors or Eye-witnesses, and containing the institution of these rejoicings at *Pharos*, to be perpetually kept up in memory of it.

7. Next, for the *Greek* Mythologists and the *Fasti* of *Ovid*; they are a plain proof against the facts, and shew, that they were related not as truths

in fact, but only to express some Mythology or Moral, by such feigned representations, like that of *Æsop's* Fables or Romances wrote for the same end.

But he says, " That these Fables having once obtained credit in Mens minds, these Holy-Days were established by degrees, through the Artifice of the Priests; and as their beginnings were not committed to History, in a generation or two after, the original of them was derived from the very time when the things that were thus commemorated were said to have happened.

But does he not see, that the four marks obviate all these delusions? Their Holy Days or commemorative institutions came on by degrees: They did not commence from the time the facts were said to have been done.

8. In the next place, he wholly gives up the cause, when he says, That their beginnings were not committed to History. For then there is no Book to be confronted with our holy Bible, which was wrote at the time when the facts therein related were done, and the institutions in memory of them were then made, by the very actors of the facts, that is, by *Moses* and by *Christ*. And these four Marks were thought upon, especially the fourth, on purpose to distinguish the truth of our holy Scriptures, and of the facts therein related, from the Heathen or Popish Books of Legends. And tho' Mr. *Le Clerc* upraids me with my little skill in History (wherein I do not contend with him) yet he sees I have consider'd the matter so much, that he (with all his historical Talents) can find no instance of any fabulous stories which has all these four marks. And besides I can tell him, That we have in History the beginnings of the heathen Feasts, &c. in memory of their Gods, and by whom instituted, in after-times, and not by these Gods themselves, nor related by Eye-witnesses.

9. Yet he says, many believed these Fables. I doubt it not. It is no news to tell us, that false stories may be imposed upon People, and believed by them. But to distinguish these from true facts, and to lead People into a just method of thinking in this most material point, was my humble endeavour in finding out these four marks: Which (blessed be God) have yet stood their ground against all the attacks made upon them.

10. I will take leave of Mr. *Le Clerc* at this time, with shewing the good correspondence betwixt him and the Author of the Book of the *Rights*. No sooner was that Book made publick, but Mr. *Le Clerc* thought it worthy a place in his *Bibliothèque Choisie*, and that it might spread, he made an *Epitome* of it, and put it into *French*, with high commendations of it. In return to which, the Men of the *Rights* translated his *French* into *English*, and published it in *London*, with all due Respects to Mr. *Le Clerc*, in a Preface,

And in the first *Defence of the Rights*, they forget not how much they owe to Mr. *Le Clerc*, and say:

" If the Laws of modesty allow one to say that in his own defence, which at other times would be unpardonable, the Author of the *Rights*, considering how busy so many Pulpiteers, like the Crafts-Men at *Ephesus*, are to stir up the People against him as an enemy to their Temple and Religion, might be excus'd, if, to take off the edge of the envy, and to allay the force of that prejudice their utmost clamours raise against him, he mentions the character that is given of it by a Clergy-man celebrated over all the learned World for his deep penetration, exact judgment, and great skill in Divinity: But the greater the character is that is given, and the greater the person that gives it, the less he presumes to mention it; and therefore shall only refer the reader to Monsieur *Le Clerc's* *Bibliothèque Choisie*, Tom. x. particularly p. 302, 341, 357.

Thus

Thus I leave these Gentlemen in one anothers Company, commending each other. For their endeavours were the same, to overthrow all reveal'd Religion. In which sense the Book of the *Rights* may well be reckon'd among the opposers of the *Short Method with the Deists*, tho' it proceeds not by way of direct answer to it.

V. And now, that I may not omit any of the opponents I have had in this cause of Christianity, I will lastly name the Observator, who has put himself into the number, in his paper of the seventh of June last, Vol. IX. N. 41.

1. Where first he clears himself from being the Author of the *Detection*, which he says, was laid upon him: But he vouches for it that it is no Atheistical Book: And brings this argument, *that some Divines have spoke with as much disregard of the arguments brought from the Sibylline Oracles*. A decent comparison indeed, when the dispute was concerning the truth of the holy Scriptures! In short, he condemns me, and says I have betray'd the cause, and may be a Papist, because in all the *Short Method* I have not said that the Pope is Anti-Christ! And he concludes, "So that as Mr. Leslie has managed the matter, I cannot help thinking that our holy Religion is little beholden to such an Advocate."

2. But he has attempted that which neither Mr. *Le Clerc* nor the *Detection* have ventur'd upon; that is, to give his proofs for Christianity, since he likes not that of the four marks; and his proofs are these.

First, Natural Conscience and Reason; and the depravation of these, of which he says every Man is sensible. Then to ask a Pagan or a Deist whence comes this depravation; and they cannot tell: But the Scripture tells by the fall of *Adam*, therefore the Scriptures must be true, and a divine revelation, because they tell us that, which we could not have known without them.

Secondly, The agreeableness of the Doctrine to the nature of God, and exalting morality.

Thirdly, Its being contrary to the corrupt nature of Man against ungodliness and worldly Lusts, &c.

Fourthly, That by this way of proof it depends not on philosophy or learning, and stands not upon human testimony or authority.

Fifthly, The clear evidence that the Pope is Antichrist, from 2 *Thess.* II. 4, &c.

As to the *first* we find not Christians agreed about original sin, and its effects upon us: And I doubt a Deist would first desire a proof of the authority of the Scriptures, before he believ'd that relation of it, which they give.

As to the *second* and *third*, the moral Philosophers would contend for their precepts of virtue: And the *Brachmans* would outdo you in mortification of the flesh; not to name the Papists lest you shou'd call me such.

And for the *fourth*, there is no way to know the truth of facts, but what is human, or by Revelation; and you rejecting what is human, consequently must trust to Miracles for the conversion of a Deist: Unless your fifth proof of Anti-christ will do it.

3. But, Sir, you go altogether upon the Doctrine, and neglect the facts; whereas *Christ* appeal'd to the facts for a proof of his Doctrine: *Believe me for the works sake*: And, *If I had not done such works, you had had no sin*, tho' you had not believed me. *John* x. 25, 37, 38. *XIV.* II. *XV.* 24.

And as to the Doctrine, you go only upon that of morality: Is Christianity then nothing but morality? Sir, you have not been so taught, if you are a right Presbyterian.

The christian Faith is, to believe in *Christ* as having made satisfaction for

for our sins, by his perfect obedience, and the sacrifice of himself upon the Cross: And how shall a Deist have this Faith, but by being convinced that *Christ* is this Saviour of the World? And how shall he know that, but by his works testifying that he was sent of God for this end? And how shall he be satisfy'd of the truth of the facts, but by such human evidence as I have given, and as all other facts are proved? Unless (as I said) you would have a Miracle to convince him. I doubt this method has made many Deists, at least has confirmed them.

Heb. iv. 12.

Psal. xix. 7, 8.

VI. I remember soon after the *Short Method* came out, some dissenting Preachers desir'd a conference with me upon the subject, and they treated me much more civilly than the *Observer*: They expressed a liking of what I had done, but told me withal, that I had omitted the strongest proof for Christianity. I took it very kindly, as I ought, and pray'd them to tell it me, that I might add it in the next edition. They said it was the self-evidence of the Scriptures, from the dignity of the matter, and majesty of the style, beyond any other writing. I told them I was fully convinc'd of it in my own mind, and found that comfort and exultation in reading them, infinitely beyond any other book or writing in the World; and that I doubted not it would convince any who seriously attended to it: But that I had to do with Deists who were scoffers, and trampled these pearls under their feet; and therefore that some other topick must be found out for them, to persuade them by the plain Principles of Reason, to which only they appeal'd, and of which only indeed they were capable. For they had not yet experienc'd that *The Word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart.* And reading the Scriptures with prejudice, and minds unprepared, they felt not within themselves, *That the law of the Lord is an undefiled law, converting the soul, that the statutes of the Lord are right, and rejoice the heart; that the commandment of the Lord is pure, and giveth light unto the eyes:* This appears only to those who are religiously exercised in the holy Scriptures.

Then that Text was urged to me 1 *John* II. 27. *You need not that any Man teach you, but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things.* I answer'd that this was spoke only to Believers: As it is said *ŷ. 20. Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things:* After which immediately follows *ŷ. 21. I have not written unto you, because ye know not the truth, but because ye know it, &c.* Several other Texts of the like nature were quoted, but they were all found to terminate only in Believers. I then shewed how differently *St. Paul* argued with the *Athenians*, *Acts* XVII. 24, &c. He took his topicks from Providence, and the works of God, from Principles allowed by themselves; yet he quoted no Scripture to them, but he quoted *Aratus* one of their own Poets, who said, *We are the Off-spring of God:* Whence the Apostle reasoned with them, that the Godhead could not be like the images they made of gold, silver, &c. But he reasoned with the *Jews* out of the Scriptures. One said he was satisfy'd every one was convinced of the truth of the Scriptures who read them, tho' they wou'd not confess it. I told him I was too well convinc'd there were Deists in the World; and I durst not venture upon that argument with them, to tell them I was sure they did believe; in regard not only to what they would have thought of me, but to the cause, for which I could produce no other proof but what they knew to be utterly false. I will do that justice to the company I was in, that all, except this one old Man, did at last agree with me, that such topicks were not to be used with Deists.

VII. I have now done with the *Detection*, and all the Adversaries I have heard of who have appear'd in Print against the *Short Method with the Deists*; and I hope its force is not abated by all these Objections made to it.

I have quite overlook'd all the impertinence in the *Detection*, his ribaldry and *Billingsgate* against me, which has made my Answer to him so short; for by this I have cut off much the greatest part of his Book. He spends to p. 14. upon these topicks, before he comes to the argument, and interlards them often afterwards, which has swell'd his performance to such a bulk.

But to give the Reader a taste what stress is to be laid upon his most positive Assertions, I will name but one with which he fills up p. 28. repeating it over and over again with the utmost assurance, *viz.* that both Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* have made Collections for me: He says, he would prove it, "If it had not been as flagrant and notorious as our Acts of Parliament, or publick Proclamations." Now is it not strange that what is so flagrant and notorious to all the Nation (if this Gentleman's word may be taken) should not be known to the person concerned? For I am very positive that he never received any such Collections, from both or either of the Universities; and I doubt not if Collections had been made, a Method would have been taken to have had them convey'd to him for whom they were intended: After this I suppose no body will put me to disprove any Facts related by this Author.





short; for by this I have cut off much the greatest part of his Book. He
 depends to part upon these topics, before he comes to the argument, and
 inverts them often afterwards, which I will not dwell upon his performance to such

but to give the Reader a taste what I feel is to be laid upon his most po-
 tive Assertions. I will name but one with which he fills up p. 28. and
 bearing upon the subject of the present controversy. That I have
 University of Oxford and Cambridge have made Collections for me, the
 says, he would prove it. "It had not been as strange and notorious as
 "our Acts of Parliament, or publick Proclamations." Now is it not strange
 that what is so strange and notorious to all the Nation (if this Gentleman's
 word may be taken) should not be known to the person concerned? For I
 am very positive that he never received any such Collections, from both
 or either of the Universities; and I doubt not if Collections had been made,
 a Microscopical Collection, to have been made by him for
 whom they were intended: After this I suppose no body will put me to dis-
 prove any Facts related by this Author.

SIR,

" I Have at your desire look'd into some late accounts of the King-
 " dom of *Siam*, and compar'd what they relate of the pretended
 " God *Sommonocodom*, with his history, as deliver'd by that truly pious
 " and learned adversary of yours, who has so ingeniously prov'd you a
 " Popish Missioner; tho' were his Logick orthodox, I think you ought as
 " soon to be taken for one of the ancient *Flamins*, or modern *Talapoins*.
 " 'Tis obvious to the most superficial Reader, that that fable must be either
 " the foundation or corruption of our Gospel; and which of these is the
 " most probable, may by the application of your four Rules to each of
 " them be quickly discover'd. As far therefore as I can apprehend, the
 " only inference to be naturally drawn from this system of modern Pa-
 " ganism, is to shew that Christendom was once of a greater extent than it
 " is at present; that the Gospel was preach'd in the remotest parts of the
 " East, before the *French* or *Portuguese* Missions; and that so prodigious
 " a depravation of human Reason stands in great need of being once more
 " set right. I am willing to believe, that all the particulars mentioned in
 " the *Detection*, are so many Articles of the *Siamese* Creed; tho' there are
 " some of them, which I have not been able to meet with, either in *Pere*
 " *Tachard*, or two other Authors, of as good or better credit, and those are
 " *L'Abby Choisy*, who went as assistant to Monsieur *Chaumont*, the first
 " Ambassador sent by the *French* King to *Siam*, and Monsieur *la Loubere*,
 " who went afterwards thither, with the Character of Envoy extraordi-
 " nary: Perhaps what is omitted in these may be found in Monsieur *Gervaise*
 " whose Book I have formerly read, but could not now procure. I must
 " however take notice, that our Historian has, as most Authors do, taken
 " care to relate only what might serve to his own purpose, which was vi-
 " sibly no other than to ground the Worship of *Jesus Christ*, and that of
 " *Sommonocodom* on the same degree of probability; and therefore he has
 " prudently

“ prudently omitted such pretended Miracles of the latter, as could only
 “ serve to make the whole story ridiculous to a superlative degree. Among
 “ these, I suppose, most people will rank the two that follow: And yet they
 “ seem better able to bear the test of your rules than any of the rest. *Sommono-*
 “ *codom* once flying a Paper Kite (an exercise not altogether unknown in
 “ *England*) found the height and inequality of certain Trees to be a great
 “ obstacle to his pleasure, upon which he commanded the tops of those
 “ Trees to fall even; they instantly obey’d: Flying of Kites has been ever
 “ since a solemn diversion among the *Siamese*, I mean those of the greatest
 “ authority and distinction; and to favour them in it, the Trees continue
 “ still even. Another time *Sommonocodom* being upon an expedition that
 “ requir’d haste, took a stride from the Isle of *Ceylon* to the Kingdom of
 “ *Siam*, which are not above twelve hundred miles asunder, nor much less
 “ if our Maps are not very defective: To prove the truth of this, they shew
 “ us the Print of both his Feet; that which is to be seen in *Ceylon*, is still
 “ on the top of a high Mountain; that of *Siam* is on a Rock, now almost
 “ even with the plain, tho’ a Mountain once as high as the other, having
 “ sunk under the mighty weight of the Deity. ’Tis indeed remarkable, that
 “ this Print of the Foot does not shew it to have been above four or five
 “ times bigger than one of ours, which disproportion to so large a step,
 “ would be a sufficient ground to one of our christian Philosophers to ques-
 “ tion the truth of the fact; and even in *Siam*, where the greatest Wits
 “ are less scrupulous, there were those alive in 1688, who affirm’d that Mo-
 “ nument not to be of above ninety years standing; yet the King and all
 “ his Subjects, Clergy and Laity, paid it an extraordinary veneration.
 “ Such instances as these may serve for a taste of the *Indian* penetration
 “ and judgment in matters of Religion; and yet they are much of the same
 “ pitch in what relates to Arts and Sciences: Their Histories are all either
 “ barren, or fill’d up with adventures too gross to find place in our Ro-
 “ mances; Truth, Reason, and Nature, are what they mind least, they
 “ think sticking close to any of them to be a mark of a servile Genius, that
 “ wants fertility and invention; their roving Imagination is continually em-
 “ ploy’d in quest of wonders, and when they have done, they will assert
 “ with the greatest air of conviction, the most extravagant absurdities. Thus
 “ one of the chief Ministers of the King of *Siam*, being sent by his Master
 “ to congratulate Monsieur *Chaumont*, the *French* Ambassadour, upon his
 “ arrival on their Coasts, he presently claim’d acquaintance with him, put-
 “ ting him very seriously in mind how above a thousand years before he had
 “ been sent by the then King of *France* to conclude an alliance with the
 “ Crown of *Siam*: The *Mandarin* did in this complement allude to the
 “ transmigration of Souls, the first Principle of their Religion, which be-
 “ ing universally believed, gives every one who pleases an opportunity of
 “ relating whatever comes uppermost of the various accidents which have
 “ befallen him in all the Bodies he has passed through, and you may easily
 “ guess it would be very hard to disprove him; but indeed they are gene-
 “ rally too well bred to offer at it, and as ready to believe the wildest chi-
 “ mera’s of others, as they are to vent their own. The *Talapoins* never fail
 “ to make their own advantage of this disposition, and by the fabulous no-
 “ tions with which they fill the peoples brains, preserve themselves in great
 “ credit, both their persons and habitations being held so inviolable, that
 “ even the boldest Tyrants and Usurpers have scrupled openly to infringe
 “ their rights; a remarkable instance of which happen’d in the last Age.
 “ The chief Minister of State, or as others say, a Prince of the Blood, hav-
 “ ing form’d a conspiracy against his Sovereign, broke into the Palace with
 “ armed force, and oblig’d the unfortunate Monarch to fly for shelter to a
 “ neighbouring

“neighbouring Convent of *Talapoins*, where he remain'd in perfect safety,
 “till the Usurper had with much ado wheedled him out; and when he had
 “done, got it declar'd in a great Convention of *Mandarins*, that he had
 “forfeited his Right by flying, and that his abandoning the Seat of the Em-
 “pire was quitting the Government; in consequence of which vote he step-
 “ped himself into the Throne.

“These general observations on the genius and temper of the People may
 “not be improper; but to speak a little more particularly of *Sommonoco-*
 “*dom* and his worship. Shou'd any *Talapoin* go about to persuade me to
 “adore him, I shou'd desire some more satisfactory evidence of the truth
 “of that Doctrine, than they usually give. The Language in which it is
 “preserv'd is different from the vulgar Tongue, but they cannot inform us
 “whether it ever was a living Language, nor where, nor when they learnt
 “it, the few Books they have, bear neither date nor name: They are in
 “the same uncertainty as to their civil Laws and Government; *Siam* and
 “*Laos* a neighbouring Kingdom, derive their origin mutually from one
 “another. Neither do their most authentick writings agree on the chief
 “circumstances of the birth, life, and death of their *Messiah*. Sometimes
 “they make him Son to a King of *Ceylon* by his lawful Queen call'd *Ma-*
 “*nia* or *Maria*, and tell you that he had a thousand Brothers, not born
 “after the usual manner, but all sprung out of the impurities which accom-
 “pany'd his birth. At another time they will have him born of a Virgin
 “who lived a retir'd life in an impenetrable Forest, was during her prayers
 “impregnated by the beams of the Sun, and afterwards deliver'd without
 “pain. They agree as little about the place, which some say was on the
 “banks of a great lake between *Siam* and *Camboya*, others in the Isle of
 “*Ceylon*. After his birth the fortune-tellers were consulted by his Father
 “King *Taousout*, to know what the fate of his Son wou'd be: They told
 “him that he wou'd be Emperour of the whole Universe, or if he chose
 “to abandon the World, and become a *Talapoin*, he shou'd at last arrive
 “to the *Nireupan* or sovereign degree of felicity, And here I must observe
 “contrary to what the Author of the *Detection* is pleas'd to assert, That
 “*Sommonocodom* is not pretended to be the founder of the *Siamese* Reli-
 “gion, or the institutor of their Ascetick Orders. They hold the one
 “and the other to be as ancient as the World, that is eternal. For they
 “have not so much as the notion of the first and supreme being which we
 “call God, and worship as the Creatour and Sovereign Lord of all things.
 “Their Scheme in short is this: There is a continual transmigration of
 “Souls from one Body into another, beast, fish, or man indifferently. The
 “Soul that behaves it self well in one station, meets its reward by being
 “plac'd next time in a better, and sin is punish'd after the same method;
 “yet all this is not suppos'd to happen thro' the will and direction of any
 “over-ruling providence, but to proceed from a fatal necessity, or rather
 “from the nature and essence of virtue and vice, as the flame ascends, and
 “the Loadstone attracts Iron. But when a Soul after the revolution of
 “many ages, has in all its various habitations, perform'd its part so well,
 “as to have acquir'd a fix'd and unalterable habit of virtue, it becomes
 “*Nireupan*, that is, 'tis freed from the troubles of this World, and dis-
 “charg'd from all farther attendance upon matter, and thenceforward en-
 “joys an eternal rest, without care or concern for what passes among Men.
 “Of these perfect Souls they reckon in all but four, of which *Sommonoco-*
 “*dom* was the last, who notwithstanding his incapacity of doing good or
 “hurt, is still, say they, to be worshipp'd, till another, whom they daily
 “expect, appears. Such were the Gods whom *Epicurus* allow'd, that he
 “might

“ might avoid the scandalous name of Atheist, and whom he wou’d have
 “ to be ador’d for no other reason than the excellency of their own na-
 “ ture. And ’twas perhaps from these *Indians* that the *Stoicks* borrow’d
 “ their notion of Virtue being its own reward, tho by their way of ex-
 “ plaining it, they made it yet more absurd. To return to our story; *Som-*
 “ *monocodom* resolv’d to become a *Talapoin*, in which pious undertaking
 “ he had for Companions ten thousand Young Men, all Princes, all of his
 “ own kindred. One of his first acts of heroick Virtue, was to pluck out
 “ both his Eyes, and then kill his Wife and two Children, to satisfy the
 “ hunger of some of his Disciples. How to reconcile this action with their
 “ one Law (which not content to condemn Murther as the greatest of
 “ crimes, looks upon all killing, even of a Beast, to be extremely sinful)
 “ may perhaps be somewhat difficult: But this was not the only Blood he
 “ shed, for being transform’d into a Monkey, he kill’d a strange Monster,
 “ that was coming to devour a whole City; but this cost him dear as we
 “ shall afterwards find. Seeing himself violently persecuted by his wicked
 “ Brother or Kinsman *Thevetar* (for Authors are not agreed how nearly
 “ they stood related) he began to examine his conscience, that he might
 “ discover what he had done to deserve such ill usage; for ’tis in *Siam* a
 “ a fundamental Doctrine, that every action good or bad, must necessarily
 “ meet with a proportionable reward: And he remembered that being once
 “ in his Cups, he had thrown a small stone at a *Talapoin*, and given him
 “ a slight wound, for which he had been punish’d during four hundred nine-
 “ ty nine Generations, and had besides lain a considerable time in Hell. I
 “ believe you may by this time be tir’d with such a rhapsody of nonsense;
 “ and therefore I shall come to a conclusion of *Sommonocodom*’s life. His
 “ death is related in two different manners: Some tell you that having
 “ liv’d to his eighty second year, he died of the Colick, which he got by
 “ eating of Swine’s flesh, and this was a judgment upon him, for his Mon-
 “ key trick in killing the Monster mention’d before, the Soul of that
 “ Monster having been since transferr’d into that very Swine: Others say
 “ he kill’d himself, and charitably distributed his own flesh amongst a par-
 “ cel of ravenous Beasts. It is not I think, our business to examine which
 “ Tradition is the best grounded, and for the *Siamese* they never quarrel
 “ about the matter. Let the manner be what it will, they place it five
 “ hundred and fourty four years before the birth of our Saviour, and from
 “ thence pretend to number their years. But Monsieur *La Loubere*, an
 “ Author of great credit, who concludes upon very good grounds there ne-
 “ ver was any such Man in *rerum natura*, and Monsieur *Cassini* the fa-
 “ mous Astronomer, are both of opinion, that this can only be an arbitra-
 “ ry Epoch deriv’d from some remarkable Conjunction of the Planets which
 “ happen’d at that time, and might have been reckon’d a proper beginning
 “ for Astronomical Calculations. Whether this opinion be true or no, till
 “ the *Siamese* can produce some Monuments or Records, good or bad, Ci-
 “ vil or Ecclesiastical, of what happen’d among them, or any where else,
 “ during the space of one thousand three hundred years from the pretend-
 “ ed death of their God, till the foundation of their Monarchy, which was
 “ but about nine hundred years ago, I shall by the benefit of your rules
 “ preserve my self from embracing their Religion. Cou’d a chasm of half
 “ that time be found in our Ecclesiastical History, I am apt to believe we
 “ shou’d have but few Christians, in so discerning an age as ours. I cannot
 “ take my leave without putting you in mind, to desire your Antagonist,
 “ that after having so compleatly demolish’d the Arguments with which
 “ you undertake to support Christianity, he wou’d at length produce his
 “ own

own, and at the same time be pleas'd to tell us what the use of Miracles
 shou'd be, for I have the charity to believe him too much a Christian to
 deny there ever was any such thing, and too much a Philosopher, not to
 admit of that establish'd Axiom; *Deus & natura nihil agunt frustra.*
 Had I the honour of his acquaintance, being my self a little inclin'd to
 Scepticism, I wou'd advise him as a friend not to betray the same disin-
 genuity in arguing against Revelation, that he and others so often com-
 plain of in those who contend for it. I am, &c.

September 21st. 1710,



THE



THE
Truth of Christianity
 DEMONSTRATED,
 IN A
DIALOGUE

Between a

CHRISTIAN and a DEIST.

Wherein the case of the *Jews* is likewise
 consider'd.

I. CHRISTIAN.



IT is strange you shou'd stand it out so against your own happiness, and employ your whole wit and skill to work in your self a disbelief of any future rewards or punishments; only that you may live easie (as you think) in this World, and enjoy your pleasures. Which yet you cannot enjoy free and undisturb'd from the fear of those things that are to come, the event of which you pretend not to be sure of: And therefore are sure of a life full of trouble that admits not of any consolation, and of a miserable and wretched Death, according to the utmost that you your self propose.

DEIST. How can you say that? When I propose to live without any fear of those things. I fear not Hell, and I have discarded the expectation of Heaven, because I believe neither.

CHR.

CHR. Are you sure there are no such things?

DEIST. That is a negative, and I pretend not to prove it.

CHR. Then you must remain in a doubt of it; and what a condition is it to die in this doubt, when the issue is eternal Misery! And this is the utmost by your own confession, that you can propose to your self; therefore I called yours a disbelief rather than a belief of any thing; it is we Christians who believe, you Deists only disbelieve.

And if the event should prove as you would have it, and that we should all be annihilated at our Death, we should be in as good a condition as you: But on the other side, if the event should prove as we expect it, then you are eternally miserable, and we eternally happy; therefore one would think it the wisest part to take our side of the question.

Especially considering, that those poor pleasures, for the sake of which you determine your selves against us, are but mere amusements, and no real enjoyments; nay, we had better be without them than have them, even as to this life itself: Is not Temperance and a healthful Constitution more pleasant than those Pains and Aches, sick Head and Stomach, which are the inseparable companions of Debauchery and Excess, besides the clouding our Reason, and turning sottish in our Understanding?

DEIST. We take pleasure in them for the time, and mind not the consequences——But however, a Man cannot believe as he pleases: And therefore notwithstanding all the glorious and all the terrible things you speak of, it makes nothing to me, unless you can evidently prove them to be so. And you must still leave me to judge for my self, after you have done all you can.

CHR. What I have said, is only to dispose you to hear me impartially, and not to be prejudiced against your own happiness both here and hereafter.

2. DEIST. Well, without more prefacing, the case is this: I believe a God as well as you; but for Revelation, and what you call the holy Scriptures, I may think they were wrote by pious and good Men, who might take this method of speaking as from God, and in his Name, as supposing that those good Thoughts came from him, and that it would have a greater effect upon the people; and might couch their morals under histories of things suppos'd to be done, as several of the wise heathens have taken this course, in what they told of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, and the rest of their Gods and Goddesses; but as to the facts themselves, I believe the one no more than the other; or that all the facts in *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, or in *Aesop's Fables* were true.

CHR. You seem willing by this to preserve a respectful esteem and value for the holy Scriptures, as being wrote by pious and good Men, and with a good design to reform the manners of Men.

But your argument proves directly against the purpose for which you brought it, and makes the Pen-men of the Scriptures to be far from good Men, to be not only cheats and impostors, but blasphemers and an abomination before God: For such these same Scriptures frequently call those who presume to speak as from God, and in his Name, when he had not sent them, and given them authority so to do; and the Law in the Scriptures condemns such to be stoned to death as blasphemers.

It was not so with the heathen, their moralists did not use the style of *Thus saith the Lord*; and their Philosophers oppos'd and wrote against one another without any offence: For all the matter was which of them could reason best; they pretended to no more.

And for the facts of the Fables of their Gods, themselves did not believe

lieve them, and have wrote the mythology or moral which was intended by them.

DEIST. But many of the common people did believe the Facts themselves; as it is with the common people now in the Church of *Rome*, who believe the most senseless and ridiculous stories in their books of Legends to be as true as the Gospel, tho' the more wise among them call them only pious frauds to encrease the Devotion of the people: And so we think of your Gospel itself, and all the other books you say were wrote by Men divinely inspir'd; we will let you keep them to cajole the Mob, but when you wou'd impose them upon Men of Sense, we must come to the test with you.

CHR. That is what I desire; and to see whether there are no more evidences to be given for the truth of Christianity, that is, of the holy Scriptures, than are given for the Legends, and all the fabulous stories of the heathen Gods: And if so, I will give up my argument, and confess that it is not in my power to convince you.

DEIST. I cannot refuse to join issue with you upon this. To begin then, I desire to know your evidences for the truth of your Scriptures, and the Facts therein related.

3. CHR. If the truth of the Book and the Facts therein related be prov'd, I suppose you will not deny the Doctrines to be true.

DEIST. No. For if I saw such Miracles with my eyes as are said to have been done by *Moses* and *Christ*, I could not think of any greater proof to be given, that such an one was sent of God; therefore if your Bible be true as to the Facts, I must believe it in the Doctrine too. But there are other Books which pretend to give us Revelations from God, and we must know which of these is true.

CHR. To distinguish this Book from all others which pretend to give Revelations from God, these four Marks or Rules were set down.

I. That the Facts related be such, of which Men's outward senses, their eyes and ears may judge.

[This cuts off enthusiastical pretences to revelation, and opinions which may be propagated in the dark, and like the Tares not known till they are grown up, and the first beginning of them not discover'd.]

II. That these Facts be done openly in the face of the World.

III. That not only publick Monuments, but outward Institutions and Actions should be appointed and perpetually kept up in memory of them.

IV. That these Institutions to be observed should commence from the time that the Facts were done; and consequently that the book wherein these Facts and Institutions are recorded should be written at the time, and by those who did the Facts, or by eye and ear-witnesses; for that is included in this Mark, and is the main part of it, to prevent false stories being coin'd in after-ages of things done many hundred years before, which none alive can disprove. Thus *Moses* wrote his five books containing his Actions and Institutions; and those of *Christ* were wrote by his Disciples, who were eye and ear-witnesses of what they related. And particular care was taken of this, as you may see, *Acts* 1. 21, 22. upon chusing one to supply the place of *Judas*; *Wherefore of these Men which have company'd with us, all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the Baptism of John, until that same day that he was taken up from us, must one be ordained to be witness with us of his Resurrection.* And *St. John* begins his first Epistle thus, *That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled—That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you.*

I have explain'd this fourth Mark, because the Author of the *Detection*

either wilfully or ignorantly, seems not to understand it. And this alone overthrows all the stories he has told, which he wou'd make parallel to the Facts of *Moses*, and of *Christ*; and therefore alledges that they have all these four Marks. But he must begin again, and own that these four Marks still stand an irrefragable proof of the truth of any Fact which has them all; till he can produce a Book which was wrote by the Actors or Eye-witnesses of the Facts it relates; and shew that such Facts, having the other three Marks, have been detected to be false: Which when he can do, I will give him up these four Marks as an insufficient proof, and own I was mistaken in them. But hitherto they have stood the test: For he himself will not say, he has produced any such Book in all his *Detection*.

If he says, that Facts may be true, tho' no such Book can be produced for them, and tho' they have not all the aforesaid Marks: I will easily grant it. But all I contend for is, That whatever Fact has all these four Marks, cannot be false. For example, Cou'd *Moses* have persuaded six hundred thousand Men that he had led them through the Sea in the manner related in *Exodus*, if it had not been true? If he cou'd, it wou'd have been a greater Miracle than the other. The like of their being fed forty years in the Wilderness without Bread, by *Manna* rained down to them from Heaven. The like of *Christ's* feeding five thousand at a time with five Loaves. And so of all the rest. The two first Marks secure from any cheat or imposture at the time the Facts were done: And the two last Marks secure equally from any imposition in after-ages; because this Book which relates these Facts, speaks of it self as written at that time, by the Actors or Eye-witnesses; and as commanded by God to be carefully kept and preserved to all generations, and read publicly to all the People, at stated times, as is commanded, *Deut. xxxi. 10, 11, 12.* And was practised, *Josh. viii. 34, 35. Neh. viii. &c.* And the Institutions appointed in this Book were to be perpetually observed from the day of the Institution for ever among these People, in memory of the Facts, as the Passover, *Exod. xii.* and so of the rest. Now suppose this Book to have been forged a thousand years after *Moses*, wou'd not every one say when it first appear'd? we never heard of this Book before, we know of no such Institutions, as of a Passover, or Circumcision, or Sabbaths, and the many Feasts and Fasts therein appointed, of a tribe of *Levi*, and a Tabernacle wherein they were to serve in such an Order of Priesthood, &c. Therefore this Book must be an errant forgery, for it wants all those Marks it gives of it self, as to its own continuance, and of those Institutions it relates. No instance can be shewn since the World began of any Book so circumstantiated, that was a forgery, and pass'd as truth upon any People. I think it impossible, and therefore that the four Marks are still an invincible proof of the truth of that Book and those Facts wherein all these Marks do meet.

But since I am come upon this Subject again, I will endeavour to improve it, and give four other Marks, some of which no Fact, however true, ever had, or can have, but the Fact of *Christ* alone. Thus while I support the Fact of *Moses*, I set that of *Christ* above him, as the Lord is above the Servant. And the *Jews* being herein principally concerned, I will consider their case likewise as we go along. Therefore I add this fifth Mark as peculiar to our Bible, and to distinguish it from all other Histories which relate Facts formerly done.

V. That the Book which relates the Facts contain likewise the Law of that People to whom it belongs, and be their Statute-Book by which their causes are determin'd. This will make it impossible for any to coin or forge such a Book, so as to make it pass upon any People. For example, if I shou'd forge a Statute-Book for *England*, and publish it next Term, cou'd I make all the Judges, Lawyers, and People believe, that this was their

true and only Statute-Book by which their Causes had been determined these many hundred years past? They must forget their old Statute-Book, and believe that this new Book which they never saw or heard of before, was that same old Book which has been pleaded in *Westminster-Hall* for so many ages, which has been so often printed, and the Originals of which are now kept in the *Tower*, to be consulted as there is occasion.

DEIST. I grant that to be impossible. But how do you apply it?

CHR. It is evident as to the Books of *Moses*, which are not only a History of the *Jews*, but their very Statute-Book, wherein their municipal Law, as well civil as ecclesiastical, was contained.

DEIST. This is so indeed as to the Books of *Moses*, to which they always appealed; *To the Law and to the Testimony*: And they had no other Statute-Book. But this will not agree to your Gospel, which is no municipal Law, nor any civil Law at all, and no civil Causes were tried by it.

CHR. The Law was given to the *Jews* as a distinct and separate People from all other Nations upon the Earth; and therefore was a municipal Law particularly for that Nation only of the *Jews*: But Christianity was to extend to all the Nations of the Earth, and Christians were to be gather'd out of all Nations; and therefore the Gospel cou'd not be a municipal Law as to the civil Rights to all Nations, who had each their own municipal Laws. This cou'd not be without destroying all the municipal Laws in the World, of every Nation whatsoever: And then none cou'd be a Christian, without at the same time becoming a Rebel to the Government where he liv'd. This wou'd have been for *Christ* to have immediately set up for universal and temporal King of all the World, as the *Jews* expected of their *Messiah*, and therefore wou'd have made *Christ* a King. But he instructed them in the spiritual Nature of his Kingdom, that it was not of *this World*, nor did respect their temporal or civil matters: Which therefore he left in the same state he found them, and commanded their obedience to their civil Governours, tho' heathen, *not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake*. And as to the Law of *Moses*, he left the *Jews* still under it, as to their civil concerns, so far as the *Romans*, under whose subjection they then were, would permit them. As *Pilate* said to them, *Ye have a Law*: And judge ye him according to your Law.

But the Gospel was given as the spiritual and ecclesiastical Law to the Church whithersoever dispersed through all Nations; for that did not interfere with their temporal Laws, as to civil Government. And in this the fifth Mark is made stronger to the Gospel, than even to the Law. For it is easier to suppose that any Forgery might creep into the municipal Law of a particular Nation, than that all the Nations whither Christianity is spread shou'd conspire in the corruption of the Gospel, which to all Christians is of infinitely greater concern than their temporal Laws. And without such a concert of all christian Nations and People supposed, no such Forgery cou'd pass undiscover'd in the Gospel, which is spread as far as Christianity, and read daily in their publick Offices.

DEIST. But I say it is discover'd, as appears by the multitude of your various Lecti^{ons}.

CHR. That cannot be call'd a Forgery; it is nothing but such mistakes as may very easily happen, and are almost unavoidable, in so many Copies as have been made of the Gospel, before printing was known. And considering the many Translations of it into several Languages, where the Idioms are different, and the Phrases may be mistaken, together with the natural slips of *Amanuenses*, it is much more wonderful, that there are no more various Lecti^{ons}, than that there are so many.

But in this appears the great providence of God in the care the Christi-
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ans took of this, that they have marked every the least various Lction, even syllabical, and that among all these there is not found one which makes any alteration either in the Facts, or in the Doctrines. So that instead of an objection, this becomes a strong confirmation of the truth and certainty of the Gospel; which stands thus perfectly clear of so much as any doubt concerning the Facts or the Doctrines therein related.

But I will now proceed to a stronger evidence than even this; and all that has been said before; which I have made the sixth Mark, and that is the topick of Prophecy.

VI. The great Fact of *Christ's* coming into the World was prophesied of in the Old Testament from the beginning to the end, as it is said *Luke* i. 70. *By all the holy Prophets which have been since the World began.*

This evidence no other Fact ever had. For there was no Prophecy of *Moses*, but *Moses* himself did prophesy of *Christ*, *Deut.* xviii. 15. (apply'd *Acts* iii. 22, 23, 24.) And sets down the several Promises given of him. The first was to *Adam*, immediately after the fall. (*Gen.* iii. 15.) Where he is call'd the *seed of the Woman*, but not of the Man, because he was to have no Man for his Father, tho' he had a Woman to his Mother. And of none other can this be said, nor that he shou'd *bruise the Serpents Head*, that is, overcome the Devil and all his power.

He was again promis'd to *Abraham*, as you may see *Gen.* xii. 3. xviii. 18. See this apply'd *Gal.* iii. 16.

Jacob did expressly prophesy of him, with a mark of the time when he shou'd come, and calls him *Shiloh* or *He that was to be sent.* *Gen.* xlix. 10.

Balaam prophesied of him by the name of the Star of *Jacob*, and Scepter of *Israel.* *Num.* xxiv. 17.

Daniel calls him the *Messiah* the Prince. And tells the time of his coming and of his death. *Dan.* ix. 25, 26.

It was foretold that he shou'd be born of a *Virgin.* *Isai.* vii. 14. In the City of *Bethlehem.* *Micah* v. 2. Of the seed of *Jesse.* *Isai.* xi. 1, 10. His low estate and sufferings are particularly describ'd. *Psal.* xxii. and *Isai.* liii. and his *Resurrection.* *Psal.* xvi. 10. That he shou'd sit upon the Throne of *David* for ever, and be call'd *Wonderful, the mighty God, the Prince of peace.* *Isai.* ix. 6, 7. *The Lord our righteousness.* *Jer.* xxxiii. 16. *Jehovah Tsidkenu* (an incommunicable name given to none but the great God alone) and, *Immanuel*, that is, *God with us.* *Isai.* vii. 14. And *David* whose Son he was, according to the flesh, called him his *Lord.* *Psal.* cx. 1.

The cause of his sufferings is said to be for the sins of the People, and not for himself. *Isai.* liii. 4, 5, 6. *Dan.* ix. 26.

And as to the time of his coming, it is expressly said (to the confusion of the *Jews* now) That it was to be before *the Scepter shou'd depart from Judah.* *Gen.* xlix. 10. In the *second Temple.* *Hag.* ii. 7, 9. Within *seventy Weeks* of the building of it. *Dan.* ix. 24. that is, (according to the prophetical known Style of a day for a year) within four hundred and ninety years after.

i. From these and many more Prophecies of the *Messiah* or *Christ*, his coming was the general expectation of the *Jews* from the beginning, but more especially about the time in which it was foretold he shou'd come: When several *false Messiah's* did appear among them. And this expectation still remains with them, tho' they confess that the time foretold by all the Prophets for his coming, is past.

But what I have next to offer will be more strange to you. You may say it was natural for the *Jews* to expect their *Messiah*, who was prophesied of in their Book of the Law, and was to be a *Jew*, and King of all the

the Earth. But what had the *Gentiles* to do with this? There were no Prophecies to them.

Therefore what I have to shew you is, That these Prophecies of the *Messiah* were likewise to the *Gentiles*. For it is said that he shou'd be the expectation of the *Gentiles* as well as of the *Jews*. And *Gen. XLIX. 10.* That *the gathering of the People* (or Nations) shou'd be to him. In the vulgar it is render'd *expectatio Gentium*; the expectation of the *Gentiles*. He is call'd *the desire of all Nations*, *Hag. II. 7.* And I will shew you the general expectation the *Gentiles* had of his coming, about the time that he did come.

They knew him by the name of the East, their Tradition was, that the East shou'd prevail, *Ut valesceret Oriens*, as I will shew you presently. But first let me tell you, that the holy Scripture often alludes to him under this denomination. The Blood of the great expiatory sacrifice was to be sprinkled towards the East. *Lev. XVI. 14.* to shew whence the true expiatory sacrifice shou'd come. And he is thus frequently styl'd in the Prophets. *Zech. III. 8.* it is said, according to the vulgar, *I will bring forth my Servant the East.* And *Chap. VI. 12.* Behold *the Man whose name is the East.* Our *English* renders it in both places the *Branch*, for the *Hebrew* word bears both senses. But the *Greek* renders it *Ανατολή*, which we translate *the Day-Spring* *Luk. I. 78.* and put on the Margin *Sun-rising* or *Branch*. The vulgar has its *Oriens ex alto*, the *East* or *Sun-rising from on high*. He is call'd the *Sun of righteousness*, *Mal. IV. 2.* And it is said *Isai. LX. 3.* *The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and Kings to the brightness of thy rising.*

2. Now, SIR, how literally was this fulfill'd in the *Magi* (generally supposed to be Kings) coming from the East, led by a Star which appear'd to them in the East, to worship *Christ* when he was born, and to bring Presents unto him as unto a King? As it is told in the second of *St. Matthew*.

DEIST. Why do you quote *St. Matthew* to me? You know we make no more of him than of one of your Legend-Writers, and believe this story no more than that these three Kings are now bury'd at *Cologne*.

3. CHR. You make great use of the Legends, and answer every thing by them; and I confess they are the greatest affront to Christianity, and (if possible) a disproof of it, as it must be to those who will place them upon the same foot with the holy Bible, as too many do in the Church of *Rome*, and cry, we have the Authority of the Church for both; and they are taught to receive the holy Scriptures upon the Authority of the Church only: But my business is not with them now: I shall only say, that when they can bring such evidences for the truth of their Legends, or for any particular Fact in them, as I do for the truth of the holy Scriptures, and in particular for the Fact of *Christ*, then I will believe them.

DEIST. Will you believe nothing that has not all these evidences you produce?

4. CHR. Far from it: For then I must believe nothing but this single Fact of *Christ*; because no other Fact in the World, no not of all those recorded in holy Scriptures, has all these evidences which the Fact of *Christ* has; and so God has thought fitting, that this great Fact above all other Facts, of the greatest Glory to God and Importance to Mankind, should appear with greater and more undeniable evidence than ever any other Fact in the World.

DEIST. We are now upon the particular Fact of the *Magi* or wise Men coming to *Christ*: Have you any more to say as to that?

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5. CHR.

5. CHR. It has those same evidences that the truth of the Bible in general has, which are more than can be produc'd for any other book in the World. But now as to this Fact in particular, St. *Matthew* was the first who wrote the Gospel, and it was in the same age when this Fact was said to be done: And can you think it possible that such a Fact as this could have pass'd without contradiction, and a publick exposing of Christianity, then so desireable and so much endeavour'd by the unbelieving *Jews*, their *High-Priests*, *Elders*, &c. as the only means for their own preservation, if the Fact had not been notorious and fresh in the memory of all the people then at *Jerusalem*, viz. That these wise Men came thither, and that *Herod* and the whole City were troubled at the News they brought of the Birth of the King of the *Jews*; that *Herod* thereupon gather'd all the Chief-Priests and Scribes of the people together, that they might search out of the Prophets, and know the place where *Christ* should be born; and then the Slaughter of the Infants in and about *Bethlehem*, and in all the Coasts thereof, which follow'd—I say could such a Fact as this have pass'd at that very time if it had not been true? Cou'd St. *Matthew* have hop'd to have palm'd this upon all the people, and upon those very same Chief-Priests and Scribes who he said were so far concern'd in it? Wou'd none of them have contradicted it, if it had been a forgery; especially when the detecting it would have strangled Christianity in its Birth? Wou'd not they have done it who suborn'd false Witnesses against *Christ*, and gave large Money to the Soldiers to conceal (if possible) his Resurrection? Wou'd not they have done it, who persecuted Christianity with all spite and fury, and invented all imaginable false stories and calumnies against it? Whereas here was one at hand, this of the *Magi*, which if false could have been so easily detected by appealing to every Man, Woman, and Child, I may say, in *Jerusalem*, *Bethlehem*, and even in all *Judea*, who no doubt had heard of the terrible massacre of so many infants, and the cause of it.

DEIST. I can give no account why the Writers against Christianity did not offer to contradict this Fact of the Star and the *Magi*, which is put in the very front of this Gospel of St. *Matthew*; and there it is call'd his (*Christ's*) Star: *We have seen his Star in the East*—As if God had created a new and extraordinary Star on purpose, as the Signal of *Christ* hung out in the Heavens, to give the World notice of his Birth: But did none of the heathen Philosophers take notice of this Star, or of this relation given of it by your St. *Matthew*?

6. CHR. Yes. For *Chalcidius* in his comment upon *Plato's Timæus*, speaking of the Presages of Stars mention'd by *Plato*, adds a farther proof, *Est quoque alia venerabilior & sanctior Historia*—*There is likewise another more venerable and holy History*—By which I doubt not he means this of St. *Matthew*, for what he tells seems to be taken out of it, *That by the rising of a certain unusual Star, not plagues and diseases, but the descent of the venerable God, for the salvation and benefit of mortals, was observed by the Chaldeans, who worshipp'd this God newly born, by offering gifts unto him.*

DEIST. This makes those *Magi* or wise Men to have been *Chaldeans*, who I know were the most noted then in the World for the most curious learning, particularly in Astronomy: And they were likewise East of *Jerusalem*, so that it might be well said they came from the East, and had seen his Star in the East. But I cannot imagine how they shou'd read the birth of a God in the face of a new Star; and how that Star shou'd send them

them particularly to *Jerusalem*, tho' I may suppose it pointed them Westward.

7. CHR. This will be easier to you, when you know, that all over the East there was a Tradition or fixt opinion, that about that time a King of the *Jews* wou'd be born, who shou'd rule the whole Earth. And the appearance of this extraordinary Star in the East was taken by them as a sign that he was then born. And whither shou'd they go to look for the King of the *Jews* but to *Jerusalem*? And when they came thither, they enquir'd, saying, *Where is he that is born King of the Jews? For we have seen his Star in the East, and are come to worship him.* This made *Herod* gather the Priests and Scribes together: And they by searching the Prophets found that *Bethlehem* was the place. Whereupon the wise Men went to *Bethlehem*: And to convince them that they were right, the Star which they had seen in the East appear'd to them again, and *went before them till it came and stood over where the young Child was.* This made them rejoice with such an exceeding great joy.

DEIST, This wou'd go down in some measure with me, if you cou'd make good your first *Postulatum* of such a current tradition or opinion in the East: But for this you have given no sort of proof. And all the rest which you have inferr'd from thence must come to the ground with it, if it be not supported. I confess it wou'd seem as strange to me as the Star, to the wise Men, if God had (we know not how, it is unaccountable to us) sent such a notion into the minds of Men, and at that time only, of such a King to be born, and that he shou'd be a *Jew* (the then most contemptible People in the World, subdu'd and conquer'd by the *Romans*) and that he was to be King of the *Jews*, and thence to become King of all the Earth, and conquer his Conquerors: The *Romans* wou'd have look'd with disdain upon such a Notion or Prophecy as this; it wou'd have made some stir among them, if they had heard of it, or given any credit to it.

8. CHR. You argue right. And I will shew you what stir it made among them, and I hope you will take their word, as well for this Eastern Tradition, as for the effects it had among themselves. Nay they wanted not the same Tradition among themselves, and express Prophecies of it in their *Sibyls*, and otherwise: So that the same expectation of the *Messiah* was then current over all the Earth, with the *Gentiles* as well as with the *Jews*.

Tacitus in his History, l. 5. c. 13. speaking of the great prodigies that preceded the destruction of *Jerusalem*, says, That many understood these as the fore-runners of that extraordinary Person whom the ancient Books of the Priests did foretell should come, *about that time*, from *Judæa*, and obtain the universal dominion: His words are, *Pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis Sacerdotum litteris contineri, eo ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret Oriens, profectique Judæa rerum potirentur.* i. e. Many were persuaded that it was contained in the old writings of the Priests, that at that very time the East should prevail, and the *Jews* should have the dominion. And *Suetonius* in the life of *Vespasian* c. 1. n. 4. says, *Percrebruerat Oriente toto vetus & constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore, Judæa profecti rerum potirentur,* i. e. That it was an ancient and constant opinion (or Tradition) throughout the whole East, that at that time those who came from *Judæa* should obtain the dominion, that is, that some *Jew* should be universal King. Therefore *Cicero*, who was a Commonwealths Man, in his second Book of Divination, speaking of the Books of the *Sibyls*, who likewise foretold this great King to come, says, *cum antistitibus agamus, et quidvis potius ex illis libris, quam regem proferant: Quem Romæ*
post

The Truth of Christianity demonstrated.

post hæc nec Dii, nec Homines esse patientur. i. e. Let us deal with these Priests, and let them bring any thing out of these Books, rather than a King: Whom neither the Gods nor Men will suffer after this at Rome.

But he was mistaken, and had his head cut off for writing against Kingly Government. And others more considerable than he, laid greater stress upon these Prophecies, even the whole Senate of Rome, as I come to shew you.

Whether these Sibyls gather'd their Prophecies out of the Old Testament, is needless here to examine: I am now only upon that general expectation which was then in the World of this great and universal King to come about that time.

9. The same Year that Pompey took Jerusalem, one of these Oracles of the Sibyls made a great noise, which was, *That Nature was about to bring forth a King to the Romans*: Which, as Suetonius relates in the life of Augustus c. 94. did so terrify the Senate, that they made a decree to expose, that is, destroy all the Children born that year: *Senatum exterritum censuisse, ne quis illo anno genitus educaretur*; That none born that year shou'd be brought up, but expos'd, that is, left in some Wood or desert place to perish. But he tells how this dreadful Sentence was prevented, *Eos qui gravidas uxores haberent, quod ad se quisque spem traheret, curasse ne Senatus-consultum ad Aerarium deferretur*, That those Senators whose Wives were with Child, because each was in hopes of having this great King, took care that the decree of the Senate shou'd not be put into the Aerarium or Treasury, without which, by their constitution, the decree cou'd not be put in execution. And Appian, Plutarch, Salust, and Cicero, do all say, That it was the Prophecy of the Sibyls which rais'd the ambition of Corn. Lentulus at that time, hoping he shou'd be this King of the Romans. Virgil a few years before the birth of Christ, in his fourth Eclogue quotes a Prophecy of one of these Sibyls speaking of an extraordinary Person, to be born about that time, who shou'd introduce a golden age into the World, and restore all things, and blot out our sins—*Si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri*—And calls him, *Chara Deum soboles, magnum Jovis incrementum*. Dear offspring of the Gods, and great Son of Jove. He describes a new state of things like the new Heavens, and the new Earth, *Isai. LXV. 17. Magnus ab integro seclorum nascitur ordo*. A great order of ages does begin, wholly new. And as Isaiah describes the happy state in the new Earth, That the lion and the lamb shou'd feed together, the serpent eat dust, and that they shou'd not hurt or destroy in all the holy mountain, *Isai. LXV. 25*. Virgil does almost repeat his words:

—*Nec magnos metuent armenta Leones*:

Occidet & Serpens, & fallax Herba veneni

Occidet—

And as God introduces the Messiah, with saying, *I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea. Hag. II. 7*. Virgil does in a manner translate it in this Eclogue, introducing the great Person then to be born, and the Joy which shou'd be in the whole Creation.

Aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum,

Terrasque, tractusque Maris, Cælumque profundum:

Aspice venturo latentur ut omnia seculo.

Lo! teeming nature bending with its load,

The Earth, the Ocean, and the Heavens high:

Behold how all rejoice to greet the coming age.

Here

Here the Poet describes nature as in labour to bring forth this great King as the other Prophecy of the *Sibyls* before mention'd speaks. And he says, *Aderit jam tempus; That the time was then at hand. Jam nova Progenies Cælo demittitur alto; Now a new Progeny from Heaven descends.*

And he applies it to *Saloninus* the Son of *Pollio* the Consul, then newly born, as if it was to be fulfill'd in him. But as there was nothing like it in the event; so these words are too great to be apply'd to any mortal, or the reign of any King ever was in the World; or to any other but to the *Messiah* the Lord of Heaven and Earth.

10. DEIST. But you know the authority of these *Sibyls* is disputed: Some say the Christians did interpolate them, and added to them in about a hundred years after *Christ*.

CHR. It is true the Christians did often quote them against the Heathen; as *St. Paul* quoted the Heathen Poets to the *Athenians*. *Act. xvii. 28.* And *Clem. Alexandrinus* in his *Strom.* l. 6. says that *St. Paul* quoted the *Sibyls* likewise in his disputations with the *Gentiles*. And the Christians were call'd *Sibyllianists* from their quoting the *Sibyls* so often. But *Origen* in his Answer to *Celsus*, l. 7. challenges him to shew any interpolation made by the Christians, and appeals to the Heathen Copies which were in their own possession, and kept with great care.

But what I have quoted to you out of *Virgil* was before *Christ* was born, and therefore clear of all these objections.

DEIST. Then the *Jews* must have had some hand in them: As likewise in that Eastern Tradition you have spoke of.

CHR. If so, you must suppose that the *Jews* had it from their own Prophets: And this will be a strong confirmation that the time of the *Messiah's* coming was plainly told in the Prophets.

11. DEIST. What say the *Jews* to this? For I cannot imagine how they can get off of it.

CHR. Some of them say, That the *Messiah* put off his coming at the appointed time, because of their sins: Others say, he did come at the time; but has conceal'd himself ever since.

DEIST. These are mere excuses. Do they pretend any Prophecy for this? But to what purpose? For these excuses shew, that Prophecies are no proofs, because if they may be thus put off, they can never be known: And they may be put off and put off to the end of the World.

12. CHR. But now, SIR, as to your point. If this general expectation both in East and West, of the great King of the *Jews* to be born about that very time that he did come, was occasion'd by the *Jewish* Tradition of it, it strengthens the Truth of the holy Scriptures, whence the *Jews* had it: But otherwise, if God we know not how, did send such a notion into the minds of Men, all over the World, at that particular time, and never the like, either before or since, then the Miracle will be greater, and the attestation to the coming of *Christ*, stronger; and as you said, it will be more wonderful and more convincing to you, than the Star was to the wise Men in the East.

DEIST. I must take time to answer this. I made nothing at all of this of the *Magi* and the Star, and of *Herod's* slaying the Infants upon it: I thought it a ridiculous story, and to have no foundation in the World. But when I see *Suetonius* telling us of the Decree of the Senate of *Rome* to destroy all the Children born that Year, and for the same reason, for fear of this great King that was then to be born; I must think there was a

strange chiming in of things here, one to answer the other: I know not how it happen'd; by chance, or how!

13. CHR. You cannot imagine there could be any concert in this matter: That the *Chaldeans*, and *Romans*, and *Jews*, should all agree upon the point, and hit it so exactly, without any one of them discovering the contrivance; especially when it was so terrible to both the *Romans* and the *Jews*, that they took such desperate methods to prevent it as to destroy their own Children.

DEIST. It is ridiculous to talk of a concert: I will not put my cause upon that. Would they concert what they thought their own destruction? Besides, the *Jews* and *Romans* were then enemies; and the *Chaldeans* were far off, and had little correspondence with either of them. And such an universal notion could not be concerted: Whole Nations could not be trusted with a secret: And if they all kept it, and against their own interest too, it would be as great a Miracle as any in your Bible.

14. CHR. How much more impossible is it to suppose, that there should be a concert between different ages, between all the ages from *Adam* downwards, in all those Prophecies of the coming of the *Messiah*? How should they know it but by Revelation? And would they have all agreed so exactly as to the time, place, manner, and other circumstances, if it had been a forgery contriv'd by different persons, and in different ages?

15. This is an argument which St. *Peter* thought stronger than the conviction even of our outward senses; for having set down what he and the other two Apostles had both seen and heard upon the holy Mount, he adds, *We have yet a more sure Word* (that is, a stronger proof) *of Prophecy, whereunto ye do well to take heed, as unto a Light that shineth in a dark place, until the Day dawn, and the Day-Star arise in your Hearts.* 2Pet.i. 19, 21. And he enforces it thus, *For the Prophecy came not in old Time by the Will of Man, but holy Men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.*

DEIST. I will grant his argument so far, that it is easier to suppose the Senses of three Men, or of all the Men in the World to be impos'd upon, than that *Adam*, *Abraham*, and I, had concerted together; but I will not give you my answer yet. Have you any more to say upon this Head of Prophecy?

CHR. I need say no more till your answer comes; for you have granted that this proof is stronger than what we see with our eyes.

16. But that your answer may take in all together, I will give you something farther. I have set down already some of the great Prophecies of the coming of *Christ*, his Sufferings, Death, and Resurrection; but there are others which reach to several minute circumstances, such as cannot be apply'd to any other fact that ever yet happened, and which could not have been foreseen by any but God; nor were known by the actors who did them, else they had not done them: For they would not have fulfill'd the Prophecies that went before of *Christ*, in applying them to him whom they crucify'd as a false *Christ*.

See then how literally several of these Prophecies were fulfill'd. As *Psal.* LXIX. 21. *They gave me Gall to eat, and Vinegar to drink:* Then read *Mat.* XXVII. 34. *They gave him Vinegar to drink mingled with Gall.* It is said *Psal.* XXII. 16, 17, 18. *They pierced my Hands and my Feet— They stand staring and looking upon me, They part my Garments among them,*

them, and cast Lots upon my Vesture; as if it had been wrote after *Job. xix. 23, 24.* It was merely accidental in the Soldiers, they would not tear his Coat because it was woven and without seam, therefore they cast Lots for it: Thus fulfilling this Scripture, without any knowledge of theirs, for they were *Roman Soldiers*, and knew nothing of the Scripture. Again it is said, *Psal. xxii. 7, 8.* All they that see me, laugh me to scorn; they shoot out their Lips, and shake their Heads, saying, he trusted in God that he would deliver him, let him deliver him if he will have him. Compare this with *Mat. xxvii. 39, 41, 42, 43.* And they that passed by, reviled him, wagging their Heads, and saying — Come down from the Cross. Likewise also the chief Priests mocking him, with the Scribes and Elders, said — He trusted in God, let him deliver him now if he will have him, for he said, I am the Son of God. It is said again, *Zech. xii. 10.* They shall look upon me whom they have pierced. His very Price was foretold, and how the Money should be dispos'd of, *Zech. xi. 13.* Fulfilled *Mat. xxvii. 6, 7.* And his riding into *Jerusalem* upon an Ass, *Zech. ix. 9.* which the learned *Rabbi Saadia* expounds of the *Messiah*: That he should suffer with Malefactors, *Isa. liii. 12.* That his Body should not lie so long in the Grave as to see Corruption, *Psal. xvi. 10.*

Many other circumstances are told which cannot be apply'd to any but to *Christ*: I have set down these few, that you may take them into consideration when you think fit to give your answer as to this head of Prophecies.

And you are to take care to find some other fact guarded with Prophecies like this; or else you must confess that there is no other fact that has such evidence as this.

17. But before I leave this head, I must mention the Prophecies in our Bible of things yet to come to the end of the World, and of the new Heavens and new Earth that shall succeed.

DEIST. These can be no proofs here, because we cannot see the fulfilling of them.

CHR. You may believe what is to come, by the fulfilling you have seen of what is past. But I bring this now to shew you, that there is no other Law or History in the World that so much as pretends to this, or to know what is to come: This is peculiar to the holy Bible, as being written from the Mouth of God.

You have seen how the current of the Prophecies of the Old Testament did point at and center in that great event the coming of the *Messiah*.

When he was come, then he told us more plainly of what was to come after him, even to the consummation of all things: And by what we have seen exactly fulfill'd of all he told us to this time, we must believe what remains yet to come.

18. How particularly did he foretel the destruction of *Jerusalem* and the Temple, *Mat. xxiv.* and that that age should not pass till it should be fulfilled? And his very Expression was literally fulfill'd, that there should not be left one Stone upon another in the Temple, for the very foundations of it were ploughed up by *Turnus Rufus*. See *Scaliger's Canon Isagog. p. 304.*

When *Jerusalem* was first besieg'd it was full of Christians: But the Siege was rais'd unaccountably and for no reason that History gives: In which time the Christians seeing those signs come to pass which *Christ* had foretold would precede its destruction, and particularly laying hold of that caution he gave, *Then let them that are in Judæa flee to the Mountains*, and that in such haste, as that he that was in the Field was not to return

(to

(to *Jerusalem*) to fetch his Garment, or he on the *House-top* there, to stay to take his Goods with him; accordingly all the Christians left *Jerusalem*, and fled to *Pella* a City in the Mountains: And as soon as they were all gone, the *Romans* return'd and renew'd the Siege. And so it came to pass, that when *Titus* sack'd the City there was not one Christian found there, and the destruction fell only upon the unbelieving *Jews*: The others escap'd, as *Lot* out of *Sodom*, by believing the Prediction of that ruin.

19. Another very remarkable Prediction of our blessed Lord in that same Chapter was of the many *false Christs* that should come after him. And he warned the *Jews* not to follow them, for that it would be to their destruction: *Behold* (says he *ŷ. 25.*) *I have told you before*. But they would not believe him: And accordingly it came to pass. *Josephus* in his *Antiquities of the Jews*, l. xviii. c. 12. l. xx. c. 6. and *de Bell. Jud.* l. vii. c. 31. tells of abundance of these false *Messiahs* who appear'd before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and led the People into the Wilderness, where they were miserably destroy'd: The very thing of which our Saviour caution'd them *ŷ. 26.* *If they say unto you, Behold, he (that is, Christ) is in the Desert, go not forth*. And *de Bell. Jud.* l. vii. c. 12. *Josephus* says that the chief cause of their obstinacy in that war with the *Romans* was their expectation of a *Messiah* to come and deliver them, which brought on their ruin, and made them deaf to the offers of *Titus* who courted them to peace.

And since the destruction of *Jerusalem*, there have been so many false *Messiahs*, that *Johannes à Lent* has wrote a History of them, Printed *Herbonæ*, 1697. which brings them down as far as the year 1682. and tells the lamentable destruction of the *Jews* in following them.

20. But the next Prophecy of our blessed Lord which I produce is more remarkable than these: And of which you see the fulfilling in a great measure. *Viz.* That his Gospel should prevail over all the World, and that the Gates of Hell should not prevail against it: And this was told when he was low and despised, and had but twelve poor Fisher-men for his Followers: And that his Religion should conquer, not by the Sword, like *Mahomet's*, but by patient suffering, as *Lambs among Wolves*. And in this state the Church endur'd most terrible Persecutions, when all the rage of Hell was let loose against her, for the first three hundred years, without any help but from Heaven only; till at last, by the divine Providence, the great Emperor of *Rome*, and other mighty Kings and Princes, without any force or compulsion, did voluntarily and freely submit their Scepters to Christ.

No Religion that ever was in the World, was so begun, so propagated, and did so prevail: And hence we assuredly trust that what remains will be fulfill'd of the Promise of Christ to his Church in the latter days.

But I speak now only of this Prophecy so long before-hand, and when there was so little appearance of its coming to pass so far as we have seen already.

Let me here remember one particular passage foretold by Christ concerning the Woman who anointed his body to the burying, That *Where-soever this Gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world, this also that she hath done shall be spoken of, for a memorial of her*. And we see how it is spoken of to this day.

Mark xiv. 8, 9.

DEIST. If this Book had been lost, we had not heard of this Prophecy.

CHR. So you may say of all the Bible; or of any other Book. But providence has fulfill'd this Prophecy by preserving the Book. And it is a Prophecy

Prophecy that this Book, at least this fact of the Woman, shou'd be preserved for ever, and it may be preserved tho' that Book were lost.

21. DEIST, when Prophecies are fulfill'd, and the events come to pass, they are plain to every body: But why might they not have been as plain from the beginning? And then there cou'd have been no dispute about them, as if it had been said, That such a one by name, at such a time, and in such a place, shou'd do such things, &c.

CHR. Because God having given Man free-will, he does not force Men to do any wicked thing. And it wou'd be in the power of wicked Men to defeat a Prophecy against themselves, as to the circumstance of time, place, or the manner of doing the thing.

For example, if the *Jews* had known that *Christ* had told his Apostles he was to be crucify'd, they wou'd not have done it. They wou'd have stoned him as they did St. *Stephen*: For that was the death appointed by the Law for Blasphemy. And they several times attempted to have stoned *Christ* for this, because he said *I am the Son of God*. Joh. viii. 59. x. 31, 32, 33. But crucifixion was a death by the *Roman* Law. Therefore the *Jews*, to fulfil this Prophecy (but not knowing it) deliver'd *Christ* to the *Romans* to be put to death. Yet he told them so much of it, that after he was crucify'd they might know it, as he said to them, Joh. viii. 28. *When ye have lift up the son of man, then shall ye know that I am he.* And Chap. x. 32, 33. *And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me:* This he said, signifying what death he should die. But they understood it not till they had done it. Then they knew what the lifting up meant. And Chap. xviii. 31, 32. When *Pilate* wou'd have had them judge him according to their Law, which was stoning, they were cautious at this time only, and said, *It is not lawful for us to put any man to death:* Because they were then under the Government of the *Romans*. But the next words shew the design of providence in it, *That the saying of Jesus might be fulfilled, which he spake, signifying what death he shou'd die.* They had no such caution upon them when they stoned St. *Stephen* after this, nor the many times before when they took up stones to have stoned the same *Jesus*.

Then again, the piercing his side with the spear was no part of the *Roman* sentence of execution, but happen'd seemingly by mere accident. For the sentence of the Law was to hang upon the Cross till they were dead: But that being the day of preparation for the Sabbath, which began that evening soon after *Christ* and the Thieves were fasten'd to the Cross, before it cou'd be suppos'd they were dead; therefore, *That the Bodies might not remain upon the Cross on the Sabbath Day*, the *Jews* besought *Pilate* that their legs might be broken (which was no part of the sentence neither, but done) lest they shou'd escape when taken down. Accordingly the legs of the Thieves were broken, for they were yet alive, and the reason why they brake not the legs of *Christ* was, because they saw that he was dead already. But to make sure, one of the Soldiers pierced his side with a spear: Little knowing that they were then fulfilling Prophecies, as that *a bone of him shou'd not be broken*: And again, *They shall look on him whom they pierced.* As little did the Soldiers think of it when they were casting lots upon his vesture. And the chief Priests (if they had known it or reflected upon it) wou'd not have upbraided him in the very words that were foretold in the xxii. Psalm, which I have before quoted. And they wou'd have contriv'd the Money they gave to *Judas* to have been one piece more or less than just thirty. They wou'd not have come so punctually in the way of that Prophecy Zech. xi. 12, 13. *They weighed for my price thirty*

pieces of Silver. And they would not have bought any field with it, but especially not that of the Potter, which *Zechariah* there likewise mentions.

And as the enemies of *Christ* did not know they were fulfilling these Prophecies of him, so neither did his Disciples at the time when they were so doing. As it is said, *Joh. xii. 16. These things understood not his Disciples at the first; but when Jesus was glorified, then remembered they that these things were written of him, and that they had done these things unto him.* This makes the fulfilling these Prophecies yet more remarkable.

Where providence sees that Prophecies will not be minded, they are more express and plain: As likewise where the passions and interests of Men will hurry them on towards fulfilling them. Thus *Alexander* the great is describ'd as plainly almost as if he had been nam'd. *Dan. viii. 20, 21, 22.* And it is said, That this Prophecy which was shew'd him by the High-Priest at *Jerusalem* did encourage him in his expedition against the *Persians*. But it is not so when a Man is to do foolish and wicked things, and things hurtful to himself; for if these were told plainly and literally, it would be in his power to do otherwise; unless God should force his Will, and then he would not be a free agent.

22. DEIST. I must have recourse to the *Jews* in answer to these Prophecies of the *Messiah* which you have brought: For they owning these Scriptures as Revelations given them by God, must have some solution or other for them, or else give themselves up as self-condemned.

CHR. The Answers the *Jews* give will convince you the more, and render them indeed self-condemned.

Before the coming of *Christ* the *Jews* understood these Texts as we do, to be certainly meant of the *Messiah*, and of none other.

But since that time they have forced themselves to put the most strained and contradictory meanings upon them; for they agree not in their explications, and the one does manifestly destroy the other.

Thus that Text I before quoted, *Gen. xlix. 10.* was understood by the *Chaldee* and ancient *Jewish* interpreters to be meant of the *Messiah*.

Yet of their modern *Rabbies* some say, that it was meant of *Moses*. But others reject that, *First*, Because it is plain that the gathering of the Nations or *Gentiles* was not to *Moses*. *Secondly*, Because the scepter was not given to *Judah* till long after *Moses*. The first of it that appears was *Judg. xx. 18.* when *Judah* was commanded by God to go up first and lead the rest of the tribes: And *David* was the first King of the tribe of *Judah*. *Thirdly*, Because *Moses* did prophesy of a greater than himself to come, to whom the People should hearken. *Deut. xviii. 15, 18, 19.*

For these reasons, other *Rabbies* say it could not be meant of *Moses*, but they apply it to the Tabernacle at *Shiloh*. This was only for the sake of the word *Shiloh*, for otherwise it bears no resemblance either to the gathering of the *Gentiles*, or the scepter of *Judah*. And tho' the house of God was first set up at *Shiloh*, yet it was removed from thence and established at *Jerusalem*: Which was the place of which *Moses* spoke that God would place his name there, as I shall shew you presently.

This interpretation therefore being rejected, other *Rabbies* say, That this Prophecy must be meant of the *Messiah*, but that by the word Scepter is not to be understood a Scepter of rule or government, but of correction and punishment, and that this should not depart from *Judah* till *Shiloh* came. But the Text explaining Scepter by the word Law-giver, that the Scepter should not depart from *Judah*, nor a Law-giver from between his feet until *Shiloh* came, overthrows this interpretation, and

shews

shews the Scepter here mentioned to be meant of a Scepter of rule and government. Again, *Joshua* gave them rest from their enemies round about: And the land had rest many years under their Judges: And *David* delivered them out of the hands of their enemies: And under *Solomon* they were the richest and happiest People upon Earth: And frequently after they were in good condition and at ease: So that the Scepter of correction did often depart from them before *Shiloh* came.

This is so evident, that others of them allow this Scepter to be a Scepter of government, but they say the meaning is, that the Scepter shall not finally or for ever depart from *Judah*, because the *Messiah* will come and restore it to *Judah* again. But this is adding to the Text, and making a new Text of it, and quite different from the former, nay directly opposite to it. For the Text speaks only of the departing of the Scepter, but nothing of the restoring it. And it cannot be restored till once it is departed: Therefore this exposition saying it *shall depart*, and the Text saying it *shall not depart*, are directly contrary.

Lastly, there are others who throw aside all these excuses, and say, That the Scepter or Dominion is not yet departed from *Judah*; for that some *Jew* or other may have some sort of rule or government, in some part or other of the World, tho' we know it not.

DEIST. As if the *Jews* (who hold the best correspondence with one another of any People) cou'd not tell this place, if there were any such where they were governed by their own Laws, and by Governours of their own Nation; tho' in subjection to the Government of the Country where they lived.

These *Salvoes* of the *Jews* are contradictory to each other; they are poor excuses, and shew their cause to be perfectly destitute.

But I have an objection against this Prophecy, which affects both *Jews* and Christians, that the regal Scepter did depart from the tribe of *Judah* long before your *Shiloh* came.

CHR. First, this Prophecy does not call the Scepter a regal Scepter, and therefore denotes only Government in the general.

Secondly, The whole Land and the Nation took their name from *Judah*. It was called the Land of *Judah*, and their Nation took the name of *Jews* from *Judah*, as before that of *Hebrews* from *Heber* their Progenitor, *Gen. x. 25*. And this Prophecy spoke of those times when *Judah* should be the Father of his Country, and the whole Nation should be comprehended under the name of *Judah*. And therefore *Judah* holds the Scepter wherever a *Jew* governs. Besides, the words Scepter and Throne are used in relation to inferiour Governours, to tributary Kings, and Kings in captivity; thus it is said, that thirty seven years after the captivity of *Judah*, the King of Babylon set the throne of *Jehoiachin King of Judah* above the thrones of the Kings that were with him in Babylon. *2 Kin. xxv. 27, 28*. This was more than half the time of the captivity: And this was continued to *Jehoiachin* all the days of his life, *v. 29, 30*. Which might last till the end, or near the end of the captivity. But besides the King, the *Jews* had Governours of their own Nation allowed them, who were their *Archontes* or Rulers; and they enjoyed their own Laws, tho' in subjection to the King of *Babylon*. The Elders of *Judah* (which was a name of Government) are mentioned in the captivity, *Ezek. viii. 1*. And the chief of the fathers of *Judah*, and the priests and the Levites, *Ezra i. 5*. And after the captivity, they had a *Tirshatha* or Governour of their own nation, *Ezra ii. 63*. *Neh. viii. 9*. And the Throne of the Governour is named, *Neh. iii. 7*. So that here was still the Throne or Scepter of *Judah*.

And

And from the time of the *Maccabees* to their conquest by the *Romans*, the supreme Authority was in their High-priests: As it was afterwards, but in subjection to the *Romans*; and they enjoyed their own Laws: *Pilate* said unto them, take ye him, and judge him according to your Law. And tho' they answered, it is not lawful for us to put any Man to death, the reason is given in the next Verse, That the saying of Jesus might be fulfilled which he spake, signifying what death he should die. For Crucifixion was a *Roman* Death, but Stoning by the Law of *Moses* was the Death for Blasphemy, of which they accused him: And they afterwards stoned St. *Stephen* for the same (alleged) crime, according to their own Law. Their High-Priests and Council had full liberty to meet when they pleased, and to act according to their Law: And *Christ* himself owns they sat in *Moses's* Seat. The High-priest sat to judge St. *Paul*, who applied to him that Text, *Thou shalt not revile the Gods, nor curse the Ruler of thy People, or speak evil of him*, as the Apostle renders it: So that here the Government was still in the *Jews*, tho' in subjection to the *Romans*. And thus it continued till the destruction of *Jerusalem* and the Temple by the *Romans*: But since that time they are dispersed in all Countries, and have no governor or ruler of their own in any: The Scepter is entirely departed from them.

John xviii. 31.

Exod. xxi. 28.

Matt. xxiii. 2.

Acts. xxiii. 2.

DEIST. It is impossible but the *Jews* must see the difference of their state before the destruction of *Jerusalem* and since, and of their condition as to Government in their several captivities, and now in their dispersion. In the former they had still a face of Government left among themselves; but now, none at all: And their excuses which you have mention'd, render them indeed self-condemned.

What do they say to that Text you have quoted, *Jer. xxxiii. 17, &c.* that *David* should never want a Son to sit upon his Throne, &c. You Christians apply it to *Christ*, who was called the Son of *David*: But to whom do the *Jews* apply it?

CHR. Some of them say, that *David* will be raised from the dead and made immortal, to fulfil this Prophecy: Others say, that after the *Messiah*, who is to be of the seed of *David*, he shall thence forward no more want a Son, &c.

DEIST. Both these interpretations are in flat contradiction to the Text: The Text says, *shall never want*; these say, *shall want* for a long time. They must confess now for near seventeen hundred years together, and how much longer they cannot tell, they have had none to sit in *Moses's* Seat, or on the Throne of *David*, tho' in subjection to their enemies, as they had in the worst of their captivities; but have not now in their dispersion.

But is there any difference betwixt what you call the *Cathedra* or Seat of *Moses*, and the Throne of *David*?

CHR. None as to Government: For *Moses* was King in *Jeshurun*, *Deut. xxxiii. 5*. But *David* was the first King of the Tribe of *Judah*; which was to be the name of the whole Nation. And *Christ* was called the King of the *Jews*: It was the Title set upon his Cross: But after him none ever had that Title to this day.

DEIST. This is not to be answered by the *Jews*. But pray what Person is it, do they say, was meant in the *LIII.* of *Isaiah* which you have quoted?

CHR. They will not have it to be any Person at all: For they can find none, except our *Christ*, to whom these Prophecies can any way be apply'd: Therefore they say, it must be meant of the Nation of the *Jews*, whose Sufferings, &c. are there describ'd in the name of a Person, by which the People are to be understood.

DEIST.
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DEIST. But the People and the Person there describ'd as suffering, &c. are plainly contradistinguish'd. It is said, *Y. 8. For the Transgression of my People was he stricken.* And *Y. 3, 4, &c. We (the People) esteemed him not. All we (the People) like Sheep have gone astray— And the Lord hath laid on him the Iniquity of us all,* that is, of the People; who are here called *wicked.* But *he* is called *my righteous servant*, who *did no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth.* Therefore this People and the Person here spoke of could not be the same: They are oppos'd to each other; the one call'd *righteous*, the other *wicked*: The one to die for the other, and to justify the other: *By his Knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many, &c.*

CHR. The *Jews* before *Christ* came understood this Prophecy of the *Messiah*, as indeed it can be apply'd to none other: But the *Jews* since *Christ*, to avoid the force of this and other Prophecies which speak of the sufferings and death of the *Messiah*, have invented two *Messiahs*, one *Ben Joseph* of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, who is to be the suffering *Messiah*, the other *Ben David* of the Tribe of *Judah*, who is to triumph gloriously, and shall raise from the dead all the *Israelites*, and among them the first *Messiah*, *Ben Joseph*.

DEIST. Does the Scripture speak of two *Messiahs*, and the one raising the other?

CHR. No, not a word. But only of the *Messiah*; which shews it spoke only of one. But it mentions the two-fold state of this *Messiah*, the first suffering, the second triumphing: Whence the modern *Jews* have framed to themselves these two *Messiahs*.

DEIST. This is shameful! and plainly to avoid the Prophecies against them.

CHR. This of *Isaiah* is fully explain'd, *Dan. ix. 24, &c.* where it is said that the *Messiah* the *Prince* should *be cut off, but not for himself*, but for the Transgressions of the People, *to make an end of Sins, and to make Reconciliation for Iniquity*: And that this was to be within four hundred and ninety years after the building of the second Temple, which I have mentioned before.

DEIST. I cannot imagine how the *Jews* get clear of this.

CHR. They cannot: But in spite to it they seek now to undervalue the whole Book of *Daniel*, tho' they dare not totally reject it, because it was receiv'd by their Fore-fathers who preceded *Christ*. But about a hundred years after *Christ* they made a new distribution of the Books of the Old Testament, different from their Fathers, and took the Book of *Daniel* out of the middle of the Prophets where it was plac'd before, and put it last of all. But more than this, to lessen the credit of this Book, they adventur'd to shake the authority of their whole Scriptures: For they took upon them to make a distinction of the Books of the Scripture, and made them not all inspired or canonical, but some of them they call'd *Ἁγία γράφα*, that is, holy or pious Books, tho' in a lower class than those call'd inspired or canonical Scriptures: And they put the Book of *Daniel* into the inferior class. But in that Book *Daniel* speaks of himself as having received these Prophecies immediately from an Angel of God: Wherein if he told us the truth, it must be put in the highest class of canonical Scripture: But if he told us false, then this Book is quite through all a lie, and blasphemous too, in fathering it all upon God. So that the distinction of our modern *Jews* confounds themselves. And since they allow this Book of *Daniel* a place among the *Ἁγία γράφα*, or holy Writings, they cannot deny it to be truly canonical, as all their Fathers owned it before the coming of *Christ*: And if they throw off *Daniel*, they must discard *Ezekiel* too: For he gives the

highest attestation to *Daniel* that can be given to mortal Man; he makes him one of the three most righteous Men to be found in all ages, and the very standard of Wisdom to the World.

Ezek. xiv. 14,
20. xxviii. 3

DEIST. What do they say to *Hag. ii. 7, 9.* where it is said, that *Christ* was to come into the *second Temple*?

CHR. Some of them say, that this must be meant of a Temple yet to be built.

DEIST. This is denying the Prophecy: For it is said, *Y. 7. I will fill this House with Glory, &c.* And *Y. 9. The Glory of this latter House—And in this Place will I give Peace, &c.* But I am not to defend the cause of the *Jews*: It seems to me very desperate: I own you Christians have the advantage of them in this.

CHR. And I hope it will have so much effect with you, as to make you consider seriously of the weight of this argument of Prophecy we have discoursed.

DEIST. Let us at present leave this head of Prophecy. Have you any farther evidence to produce for your *Christ*?

VII. CHR. I have one more, which is yet more peculiar to him than even that of Prophecy. For whatever weak pretence may be made of some Prophecies among the Heathen, as to some particular events, of little consequence to the World, yet they never offer'd at that sort of evidence I am next to produce: Which is, not only Prophecies of the fact, and that from the beginning of the World, but also types, resemblances, and exhibitions of the fact, in outward sensible institutions; ordain'd as Laws from the beginning, and to continue till the fact they prefigur'd should come to pass.

I. Such were the Sacrifices instituted by God immediately upon the Fall, (and upon his Promise of the life-giving Seed, *Gen. iii. 15.*) as Types of that great and only propitiatory Sacrifice for Sin which was to come: Whose Blood they saw continually shed (in Type) in their daily Sacrifices.

These were continu'd in the heathen posterities of *Adam* by immemorial Tradition from the beginning. Tho' they had forgot the beginning of them, as they had of the World or of Mankind; yet they retain'd so much of the reason of them, as that they had universally the notion of a vicarious atonement, and that our Sins were to be purg'd by the blood of others suffering in our stead; as likewise, that the blood of Bulls and Goats could not take away Sin, but that a more noble blood was necessary. Hence they came to human Sacrifices; and at last to sacrifice the greatest, most noble, and most virtuous; and such offered themselves to be sacrificed for the safety of the People: As *Codrus* King of the *Athenians*, who sacrificed himself on this account: The like did *Curtius* for the *Romans*, as supposing himself the bravest and most valuable of them all: So the *Decii*, the *Fabii*, &c. *Agamemnon* sacrificed his Daughter *Iphigenia* for the *Greek Army*: And the

2 Kings iii.
27.

Psal. cvi. 35,
36, 37, 38.

Mich. vi. 6, 7.

King of *Moab* sacrific'd his eldest son that should have reigned in his stead. Thus the sacrificing (not their servants or slaves, but) their Children to *Moloch* is frequently mention'd of the *Jews*, which they did in imitation of the Heathen, as it is said, *They were mingled among the Heathen, and learned their Works; and they served their Idols—Yea, they sacrificed their Sons and their Daughters unto the Idols of Canaan, &c.* Pursuant to which notion, the Prophet introduceth them arguing thus, *Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow my self before the High God? Shall I come before him with Burnt-offerings, with Calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of Rams, or with ten thousands of Rivers of Oil? Shall I give my First-born for my Transgression, the Fruit of my Body for the Sin of my Soul?* They were plainly searching after

a complete and adequate satisfaction for Sin: And they thought it necessary.

DEIST. No doubt they thought so; but that did not make it necessary.

CHR. The doctrine of Satisfaction is a subject by its self; which I have treated elsewhere, in my *Answer to the Examination of my Last Dialogue against the Socinians*. But I am not come so far with you yet, I am now only speaking of Sacrifices as Types of the Sacrifice of Christ.

2. And besides Sacrifices in general, there were afterwards some particular Sacrifices appointed more nearly expressive of our redemption by Christ. As the Passover, which was instituted in memory of the redemption of the children of *Israel* (that is, the Church) out of *Egypt* (the house of bondage of this World, where we are in servitude to sin and misery) in the night when God slew all the first born of the *Egyptians*: But the destroyer was to pass over those houses where he saw the blood of the Paschal Lamb upon the door-posts: And it was to be eaten with unleavened Bread, expressing the sincerity of the heart, without any mixture or taint of wickedness, and thus it is apply'd, *1 Cor. v. 7. 8. Purge out therefore the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, as ye are unleavened. For even Christ our passover is sacrificed for us. Therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.*

3. There was a double exhibition of Christ on the great day of expiation, which was but once a year. On which day only the High-Priest enter'd into the holy of holies, (which represented Heaven, *Exod. xxv. 40. Wisd. ix. 8. Heb. ix. 24.*) with the blood of the Sacrifice, whose body was burnt without the camp; to shew God's detestation of sin, and that it was to be remov'd far from us, and that we must go out of the camp, that is, out of this World, bearing our reproach for sin, before we can be quite freed from it. See how exactly this was fulfill'd in Christ, *Heb. xiii. 11, 12, 13, 14. For the bodies of those beasts whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high-priest for sin, are burnt without the camp. Wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate. Let us go forth therefore unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach; for here we have no continuing city, but we seek one to come.*

The other lively representation of Christ's bearing our sins, and taking them away from us, which was made on the same day of expiation, was the Scape-goat, *Lev. xvi. 21, 22. And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat, and shall send him away by the hand of a fit man into the wilderness. And the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities, unto a land not inhabited: And he shall let go the goat in the wilderness.* This is so plain that it needs no application.

4. Another express representation of Christ was the brazen Serpent in the Wilderness, by looking upon which the people were cur'd of the stings of the fiery Serpents: So in looking upon Christ by faith, the sting of the old Serpent the Devil is taken away. And the lifting up the Serpent did represent Christ's being lifted up upon the cross. Christ himself makes the allusion, *Joh. iii. 14. As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the son of man be lifted up; that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life.*

5. He

5. He was likewise represented by the *Manna*. For he was the true bread that came down from Heaven to nourish us unto eternal life. *Job. vi. 31, to 36.*

6. As also by the rock whence the waters flowed out to give them drink in the wilderness. *And that rock was Christ. 1 Cor. x. 4.*

7. And he was not only their meat and drink, but he was also their constant guide, and led them in a pillar of fire by night, and of a cloud by day. And the cloud of glory in the Temple, in which God appear'd, was by the *Jews* understood as a type of the *Messiah*, who is the true *Shechina* or habitation of God.

8. The Sabbath is call'd a shadow of *Christ*. *Col. ii. 17.* It was a figure of that eternal rest procur'd to us by *Christ*. Therefore it is call'd a sign of the perpetual covenant, *Exod. xxxi. 16, 17. Ezek. xx. 12.*

9. And such a sign was the Temple at *Jerusalem*: At which place, and none other, the Sacrifices of the *Jews* were to be offer'd, *Deut. xii. 11, 13, 14.* Because *Christ* was to be sacrific'd there; and as a token of it, those Sacrifices which were types of him were to be offer'd only there.

And so great stress was laid upon this, that no sin of the *Jews* is oftner remember'd than their breach of this command. It was a blot set upon their several reformatations, otherwise good and commendable in the sight of God, that the high places (where they us'd to sacrifice) were not taken away. This is mark'd as the great defect in the reformation of *Asa*, *1 Kin. xv. 14.* of *Jehoshaphat*, *1 Kin. xxii. 43.* of *Jehoash*, *2 Kin. xii. 3.* of *Amaziab*, *2 Kin. xv. 4.* of *Jotham*, *2 Kin. 35.* But they were taken away by *Hezekiah*, *2 Kin. xviii. 4.* And the people instructed to sacrifice and burn incense at *Jerusalem* only, *2 Chr. xxxii. 12. Isai. xxxvi. 7.*

There was likewise a farther design of providence in limiting their Sacrifices to *Jerusalem*; which was, That after the great propitiatory Sacrifice of *Christ* had been offer'd there, God was to remove the *Jews* from *Jerusalem*, that they might have no Sacrifice at all (as, for that reason, they have not had in any part of the World, near these seventeen hundred years past) to instruct them, that, (as the Apostle speaks to them, *Heb. x. 26.*) *there remaineth no more (or other) sacrifice for sins.* And since by the Law their sins were to be purged by Sacrifice, they have now no way to purge their sins; to force them, as it were, to look back upon that only sacrifice which can purge their sins. And till they return to that, they must have no Sacrifice at all, but die in their sins. As *Jesus* said unto them, *I go my way, and ye shall die in your sins. — For if ye believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your sins. Joh. viii. 21, 24.*

And *Daniel* prophesy'd expressly, that soon after the death of the *Messiah*, the City of *Jerusalem* and the Sanctuary should be destroy'd, and that the Sacrifice should cease, *even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate. Dan. ix. 26, 27.*

And this desolation of theirs, and what was determin'd upon them, was told them likewise by *Hosea*, Chap. iii. 4. *For the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice. But he says in the next verse, that in the latter days they shall return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their King. That is, the Son of David their Prince and Messiah: As he is call'd Messiah the Prince. Dan. ix. 25.*

Thus

Thus as salvation was of the *Jews*, because *Christ* was to come of them, so this salvation was only to be had at *Jerusalem*, where he was to suffer, and by which only salvation was to be had.

IO. DEIST. This argument is to the *Jews*. And if I were a *Jew* it would move me, because they never were so long before without King, Temple, or Sacrifice.

CHR. But the Prophecies of it, and these fulfilled as you have seen; and *Christ* being so plainly pointed at, and the place of his passion, by limiting the Sacrifices to *Jerusalem* only; and by that causing the legal Sacrifices to cease throughout the World, to shew that they were fulfill'd: All this is a strong evidence to you of the truth of these things, and of our *Jesus* being the *Messiah*, or *Christ* who was prophesy'd of.

DEIST. I cannot deny but there is something remarkable in this, which I will take time to consider. But I do not see how the *Jews* can stand out against this. Because this mark given by *Daniel* of the *Messiah*, that soon after his death the Sacrifice shou'd cease, cannot agree to any after-*Messiah* who shou'd now come so many ages after the Sacrifice has ceas'd.

CHR. Since we have fallen into the subject of the *Jews*, I will give you another Prophecy which cannot be fulfill'd in any after-*Messiah*, whom the *Jews* expect. And it will be also a confirmation to you of the truth of the Prophecies of the holy Scriptures.

Thus God speaks, *Jer. xxxiii. 20, 21, 22. Thus saith the Lord, if you can break my covenant of the day, and my covenant of the night, and that there shou'd not be day and night in their season: Then may also my covenant be broken with David my servant, that he should not have a son to reign upon his throne; and with the Levites the priests, my ministers. As the host of heaven cannot be numbred, neither the sand of the sea measured: So will I multiply the seed of David my servant, and the Levites that minister unto me.*

Now let the *Jews* tell in which Son of *David* this is fulfill'd, except only in our *Christ*.

And how this is made good to the Priests and *Levites*, otherwise than as *Isaiah* prophesy'd *Chap. lxi. 21. And I will also take of them (the Gentiles) for priests and for Levites, saith the Lord.* And as it is thus apply'd 1 *Pet. ii. 5, 9.* and *Rev. i. 6.* and this evangelical priesthood is multiply'd as the Stars of Heaven, (which they are frequently call'd) not like the tribe of *Levi*, which could not afford Priests to all the Earth.

And as I said before of *Jerusalem* and the Sacrifices there, that they are ceas'd, to shew they are fulfill'd: So here, after this Son of *David* was come, all his other Sons ceas'd, and the very genealogy of their tribes, and so of *Judah*, is lost, as also of the tribe of *Levi*; so that the *Jews* can never tell, if any after *Messiah* shou'd appear, whether he were of the tribe of *Judah*, far less, whether he were of the lineage of *David*; nor can they shew the genealogy of any they call *Levites* now among them.

This is occasion'd by their being dispers'd among all Nations, and yet preserv'd a distinct People from all the Earth, tho' without any Country of their own, or King, or Priest, or Temple, or Sacrifice. And they are thus preserved by the providence of God, (so as never any Nation was since the foundation of the World) to shew the fulfilling of the Prophecies concerning them, and the Judgments pronounced against them for their crucifying their *Messiah*; and that their conversion may be more apparent to the World, and their being gather'd out of all Nations, and restor'd to *Jerusalem* (as is promis'd them) when they shall come to acknowledge their *Messiah*.

And God not permitting them to have any King or Governour upon Earth, ever since their last dispersion by the *Romans* (lest they might say, that the Scepter was not departed from *Judah*) is to convince them (when God shall take the veil off their heart) that no other *Messiah* who can come hereafter can answer this Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, or that of *Jacob*, that the Scepter should not depart from *Judah* till *Shiloh* came.

ii. And it is wonderful to consider how expressly their present state is prophesied of, that it could not be more literal, if it were to be worded now by us who see it. As that they should be scatter'd into all Countries, sifted as with a sieve among all Nations, yet preserv'd a People; and that God would make an utter end of those Nations who had oppressed them, and blot out their names from under Heaven (as we have seen it fulfill'd upon the great Empires of the *Assyrians*, *Chaldeans*, and *Romans*, who one after the other had miserably wasted the *Jews*) But that the name of the *Jews*, (the fewest and the poorest of all Nations) should remain for ever, and they a People distinct from all the Nations in the World, tho' scatter'd among them all. Read the Prophecies express upon this point. *Jer.* xxx. 11. xxxi. 36, 37. xxxiii. 24, 25, 26. xlv. 28. *Isai.* xxvii. 7. xxix. 7, 8. liv. 9, 10. lxxv. 8. *Ezek.* vi. 8. xi. 16, 17. xii. 15, 16. *Amos* ix. 8, 9. *Zech.* x. 9. And it was foretold them long before, that thus it would be. *Lev.* xxvi. 44. and this *in the latter days*. *Deut.* iv. 27, 30, 31. Thus *Moses* told them of it so long before, as the after-Prophets frequently. And you see all these Prophecies literally fulfill'd and fulfilling. The like cannot be said of any other Nation ever was upon the Earth; so destroy'd and so preserv'd; and for so long a time: having worn out all the great Empires of the World, and still surviving them; to fulfil what was farther prophesied of them to the end of the World.

DEIST. I cannot say but there is something very surprizing in this. I never thought of it before: It is a living Prophecy, which we see fulfilled and still fulfilling at this day before our eyes. For we are sure these Prophecies were not coin'd yesterday. And they are as express and particular as if they were to be wrote now, after the events are so far come to pass.

12. CHR. As the door was kept open to *Christ* before he came, by the many and flagrant Prophecies of him; and by the types representing him: So was the door for ever shut after him, by those Prophecies being all fulfill'd and compleated in him, and applicable to none who should come after him; and by all the types ceasing, the shadows vanishing when the substance was come. No *Messiah* can come now, before the Scepter depart from *Judah*, and the sacrifice from *Jerusalem*: Before the Sons of *David* (all except *Christ*) shall cease to sit upon his throne. None can come now, within four hundred and ninety years of the building of the second Temple; nor come into that very Temple, as I have before shew'd was expressly prophesied by *Daniel* and *Haggai*.

DEIST. I know not what the *Jews* can say, who own these Prophecies.

CHR. They say, That the coming of the *Messiah* at the time spoke of in the Prophets, has been delay'd because of their sins.

DEIST. Then it may be delay'd for ever, unless they can tell us when they will grow better. But however these Prophecies have failed which spoke of the time of the *Messiah's* coming: And they can never be a proof hereafter, because the time is past. So that, according to this, they were made for no purpose; unless to shew that they were false, that is, no Prophecies at all.

But

But were these Prophecies upon condition? Or was it said that the coming of the *Messiah* should be delay'd if the *Jews* were sinful?

CHR. No: So far from it, that it was expressly prophesied that the coming of the *Messiah* should be in the most sinful state of the *Jews*, and to purge their *Sins*. And the ancient Tradition of the *Jews* was pursuant to this, that at the coming of the *Messiah* the Temple should be a *Den of Thieves*. *Rabbi Juda in Masoreta*. And a time of great Corruption. *Talmud. tit. de Synedrio, and de Ponderibus, &c.*

But more than this, the very case is put of their being most sinful, and it is expressly said, that this should not hinder the fulfilling of the Prophecies concerning the coming of the *Messiah*, spoke of as the *Son of David*, 2 Sam. vii. 14, 15, 16. *Psal. LXXXIX. 30, 33. to 37.*

But it was prophesied that they should not know their *Messiah*, and shou'd reject him when he came; that he should be a *Stone of Stumbling*, and a *Rock of Offence* to them: And that *their Eyes should be closed*, that they should not understand their own Prophets: That their *Builders* should reject the head *Stone of the Corner*. And the like in several other places of their own Prophets. And thus they mistook the Prophecy concerning the coming of *Elias*, whom it is said they *knew not, but did to him what they listed*, and so the same of *Christ*. And it is said, That *had they known it they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory*.

DEIST. This indeed solves the Prophecies, both those of the coming of the *Messiah*, and of the *Jews* not knowing him, and therefore rejecting him: And likewise obviates this excuse of theirs; for if they were very sinful at that time, it was a greater punishment of their Sin not to know, and to reject their *Messiah*, than his not coming at that time would have been.

CHR. The great Sin mentioned for which they were punish'd by several captivities, was their Idolatry, the last and longest of which captivities was that of seventy years in *Babylon*: Since which time they have forsaken their Idolatry, and have never been nationally guilty of it since, but always had it in the utmost abhorrence. But since their rejecting their *Messiah*, they have been now near seventeen hundred years, not in a captivity, where they might be all together, and enjoying their own Law, Government, and Worship, in some manner; but dispersed over all the World, without Countrey of their own, or King, or Priest, or Temple, or Sacrifice, or any Prophet to comfort them, or give them hopes of a restoration: And all this come upon them, not for their old Sin of Idolatry, but from that curse they imprecated upon themselves, when they crucified their *Messiah*, saying *His Blood be upon us, and on our Children*: Which cleaves unto them from that day to this, and is visible to all the World, but to themselves. And what other Sin can they think greater than Idolatry, for which they have been punished so much more terribly than for all their Idolatries? What other Sin can this be, but their crucifying their *Messiah*? And here they may see their sinful state, which as they alledge as an excuse for their *Messiah's* not coming at the time foretold by the Prophets, rendred ten fold more sinful, by their rejecting him when he came.

DEIST. This is a full answer, and convincing as to the *Jews*. But have you any more to say me?

13. CHR. I have one thing more to offer, which may come under this head of Types, and that is, persons who represented *Christ* in several particulars, and so might be call'd personal Types.

And I will not apply these out of my own head, but as they are apply'd in the New Testament, which having all the marks of the Old Testament,

stament, and stronger evidence than these in those marks we are now upon, their authority is indisputable.

1. I begin with *Adam*, who gave us life and death too. And *Christ* came by his Death to restore us to Life again, even Life eternal. Hence *Christ* is called the *second Adam*, and *Adam* is call'd the *Figure* of *Christ*: The parallel betwixt them is insisted on, *Rom. v. 12.* to the end, and *1 Cor. xv. 45, to 50.* *Eve* receiv'd her life from *Adam*, as the Church from *Christ*: She was taken out of the side of *Adam* when he was in a *dead Sleep*; and after *Christ* was dead, the Sacraments of Water and Blood flow'd out of his side, that is, Baptism, whereby we are born into *Christ*, and the Sacrament of his Blood, whereby we are nourish'd into eternal Life.

2. *Enoch* was carry'd up bodily into Heaven: As *Elijah*: One under the patriarchal, the other under the legal dispensation: In both, the Ascension of *Christ* was prefigured.

3. *Noah*, a *Preacher of Righteousness* to the old World, and Father of the new: Who sav'd the Church by water, the like figure whereunto *even Baptism doth also now save us.*

4. *Melchisedec*, that is, *King of Righteousness*, and *King of Peace*, and *Priest of the most high God*; who was made like unto the Son of God, a *Priest* continually.

5. *Abraham*, the *Friend of God*, and *Father of the Faithful*, the *Heir of the World*: In whom all the Nations of the Earth are blessed.

6. *Isaac*, the *Heir of this Promise*, was born after his Father and Mother were both past the age of generation in the course of Nature, *Gen. xvii. 17. xviii. 11. Rom. iv. 19. Heb. xi. 11, 12.* The nearest Type that could be to the Generation of *Christ* wholly without a Man.

And his Sacrifice had a very near resemblance to the Sacrifice and Death of *Christ*, who lay three days in the Grave; and *Isaac* was three days a dead Man (as we say in Law) under the Sentence of Death, whence *Abraham received him in a Figure*, that is, of the Resurrection of *Christ*. And *Abraham* was commanded to go three days journey to sacrifice *Isaac* upon the same mountain (according to the Ancients) where *Christ* was crucify'd, and where *Adam* was buried. Again, the common Epithet of *Christ*, i. e. *The only Begotten of the Father*, and his beloved Son, were both given to *Isaac*, *Gen. xxii. 2. Heb. xi. 17.* For he was the only son that was begotten in that miraculous manner, after both his parents were decay'd by Nature: And he was the only son of the Promise, which was not made to the seed of *Abraham* in general, but in *Isaac shall thy Seed be called. He saith not, and to Seeds, as of many, but as of one: And to thy Seed, which is Christ.*

And as *Isaac*, which signifies rejoicing, or laughing for joy, was thus the only begotten of his parents, so *Abram* signifies the glorious Father, and *Abraham* (into which his name was chang'd on the Promise of *Isaac*, *Gen. xvii. 5, 16.*) signifies the Father of a Multitude, to express the coming in of the Gentiles to *Christ*, and the encrease of the Gospel; whence it is there said to *Abraham*, *a Father of many Nations have I made thee: And in thy Seed all the Nations of the Earth shall be blessed.*

Isaac who was born by Promise of a Free-woman, represented the christian Church, in opposition to *Ishmael*, who was born after the flesh, of a Bond-maid, and signify'd the Jewish Church under the Law. See this allegory carried on, *Gal. iv. 21.* to the end.

7. *Jacob* his vision of the Ladder (*Gen. xxviii. 12.*) shews the intercourse which was opened by *Christ* betwixt Heaven and Earth, by his making Peace: And to this he alludes when he says, *Hereafter you shall see Heaven open, and the Angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man.*

And *Jacob's* wrestling with the Angel, (*Gen. xxxii. 24, &c. Hos. xii. 4.*) and as it were prevailing over him by force to bless him, shews the strong and powerful Intercession of *Christ*: Whereby (as he words it) *Heaven* Mat. xi. 12. *suffereth Violence, and the violent take it by force.* Whence the name of *Jacob* was then turn'd to *Israel*, that is, one who prevails upon God, or has power over him: God representing himself here as overcome by us. And the name of *Israel* was ever after given to the Church: But much more so when *Christ* came, as he said, *From the days of John the Baptist until now, the Kingdom of Heaven suffereth Violence*, that is, from the first promulgation of *Christ* being come. Thenceforward the *Gentiles* began to press into the Gospel, and as by force to take it from the *Jews*: This was signify'd in the name *Jacob*, that is, a supplanter, for the *Gentiles* here supplanted their elder brother the *Jews*, and stole the blessing and heirship from them.

8. *Joseph* was sold by his brethren out of envy; but it prov'd the preservation of them and all their families: And *Christ* was sold by his brethren out of envy, which prov'd the means of their redemption: And *Christ*, as Mark xv. 10. *Joseph*, became lord over his brethren.

9. *Moses* calls *Christ* a Prophet like unto himself. He represented *Christ* Deut. xviii. the great Lawgiver: And his delivering *Israel* out of *Aegypt* was a Type ^{18.} of *Christ's* delivering his Church from the bondage of Sin and Hell.

10. *Joshua*, call'd also *Jesus*, overcame all the enemies of *Israel*, and Heb. iv. 8. gave them possession of the holy Land, which was a Type of Heaven: And *Christ* appeared to *Joshua*, as Captain of the Host of the Lord: So Jos. v. 14. that *Joshua* was his Lieutenant representing him.

11. *Sampson*, who by his single valour and his own strength overcame the *Philistines*, and *slew more at his death than in all his life*, was a representation of *Christ*, who trod the Wine-press alone, and of the People Isa. lxiii. 3, 5. *there was none with him, but his own Arm brought him Salvation.* But his death compleated his victory, whereby he overcame all the power of the enemy, *And having spoil'd Principalities and Powers, he made a* Col. ii. 15. *shew of them openly, triumphing over them in his Cross.*

12. *David*, whose Son *Christ* is call'd, speaks frequently of him in his own person, and in events which cannot be apply'd to *David*, as, *Thou wilt not leave my Soul in Hell, nor suffer thy holy one to see corruption*: For *David* has seen corruption. *Christ* is said to sit upon the Psal. xvi. 10. *Throne of David*; And *Christ* is call'd by the name of *David*, Hos. iii. 5. and frequently in the Prophets.

David from a Shepherd became a King and a Prophet, denoting the three-fold office of *Christ*, pastoral, regal, and prophetic.

13. *Solomon*, the wisest of Men, his peaceable and magnificent Reign represented the triumphal state of *Christ's* Kingdom, which is describ'd, Psal. lxxii. (inscrib'd for *Solomon*, there call'd the King's Son) but far exceeding the Glory of his Reign, or what can possibly be apply'd to him, as Y. 5, 8, 11, 17. But his Reign came the nearest of any to that universal and glorious Reign there describ'd, particularly in his being chosen to build the Temple, because he was a man of peace, and had shed no blood, like *David* his father, who conquer'd the enemies of *Israel*, but *Solomon* built the Church, in full peace; and as it is particularly set down 1 Kings vi. 7. and no doubt he was ordered by God so to do, *That the House when it was in building, was built of Stone made ready before it was brought thither: So that there was neither hammer nor ax, nor any tool of iron heard in the House while it was in building*: Which did denote that the Church of *Christ* was to be built, not only in peace, but without noise or confusion, as *Isaiah* prophesy'd of him, Chap. xlii. 2. *He shall not cry, nor lift up,*

nor cause his voice to be heard in the street: a bruised reed shall he not break, &c. He was not to conquer with the sword, as the Israelites subdued Canaan, but to overcome by meekness, and doing good to his enemies, and patiently suffering all injuries from them: And so he taught his followers, as St. Paul says, *The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all Men—In meekness instructing those that oppose themselves.*

And I cannot think but there was some imitation of this peaceable Temple of Solomon in the Temple of Janus among the Romans; for that was never to be shut but in time of peace: Which happened rarely among them, but three times in all their History: The last was in the Reign of Augustus, in which time Christ came into the World, when there was a profound and universal peace: And so it became the Prince of Peace, whose Birth was thus proclaim'd by the Angels, *glory to God on high, and on Earth peace, good will towards Men.* But to go on:

14. *Jonah's* being three days and nights in the belly of the Whale, was a sign of *Christ's* being so long in the heart of the Earth: *Christ* himself makes the allusion, *Mat. XII. 40.*

15. But as there were several persons, at several times, representing and prefiguring several particulars of the Life and Death of *Christ*; so there was one standing and continual representation of him appointed in the person of the High-priest under the Law: Who entering into the *Holy of Holies* once in a year, with the blood of the great expiatory Sacrifice, and he only, to make atonement for Sin, did lively represent our great High-priest entering into Heaven, once for all, with his own Blood, to expiate the Sins of the whole World: This is largely insisted upon in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, chap. VII. VIII. IX. X.

And our deliverance by the death of *Christ* is represented, as in a picture, in that ordinance of the Law, that the man-slayer who fled to one of the cities of refuge, (which were all of the cities of the *Levites*) should not come out thence till the death of the High-priest, and no satisfaction be taken till then, and then he should be acquitted and return into the Land of his possession.

And I doubt not but the *Gentiles* had from thence their *Asyla* or Temples of refuge for criminals.

(1.) DEIST. There is a resemblance in these things; but I wou'd not have admitted them as a proof, if you had not supported them, at least most of them, with the authority of the New Testament: And it was not necessary that every one should be named in it; for those that are named are only occasionally: And I must take time to consider of the evidences you have brought for the authority of the New Testament, which you have made full as great, if not greater than the evidences for the Old Testament.

CHR. I may say greater upon this head of Prophecies and Types, because these are no proofs till they are fulfilled: Tho' then they prove the truth of these Prophecies and Types; and so the one confirms the other: But the whole evidence of the Law is not made apparent till we see it fulfilled in the Gospel: For which reason I call the Gospel the strongest proof, not only as to itself, but likewise as to the Law: And the *Jews*, as much as in them lies, have invalidated this strongest proof for the Old Testament, which is the fulfilling of it in the New: Nay they have rendred these Prophecies false, which they say were not fulfilled at the time they spake of, and never now can be fulfilled. And as no fact but that of our *Christ* alone ever had this evidence of Prophecies and Types from the beginning, so never can any other fact have it now while the World lasts.

(2.) DEIST. Why do you say, *never can have it*? For may not God make what fact he pleases, and give it what evidence he pleases?

CHR. But it cannot have the evidence that the fact of *Christ*, has, unless at that distance of time hereafter, as from the beginning of the World to this day: Because God took care that the evidence of *Christ* should commence from the very beginning, in the promise of him made to *Adam*, and to be renewed by the Prophets in all the after-ages till he should come: And the evidence of him after his coming (in which I have instanc'd) and which continues to this day, before it can belong to any other, must have the same compass of time that has gone to confirm this evidence, else it has not the same evidence.

(3.) DEIST. By this argument the evidence grows stronger the longer it continues, since you say, that the Prophecies of the Scriptures reach to the end of the World; and so will be farther and farther fulfilling every day.

This is contrary to what one of your Doctors * has lately advanced, who pretends to calculate the age of evidences, that in such a time they decay, and in such a time must die. And that the evidence of Christianity having lasted so long, is upon the decay, and must wear out soon, if not supply'd by some fresh and new evidence.

CHR. This may be true as to fables which have no foundation. But is that Prophecy I mention'd to you, of the dispersion and yet wonderful preservation of the *Jews*, less evident to you, because it was made so long ago?

DEIST. No, It is much more evident for that. If I had liv'd at the time when those Prophecies were made, I fancy I shou'd not have believed one word of them; but wonder'd at the assurance of those who ventur'd to foretell such improbable and almost impossible things.

And I should have thought the same of what you have told me of your *Christ*, foretelling the progress of his Gospel, at the first so very slender appearance of it, and by such weak and improbable means, as only suffering and dying for it, which to me would have seem'd perfect despair, and a giving up the cause.

I should have thought of them (as of others) who prophesy of things after their time, that they might not be contradicted while they liv'd.

But my seeing so much of these Prophecies concerning the *Jews*, and the progress of the Gospel, come to pass so long time after, is the only thing that makes me lay stress upon them, and which makes them seem wonderful to me.

CHR. When the Prophecies shall all be fully compleated at the end of the World, they will then seem strongest of all. They will then be undeniable, when *Christ* shall visibly descend from Heaven (in the same manner as he ascended) to execute both what he has promis'd and threaten'd. And in the mean time, the Prophecies lose none of their force, but their evidence encreases, as *the light shineth more and more unto the perfect day*.

VIII. DEIST. I observe you have made no use of that common topick of the Truth and Sincerity of the Pen-Men of the Scriptures, and what Interest they cou'd have in setting up these things if they had been false: For this can amount at most but to a probability. And you having produc'd those evidences which you think infallible, it might seem a lessening of your proof to insist upon bare probabilities. So that I suppose you give that up.

* Craig. Theologiæ Christianæ Principia Mathematica. 1699.

1. No, Sir, I give it not up, tho' I have not made it the chief foundation of my argument. And if it were but a probability, it wants not its force, for it is thought unreasonable to deny a flagrant probability, where there is not as strong a probability on the other side, for then that makes a doubt. But otherwise, Men generally are satisfied with probabilities, for that is the greatest part of our knowledge. If we will believe nothing but what carries an infallible demonstration along with it, we must be scepticks in most things in the World. And such were never thought the wisest Men.

But besides, a probability may be sooner discern'd by some than the infallibility of a demonstration. Therefore we must not lay aside probabilities.

But in this case, I think there is an infallible assurance, as infallible as the senses of all mankind. And I suppose you will not ask a greater.

2. DEIST. How can you say that? When the suffering of afflictions, and death it self, is but a probability of the truth of what is told us: Because some have suffer'd death for errors.

CHR. But then they thought them true. And Men may be deceiv'd in their judgments, we see many examples of it. But if the facts related be such, as that it is impossible for those who tell them to be impos'd upon themselves, or for those to whom they are told to believe them, if not true, without supposing an universal deception of the senses of mankind, then I hope I have brought the case up to that infallible demonstration I promis'd. And this is the case of the facts related in holy Scripture. They were told by those who saw them and did them, and they were told to those who saw them likewise themselves; and the relators appeal'd to this. So that here cou'd be no deceit.

DEIST. I grant there is a great difference betwixt errors in opinion, and in fact. And that such facts as are told of *Moses* and of *Christ*, cou'd not have pass'd upon the People then alive, and who were said to have seen them. And I find that both *Moses*, *Christ*, and the Apostles did appeal to what the People they spoke to had seen themselves.

CHR. With this consideration, their patient suffering even unto death for the truth of what they taught, will be a full demonstration of the truth of it.

3. Add to this, that their enemies who persecuted them, the *Romans* as well as *Jews*, to whom they appeal'd as witnesses of the facts, did not offer to deny them.

That none of the Apostates from Christianity did attempt to detect any falshood in the facts; tho' they might have had great rewards if they cou'd have done it. The *Roman* Emperors being then persecutors of Christianity, and for three hundred years after *Christ*: And *Julian* the Emperor afterwards turn'd Apostate, who had been initiated in the *Sacra* of Christianity, yet cou'd not he detect any of the facts.

4. And it was a particular providence for the farther evidence of Christianity, that all the civil Governments in the World were against it for the first three hundred years, lest it might be said (as it is ridiculously in your *Amyntor*) that the awe of the civil Government might hinder those who cou'd make the detection.

Now, Sir, to apply all that we have said, I desire you wou'd compare these evidences I have brought for Christianity, with those that are pleaded for any other Religion.

There are but four in the World, *viz.* Christianity, Judaism, Heathenism, and Mahometism.

Christianity was the first. For from the first promise of *Christ* made to *Adam*, during the patriarchal and legal dispensations, all was Christianity in type, as I have shew'd.

First then, As to *Moses* and the Law; the *Jews* can give no evidence for that, which will not equally establish the truth of *Christ* and the Gospel, nor can they disprove the facts of *Christ* by any topick, which will not likewise disprove all those of *Moses* and the Prophets: So that they are hedg'd in on every side. They must either renounce *Moses*, or acknowledge *Christ*.

Moses and the Law have the first five evidences, but they have not the sixth and the seventh, which are the strongest.

This is as to Judaism before *Christ* came: But since, as it now stands in opposition to Christianity, in favour of any future *Messiah*, it has none of the evidences at all. On the contrary, their own Prophecies and Types make against them; for their Prophecies are fulfilled, and their Types are ceas'd, and cannot belong to any other *Messiah* who should come hereafter. They stand now more naked than the Heathens or the Mahometans.

Secondly, Next for Heathenism, some of the facts recorded of their Gods have the first and second evidences, and some the third, but not one of them the fourth, or any of the other evidences.

But truly and properly speaking, and if we will take the opinion of the Heathens themselves, they were no facts at all, but mythological fables, invented to express some moral virtues or vices, or the history of nature, and power of the elements, &c. as likewise to turn great part of the history of the Old Testament into fable, and make it their own, for they disdain'd to borrow from the *Jews*. They made Gods of Men, and the most vicious too. Infomuch that some of their wise Men thought it a corruption of youth, to read the history of their Gods, whom they represented as notorious liars, thieves, adulterers, &c. Tho' they had some mythology hid under all that.

And as Men were their Gods, so they made the first Man to be Father of the Gods, and call'd him *Saturn*, not begot by any Man, but the Son of *Cælus* and *Vesta*, that is, of Heaven and Earth. And his maiming his Father with a Steel Sythe, was to shew how Heaven it self is impair'd by time, whom they painted with Wings and a Sythe mowing down all things. And *Saturn* eating up his own Children, was only to express how time devours all its own productions. And his being depos'd by *Jupiter* his Son, shews, that time which wears away all other things, is worn away it self at last.

Several of the Heathen Authors have given us the mythology of their Gods, with which I will not detain you.

They express'd every thing, and worshipp'd every thing under the name of a God; as the God of Sleep, of Musick, of Eloquence, of Hunting, Drinking, Love, War, &c. They had above thirty thousand of them. And in what they told of them, and as they describ'd them, they often trac'd the sacred story.

Ovid begins his *Metamorphoses* with a perfect poetical version of the beginning of *Genesis*. *Ante Mare & Terras*— Then goes on with the history of the Creation; the formation of Man out of the dust of the Earth, and his being made after the image of God, and to have dominion over the inferior Creatures. Then he tells of the general corruption, and the Giants before the flood, when the Earth was filled with violence; for which all Mankind with the beasts and the fowl were destroy'd by the universal deluge, except only *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* his Wife, who were saved in a Boat, which landed them on the top of Mount *Parnassus*; and that from these two the whole Earth was re-peopled. I think it will be needless to detain the reader with an application of this to the history of the Creation set down

down by *Moses*; of the flood, and the Ark wherein *Noah* was saved, and the Earth re-peopled by him, &c.

And *Noah* was plainly intended likewise in their God *Janus*, with his two faces, one old, looking backward to the old World that was destroy'd, the other young, looking forward to the new World that was to spring from him.

So that even their turning the sacred history into fable, is a confirmation of it. And there can be no comparison betwixt the truth of the facts attested as I have shew'd, and the fables that were made from them.

Thirdly, As to the Mahometan Religion, it wants all the evidences we have mention'd; for there was no Miracle said to be done by *Mahomet* publicly and in the face of the World, but that only of conquering with the sword. Who saw his *Mesra* or journey from *Mecca* to *Jerusalem*, and thence to Heaven in one night, and back in bed with his Wife in the morning? Who was present and heard the conversation the Moon had with him in his Cave? It is not said there was any witness. And the *Alcoran*. c. vi. excuses his not working any Miracles to prove his mission. They say that *Moses* and *Christ* came to shew the clemency and goodness of God, to which Miracles were necessary; but that *Mahomet* came to shew the power of God, to which no Miracle was needful but that of the sword.

1. And his *Alcoran* is a rhapsody of stuff without head or tail, one wou'd think wrote by a Mad-Man, with ridiculous titles, as the *Chapter* of the *Cow*, of the *Spider*, &c.

And their legends are much more senseless than those of the Papists, as of an Angel, the distance betwixt whose two hands is seventy thousand days journey: Of a Cow's head with horns, which have forty thousand knots, and forty days journey betwixt each knot: And others which have seventy mouths, and every mouth seventy tongues, and every tongue praises God seventy times a day, in seventy different Idioms: And of Wax-Candles before the Throne of God, which are fifty years journey from one end to the other. The *Alcoran* says the Earth was created in two days, and is supported by an Ox which stands under it, upon a white stone, with his head to the East, and his tail to the West, having forty horns, and as great a distance betwixt every horn as a Man cou'd walk in a thousand years time.

Then their description of Heaven in a full enjoyment of Wine, Women, and other like gross sensual pleasures.

2. When you compare this with our holy Scriptures, you will need no argument to make you see the difference. The Heathen Orators have admir'd the subline of the style of our Scriptures. No writing in the World comes near it, even with all the disadvantage of our translation, which, being oblig'd to be literal, must lose much of the beauty of it. The plainness and succinctness of the historical part, the melody of the Psalms, that instruction of the Proverbs, the majesty of the Prophets, and above all, the easy sweetness in the New Testament, where the glory of Heaven is set forth in a grave and moving expression, which yet reaches not the height of the subject: not like the flights of rhetorick, which set out small matters in great words; but the holy Scriptures touch the heart, raise expectation, confirm our hope, strengthen our faith, give peace of conscience, and joy in the Holy Ghost, which is inexpressible. All which you will experience when you once come to believe, you will then bring forth these fruits of the Spirit, when you receive the word with pure affection, as we pray in our Litany.

3. But, Sir, if there is truth in the *Alcoran*, then the holy Scriptures are the word of God; for the *Alcoran* says so, and that it was sent to confirm

firm them, even the Scriptures of both the Old and New Testament : And it expressly owns our *Jesus* to be the *Messiah*. At the end of the fourth Chap. it has these words, *The Messiah, Jesus, the son of Mary, is a Prophet, and an Angel of God, his word and his spirit, which he sent to Mary.* But it gives him not the name of Son of God, for this wise reason, Chap. vi. *How shall God have a son who hath no wives?* Yet it owns *Jesus* to be born of a pure Virgin, without a Man, by the operation of the Spirit of God. And in the same Chapter this *Mahomet* acknowledges his own ignorance, and says, *I told you not that I had in my power all the treasures of God, neither that I had knowledge of the future and past, nor do affirm that I am an Angel, I only act what hath been inspir'd into me; is the blind like him that seeth clearly?* And after says, *I am not your tutor; every thing hath its time, you shall hereafter understand the truth.*

This is putting off, and bidding them expect some other after *Mahomet*. But our *Jesus* said he was our Tutor and Teacher, and that there was none to come after him. *Mahomet* said he was no Angel, but that *Jesus* was an Angel of God: But when God bringeth *Jesus* into the World, he saith, *Let all the Angels of God worship him.* And he made him Lord of all the Angels. *Mahomet* knew not what was past or to come: But our *Jesus* knew all things, and what was in the heart of every Man (*Joh. ii. 24, 25.*) which none can do but God only. *1 Kin. viii. 39.* and foretold things to come to the end of the World. *Mahomet* had not all the treasures of God; but in *Jesus* are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. *For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.* Heb. i. 6. Col. ii. 3. 9.

Again, *Mahomet* never call'd himself the *Messiah*, or the Word, or Spirit of God, yet all these appellations he gives to our *Jesus*.

There were Prophecies of *Jesus* which we have seen: Were there any of *Mahomet*? None, except of the false *Christs* and false Prophets which *Jesus* told should come after him, and bid us beware of them, for that they should deceive many.

4. DEIST. But if *Mahomet* gave thus the preference to *Christ* in every thing, and said that his *Alcoran* was only a confirmation of the Gospel; how came he to set it up against the Gospel, and to reckon the Christians among the unbelievers?

CHR. No otherwise than as other Hereticks did, who call'd themselves the only true Christians, and invented new interpretations of the Scriptures. The Socinians now charge whole Christianity with Apostacy, Idolatry, and Polytheism. And the *Alcoran* is but a system of the old Arianism, ill digested and worse put together, with a mixture of some Heathenism and Judaism. For *Mahomet's* Father was an Heathen, his Mother a Jewess, and his Tutor was *Sergius* the Monk a Nestorian; which sect was a branch of Arianism. These crudely mix'd made up the *Farrago* of the *Alcoran*. But the prevailing part was Arianism. And where that spread it self in the East, there *Mahometism* succeeded, and sprung out of it: To let all Christians see the horror of that heresy. And our Socinians now among us, who call themselves Unitarians, are much more *Mahometans* than Christians. For except some personal things as to *Mahomet*, they agree almost wholly in his Doctrine; and as such address'd themselves to the Morocco Ambassador here in the reign of King Charles II. As you may see in the Preface to my Dialogues against the Socinians, printed in the year 1708. Nor do they speak more honourably of *Christ* and the holy Scriptures than the *Alcoran* does. And there is no error concerning *Christ* in the *Alcoran* but what was broach'd before by the Hereticks of Christianity, as that *Christ* did not suffer really, but in appearance only, or that some other was

was crucify'd in his stead, but he taken up into Heaven, as the *Alcoran* speaks.

So that in strictness I should not have reckon'd *Mahometism* as one of the four Religions in the World, but as one of the Heresies of Christianity. But because of its great name, and its having spread so far in the World, by the conquests of *Mahomet* and his followers, and that it is vulgarly understood to be a distinct Religion by it self, therefore I have consider'd it as such.

And as to your concern in the matter, you see plainly, that the *Alcoran* comes in attestation and confirmation of the facts of *Christ*, and of the holy Scriptures.

DEIST. I am not come yet so far as to enter into the disputes of the several sects of Christianity; but as to the fact of *Christ* and of the Scriptures in general, *Mahometism*, I see does rather confirm than oppose it.

CHR. What then do you think of *Judaism*, as it now stands in opposition to Christianity?

DEIST. Not only as without any evidence, the time prophesy'd of for the coming of the *Messiah* being long since past; but all their former evidences turn directly against them, and against any *Messiah* who ever hereafter should come: As that the *Scepter* should not depart from Judah; that he should come into the second Temple, that the *Sacrifices* should cease soon after his death; that *David* should never want a son to sit upon his throne; that they should be many days without a King, and without a Prince, and without a Sacrifice, &c. Which they do not suppose ever will be the case after their *Messiah* is come: So that they are witnesses against themselves.

CHR. And what do you think of the stories of the heathen Gods?

DEIST. I believe them no more than all the stories in *Ovid's Metamorphoses*: Nor did the wiser Heathen believe them; only such silly People as suck in all the *Popish* Legends without examining.

And to tell you the truth, I thought the same of all the stories in your Bible: But I will take time to examine those proofs you have given me.

For, *Lastly*, We Deists do not dispute against Christianity in behalf of any other Religion, of the *Jews*, or Heathens, or *Mahometans*, all which pretend to Revelation: But we are against all Revelation, and go only upon bare Nature, and what our own Reason dictates to us.

CHR. What Nature dictates, it dictates to all, at least to the most and the generality of Mankind: And if we measure by this, then it will appear a natural notion that there is necessity of Revelation in Religion: And herein you have all the World against you from the very beginning. And will you plead Nature against all these?

DEIST. The notion came down from one to another from the beginning, we know not how.

CHR. Then it was either Nature from the beginning, or else, it was from Revelation at the beginning: Whence the notion has descended through all posterities to this day.

I. And there wants not Reason for this: For when Man had fallen, and his Reason was corrupted (as we feel it upon us to this day, as sensibly as the diseases and infirmities of the body) was it not highly reasonable that God should give us a Law and directions how to serve and worship him? Sacrifices do not seem to be any natural invention. For why should taking away the life of my fellow-creature be acceptable to God, or a worship of him? It wou'd rather seem an offence against him. But as types of the great and only propitiatory Sacrifice of *Christ* to come, and to keep up our faith in that, the institution given with the revelation of it appears most

most rational: And that it was necessary, the great defection shews, not only of the Heathens, but of the *Jews* themselves; who tho' they retain'd the institution, yet in a great measure lost the true meaning and signification of it: And are now to be brought back to it by reminding them of the institution and the reason of it.

Plato in his *Alcibiad. ii. de Precat.* has the same reasoning, and concludes, that we cannot know of our selves what petitions will be pleasing to God, or what worship to give him: But that it is necessary a Lawgiver should be sent from Heaven to instruct us: And such a one he did expect, and *O how greatly do I desire to see that Man!* says he, and *who he is!* The primitive tradition of the expected *Messiah* had no doubt come to him, as to many others of the Heathen, from the *Jews*, and likely from the perusal of their Scriptures.

For *Plato* goes farther, and says, (*de Leg. l. 4.*) that this Lawgiver must be more than Man; for he observes that every nature is govern'd by another nature that is superior to it, as birds and beasts by Man, who is of a distinct and superior nature: So he infers, that this Lawgiver who was to teach Man what Man could not know by his own nature, must be of a nature that is superior to Man, that is, of a divine nature.

Nay, he gives as lively a description of the person, qualifications, life, and death of this divine Man, as if he had copied the *LIII* of *Isaiab*: For he says, (*de Repub. l. 2.*) that this just person must be poor, and void of all recommendations but that of virtue alone; that a wicked World would not bear his instructions and reproof, and therefore within three or four years after he began to preach, he should be persecuted, imprison'd, scourg'd, and at last put to death, his word is *Ἀναχινδύλλεσθαι*, that is, *cut in pieces*, as they cut their Sacrifices.

DEIST. These are remarkable passages, as you apply them: And *Plato* was three hundred years before *Christ*.

But I incline to think that these notions came rather from such tradition as you speak of, than from nature: And I can see nothing of nature in Sacrifices, they look more like institution, come that how it will.

2. CHR. It is strange that all the Nations in the World should be carry'd away from what you call nature: Unless you will take refuge among the *Hottentotes* at the *Cape of Good Hope*, hardly distinguishable from beasts, to shew us what nature left to it self would do; and leave us all the wise and polite World on the side of Revelation, either real or pretended; and of opinion that Mankind could not be without it: And my business now with you has been to distinguish the real from the pretended.

3. DEIST. By the account you have given, there is but one Religion in the World, nor ever was: For the *Jewish* was but Christianity in type, tho' in time greatly corrupted: And the Heathen was a greater corruption, and founded the fables of their Gods upon the facts of Scripture: And the *Mahometan* you say is but a heresy of Christianity: So that all is Christianity still.

CHR. It is true God gave but one Revelation to the World, which was that of *Christ*: And as that was corrupted, new Revelations were pretended. But God has guarded his Revelations with such evidences, as it was not in the power of Men or Devils to counterfeit or contrive any thing like them. Some bear resemblance in one or two features, in the first two or three evidences that I have produc'd; but as none reach the fourth, so they are all quite destitute of the least pretence to the remaining four: So that when you look upon the face of divine Revelation, and take it all together, it is impossible to mistake it for any of those delusions which the Devil has set up in imitation of it: And they are made to confirm it, be-

cause all the resemblance they have to truth, is that wherein they are any ways like it; but when compar'd with it, they shew as an ill drawn picture, half Man half Beast, in presence of the beautiful original.

4. DEIST. It is strange, that if the case be thus plain as you have made it, the whole World is not immediately convinc'd.

CHR. If the seed be never so good, yet if it be sown upon stones or among thorns, it will bring forth nothing. There are hearts of stone, and others so fill'd with the love of riches, with the cares and pleasures of this life, that they will not see, they have not a mind to know any thing which they think would disturb them in their enjoyments, or lessen their opinion of them, for that would be taking away so much of their pleasure. Therefore it is no easy matter to persuade Men to place their happiness in future expectations, which is the import of the Gospel. And in pressing this, and bidding the worldly-minded abandon their beloved vices, and telling the fatal consequences of them, we must expect to meet not only with their scorn and contempt, but their utmost rage and impatience, to get rid of us, as so many enemies of their lusts and pleasures. This is the cross which our Saviour prepar'd all his Disciples to bear, who were to fight against flesh and blood, and all the allurements of the World: And it is a greater Miracle that they have had so many followers in this, than that they have gain'd to themselves so many enemies. The World is a strong Man, and till a stronger than he comes (that is, the full persuasion of the future state) he will keep possession: *And this is the victory that overcometh the World, even our Faith.* But we are told also, that this Faith is the Gift of God: For all the evidence in the World will not reach the heart, unless it be prepar'd (like the good ground) to receive the doctrine that is taught: Till then, prejudice will create obstinacy, which will harden the heart like a rock, and cry, *non persuadebis, etiamsi persuaseris! I will not be persuaded, tho' I should be persuaded!*

You must consider under this head too, the many that have not yet heard of the Gospel: And of those that have, the far greater number who have not the capacity or opportunity to examine all the evidences of Christianity, but take things upon trust, just as they are taught. And how many others are careless, and will not be at the pains, tho' they want not capacity to enquire into the truth? All these classes will include the greatest part of Mankind; the ignorant, the careless, the vicious, and so the obstinate, the ambitious, and the covetous, whose Minds the God of this World hath blinded.

But yet in the midst of all this darkness, God hath not left himself without witness, which will be apparent to every diligent and sober enquirer that is willing and prepar'd to receive the Truth.

5. Good Sir, let me ask you, tho' you are of no Religion, as you say, but what you call natural; yet wou'd you not think me very brutal if I should deny that ever there was such a Man as *Alexander*, or *Cæsar*, or that they did such things? If I should deny all History, or that *Homer*, or *Virgil*, *Demosthenes*, or *Cicero*, ever wrote such Books? Would you not think me perfectly obstinate, seiz'd with a spirit of contradiction, and not fit for human conversation?

And yet these things are of no consequence to me, it is not a farthing as to my interest, whether they are true or false.

Will you then think your self a reasonable Man, if in matters of the greatest importance, even your eternal state, you will not believe those facts which have a thousand times more certain and indisputable evidence? Were there any Prophecies of *Cæsar* or *Pompey*? Were there any types of them, or publick institutions appointed by a Law, to prefigure the great things that

that they should do? Any persons who went before them, to bear a resemblance of these things, and bid us expect that great event? Was there a general expectation in the World of their coming, before or at the time when they came? And of what consequence was their coming to the World, or to after ages? No more than a robbery committed a thousand years ago!

Were the *Greek* and *Roman* Histories wrote by the persons who did the facts, or by eye-witnesses? And for the greater certainty were those Histories made the standing Law of the country? Or were they any more than our *Holinshead* and *Stow*, &c?

Must we believe these, on pain of not being thought reasonable Men? And are we then unreasonable and credulous if we believe the facts of the holy Bible? Which was the standing Law of the People to whom it was given, and wrote or dictated by those who did the facts, with publick institutions appointed by them as a perpetual Law to all their generations; and which, if the facts had been false, could never have pass'd at the time when the facts were said to be done; nor for the same reason, if that book had been wrote afterwards, because these institutions (as Circumcision, the Passover, Baptism, &c.) were as notorious facts as any, and that Book saying they commenc'd from the time that the facts were done, must be found to be false, whenever it was trump't in after-ages, by no such institutions being then known. Not like the feasts, games, &c. in memory of the heathen Gods, which were appointed long after those facts were said to be done; and the like institutions may be appointed to morrow in memory of any falsehood said to be done a thousand years ago, and so is no proof at all: And tho' a legend or Book of Stories of things said to be done many years past may be palm'd upon People, yet a book of statutes cannot, by which their causes are try'd every day.

Are there such Prophecies extant in any prophane History so long before the facts there recorded, as there are in the holy Scriptures of the coming of the *Messiah*?

Were there any types or fore-runners of the heathen Gods, or of *Mahomet*?

Is there the like evidence of the truth and sincerity of the *Greek* and *Roman* Historians, as of the Pen-men of the holy Scriptures?

Would these Historians have given their lives for the truth of all they wrote?

Did they tell such facts only wherein it was impossible for themselves to be impos'd upon, or that they should impose upon others? Nothing but what themselves had seen and heard, and they also to whom they spoke?

Did they expect nothing but persecution and death for what they related? And were they bidden to bear it patiently without resistance? Was this the case of the Disciples of *Mahomet*, who were requir'd to fight and conquer with the sword? Did any Religion ever overcome by suffering, but the christian only?

And did any exhibit the future State, and preach the contempt of this World like the christian?

DEIST. That's the reason it has prevail'd so little: And yet, considering this, it is strange it has prevail'd so much.

6. But there is one thing yet behind, wherein I would be glad to have your opinion, because I find your Divines differ about it; and that is, how we should know to distinguish betwixt true and false Miracles.

And this is necessary to the subject we are upon: For the force of the facts you alledge ends all in this, that such miraculous facts are a sufficient attestation of such persons being sent of God; and consequently, that we are to believe the doctrine which they taught.

You

You know we Deists deny any such things as Miracles, but reduce all to nature. Yet I confess if I had seen such Miracles as are recorded of *Moses* and of *Christ*, it wou'd have convinc'd me. And for the truth of them we must refer to the evidences you have given. But in the mean time, if there is no rule whereby to distinguish betwixt true and false Miracles, there is an end of all the pains you have taken. For if the Devil can work such things as appear Miracles to me, I am as much persuaded as if they were true Miracles, and wrought by God. And so Men may be deceiv'd in trusting to Miracles.

The common notion of a Miracle is what exceeds the power of nature. To which we say, That we know not the utmost of the power of nature, and consequently cannot tell what exceeds it. Nor do you pretend to know the utmost of the power of Spirits, whether good or evil, and how then can you tell what exceeds their power?

I doubt not but you wou'd have thought those to be true Miracles which the *Magicians* are said to have wrought in *Ægypt*, but that *Moses* is said to have wrought Miracles that were superior to them.

CHR. Therefore if two powers contend for the superiority, as here God and the Devil did, the best issue can be is to see them wrestle together, and then we shall soon know which is strongest. This was the case of *Moses* and the *Magicians*, of *Christ* and the Devil. There was a struggle, and Satan was plainly overcome.

I confess I know not the power of Spirits, nor how they work upon Bodies. And by the same reason that a Spirit can lift a straw, he may a Mountain, and the whole Earth, for ought I know: And may do many things which wou'd appear true Miracles to me: And so might deceive me. And all I have to trust to, in this case, is, the restraining power of God, that he will not permit the Devil so to do. And were it not for this, I doubt not but the Devil cou'd take away my life in an instant, or inflict terrible diseases upon me, as upon *Job*.

And I think this consideration is the strongest motive in the World to keep us in a constant dependence upon God, that we live in the midst of such powerful enemies, as we can by no means resist of our selves, and are in their power every minute, when God shall withdraw his Protection from us,

And it is in their power likewise to work Signs and Wonders to deceive us, if God permit. And herein the great power and goodness of God is manifest, that he has never yet permitted the Devil to work Miracles in opposition to any whom he sent, except where the remedy was at hand, and to shew his power the more, as in the case of *Moses* and the *Magicians*, &c.

And this is farther evident, because God has, at other times, and upon other occasions, suffer'd the Devil to exert his power, as to make fire descend upon *Job's* Cattle, &c. But here was no cause of Religion concern'd, nor any truth of God in debate.

DEIST. But your *Christ* has foretold, *Matth. xxiv. 24.* That *false Christs and false Prophets shall arise, who shall shew great signs and wonders, to deceive, if possible, the very elect.* And it is said, *2 Thess. ii. 9.* That there shall be a wicked one, *whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders.* And it is suppos'd *Deut. xiii. 1, &c.* That a false Prophet may give a *sign or a wonder*, to draw Men after false Gods. Here then is Sign against Sign, Wonder against Wonder, and which of these shall we believe?

CHR. The first no doubt. For God cannot contradict himself, nor will shew Signs and Wonders, in opposition to that Law which he has establish'd

by so many signs and wonders. Therefore in such a case we must conclude, that God has permitted the Devil to exert his power, as against *Moses* and *Christ*, for the tryal of our Faith, and to shew the superior power of God more eminently, in overcoming all the power of the enemy.

But, as I said before, we have a more sure word, that is, proof, than even these Miracles exhibited to our outward senses, which is the word of Prophecy. Let then any false Christ who shall pretend to come hereafter, shew such a Book as our Bible, which has been so long in the World (the most ancient Book now extant) testifying of him, foretelling the time and all other circumstances of his coming, with his sufferings and death, and all these Prophecies exactly fulfill'd in him. And till he can do this, he cannot have that evidence which our *Christ* has, and he must be a false *Christ* to me, and all the signs that he can shew, will be but lying wonders to any that is truly establish'd in the Christian Faith.

But it may be a tryal too strong for those careless ones, who will not be at the pains to enquire into the grounds of their Religion, but take it upon trust, as they do the fashions, and mind not to frame their lives, according to it, but are immersed in the World, and the pleasures of it.

7. And it will be a just judgment upon these, that they who shut their eyes against all the clear evidences of the Gospel, should be given up to believe a lye. And the reason is given 2 *Theff.* ii. 12. Because they *had pleasure in unrighteousness. They loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil.*

So that I must repeat what I said before, that there is a preparation of the heart (as of the ground) to receive the truth: And where the doctrine does not please, no evidence, how clear soever, will be receiv'd. God cannot enter till *Mammon* be dispossest: We cannot serve these two Masters. He who has a clear sight of Heaven, cannot value the dull pleasures of this life: And it is impossible that he who is drown'd in sense, can relish spiritual things. The love of this World is enmity against God: The first sin was a temptation of sense: And the reparation is to open our eyes to the enjoyment of God. Vice clouds this eye, and makes it blind to the only true and eternal pleasure: It is foolishness to such a one.

This, This, Sir, is the *Remora* that keeps Men from Christianity. It is not want of evidence, but it is want of consideration. I wou'd not say this to you, till I had first gone through all the topicks of Reason with you, that you might not call it Cant: But this is the truth, as *David* says, *To him that ordereth his conversation aright, will I shew the salvation of God.* And our Saviour says, *If any man do the will of God, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of my self.* And *No man can come unto me except the Father draw him.*

This was the reason why St. *John* the Baptist was sent as a fore-runner to prepare the way for *Christ*, by preaching of repentance, to fit Men for receiving the Gospel.

And they who repented of their sins upon his preaching, did gladly embrace the doctrine of *Christ*. But they who wou'd not forsake their sins, remain'd obdurate, tho' otherwise Men of sense and learning. As our Saviour told the Priests and Elders, *Matth.* xxi. 32. *John came unto you in the way of righteousness, and ye believ'd him not; but the Publicans and the Harlots believed him. And ye when ye had seen it, repented not afterwards, that ye might believe him.*

And when *Christ* sought to prepare them for his doctrine, by telling them, That they cou'd not serve God and *Mammon*, it is said, *Luk.* xvi. 14. *That when the Pharisees who were covetous, heard these things, they derided him.* But he instructed them in the next Verse (if they wou'd have re-

ceived it) That *what is highly esteemed amongst men, is abomination in the sight of God*: And enforced this with the example of the rich Man and Lazarus. And said Chap. xviii. 25. *That it was easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.* And Chap. xiv. 33. *That whosoever he be that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my Disciple.* Now take this in the largest sense, That he who is not ready and willing to forsake all, as if he hated them, as Christ said, *ŷ. 26. If any man come to me, and hate not his father and mother, &c.* (that is, when they come in competition with any command of Christ) and *take not up his cross and follow me, he cannot be my Disciple*: How few Disciples wou'd he have had in this age? Wou'd all his Miracles persuade some to this? The World is too hard for Heaven with most Men.

Here is the cause of infidelity: The love of the World, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, darken the heart, and like shutters keep out the light of Heaven; till they are remov'd, the light cannot enter. The Spirit of purity and holiness will not descend into an heart full of all uncleanness: If we wou'd invite this guest, we must sweep the house and make it clean.

But this too is of God: For he only can *make a clean heart, and renew a right Spirit within us*. But he has promis'd to give this wisdom to those who ask it, and lead a godly life. Therefore *ask and you shall have, seek and you shall find, knock and it shall be open'd unto you*. But do it ardently and incessantly, as he that striveth for his Soul. For God is *gracious and merciful, long suffering and of great goodness; and those who come to him in sincerity he will in no ways cast out*. Therefore *pray in Faith nothing doubting*. And what you pray for (according to his will) believe that you receive it, and you shall receive it.

To his grace I commend you.

8. And with the fulness of the *Gentiles*, O that it wou'd please God to take the veil off the heart of the *Jews*, and let them see, that as they have been deceived by many false *Messiah's* since Christ came; so none whom they expect hereafter can answer the Prophecies of the *Messiah* (some of which I have nam'd) and therefore no such can be the *Messiah* who is prophesy'd of in their own Scriptures.

And let them see and consider how that fatal curse they imprecated upon themselves, *His blood be on us and our children*, has cleav'd unto them, beyond all their former sins, and even repeated idolatry, from which (to shew that this is not the cause of their present dispersion) they have kept themselves free ever since; and for which their longest captivity was but seventy years, and then Prophets were sent to them, to comfort them, and assure them of a restauration: But now they have been about seventeen hundred years dispersed over all the Earth, without any Prophet, or prospect of their deliverance; that the whole World might take notice of this before unparallel'd judgment, not known to any Nation that ever yet was upon the face of the Earth: So punished and so preserved for judgment, and I hope, at last, for a more wonderful mercy; *For if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the World, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead? For God hath concluded all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all*. O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For of him, and through him, and to him are all things: To whom be glory for ever. Amen.



O F
Private JUDGMENT
 A N D
AUTHORITY,
 I N
MATTERS of FAITH.

I. **A**LL the Religions and all the Sects in the World are built upon the dispute betwixt these two, whether Men are to govern themselves by their own Private Judgment; or to be determined by the Authority of others, in their Faith or Religion.

II. The effects of Private Judgment are these, multiplicity of sects and opinions, perpetual wrangling, without any umpire or judge of controversy; whence come inveterate prejudices against each other, animosities, strifes, envyings, and all the war of Religion; which the most of any one thing embroils the peace of the World, and is always the chief pretence in the civil wars of Nations within themselves, and most commonly in the wars of Kingdoms against Kingdoms: To remedy all which evils, some think there is no other method, but to have some settled judge of controversy, to whom appeals may be made, and whose determination should end all disputes concerning Religion: And this not only as to the outward peace of the Church, and consequently of the World; but even as to Mens inward persuasion and belief, especially in matters of Faith; for how otherwise, say they, shall every private person determine himself as to the articles of Faith? The greatest part of Mankind are ignorant, and must depend upon the Judgment of others; and what wild work would it make to leave every Man, Woman, and Child, to pick out their own Faith either from the strength of
 their

their own Reason, or from the Scriptures (suppose) amongst us? We should have as many Religions almost as Men, and as many different Faiths. And suppose the Scriptures to be an infallible and complete Rule of Faith, yet how shall we agree about the true meaning and interpretation of them? We see every sect quote Scripture, and every one has his own interpretation of it: This is endless, and utter confusion: These are the inconveniences which attend leaving every Man to follow his own Private Judgment.

III. But then on the other hand there are likewise difficulties in our submitting our Private judgment to Authority. First, because it is left to our Private Judgment to chuse that Authority to which we ought to submit. How otherwise shall a Man determine himself, whether he should be a Christian, a Jew, a Mahometan, or an Heathen? For there is no judge over all these? And this is the first, and the most material step he can and must make in the choice of his Religion. And if there is nothing to guide him herein (under God) but his own Private Judgment, why should not that (say others) be likewise sufficient to guide him in the disputes there are among the sub-divisions of each of these Religions? For if I must trust to my own Private Judgment in the most material point, why not in the lesser? Nay, the belief of a God, which is the first and highest point in all Religions, depends upon Private Judgment, and not upon Authority: It would be blasphemy to put it upon any human Authority, for that would set such Authority above God. If I believe *James* upon the word of *John*, I must have a greater confidence in *John* than in *James*, in the recommender than in the person who is recommended by him: So it is if I should believe a God upon the Authority of any Church, it would certainly follow, that my Faith was more in that Church than in God: And I have no more for the Authority of that Church, than the Judgment I pass upon the arguments offered to convince me of it. So that all rests upon my own Private Judgment still: And it is impossible I can be more sure of any thing than of the certainty of my own Judgment. I cannot be surer of the Being of a God, than of the truth of those reasons which persuade me to believe it. And all the reasons before given for submitting my Private Judgment to Authority, suppose the truth of my Judgment, and appeal to it; why else does any persuade another? And Private Judgment can never be so fatally mistaken as in submitting to Authority, if it should judge wrong; because in all other errors it may be set right again, by stronger reasons being offered on the other side; but if a Man once resign his Reason, and give it up absolutely to Authority, there are no means left to retrieve him; if he has judged amiss in the choice of such a guide, whom he thinks to be infallible, he must then follow his guide, though in all the wild delusions that are possible; for he must examine no more; his principle is, to go on blindfold; he has plucked out his eyes that he may see the better!

And the question will now remain, whether greater mischiefs and inconveniences have befallen Mankind in the one way or in the other, in following their Private Judgment, or in submitting implicitly to Authority? And we may argue this case; for let any Man talk what he will, and think never so much that he has abandoned his Private Judgment, yet it is not in his power while he remains a Man; it is inseparable from human nature, and cannot be utterly extinguished; though some have so defaced it that it is hardly visible.

But if in this enquiry it should be found that greater mischiefs have attended Private Judgment than Authority, yet would that be no greater argument against Private Judgment, than it would be against Free-will, or any other composition of our nature, if the mischiefs it occasions were more than the

the good: We cannot alter our nature, it must be as it is. Perhaps Men make use of their hands to more destruction in wars, murders, robberies, thefts, &c. than any good they do with them; yet this would be an ill argument for cutting off the hands of our Children as soon as they were born: And it would be worse to divest Men of their Understanding, because their Private Judgment might mislead them.

1. But however let us go on to the comparison. The Christians will easily allow all the Heathen as misled by Authority, for they go on in the track of their Fathers, without examination of the grounds or reasons of their Religion; but they have no notion of an infallible judge, and therefore were more easily converted, and now make the great body of Christians.

2. But the *Jews* stood out at first and still continue in their infidelity, upon the single point of Authority, because *Christ* was rejected by their Church. And it is the same point of the Authority of the Church which rivets the Church of *Rome* in all her errors, and makes any reformation impossible. And indeed I see not how a *Jew* can be converted upon this principle, which is common to them and the Church of *Rome*. But this will appear more plainly by hearing each of them defend himself. And in this conversation which I now introduce, I will bring in a Church of *England* Man, to shew what that true Authority is which God has delegated to his Church, for no doubt she has an Authority, and a great one; and then a Dissenter shall argue for private Judgment against that Authority; and this will put the matter in as clear a light as any way I can contrive. To begin then;

IV: *JEW*. Do not you of the Church of *Rome* lay down this as a foundation principle, that it is inconsistent with the goodness of God to leave Men without a sufficient guide in Matters of Faith; and not to preserve that guide from misleading us, to the ruin of our Souls?

ROM. CATHOLICK. Yes, this is our Principle, as I suppose it is yours.

JEW. It is ours too; and that this guide is the Church. And therefore we reject your *Messiah*, because the Church did reject him. And ours was indisputably the only Church of God then in the World, whereas other christian Churches dispute this point with the Church of *Rome*.

R. C. There was but one Christian Church from the beginning of the World, under divers dispensations. Yours was one of these; which ended when the *Messiah* came, the Church was then in him, and removed from the Synagogue.

JEW. Did God then forsake his Church and chuse another? But you say, that *Christ* is not the Church, but came to redeem the Church, he did not come to redeem himself. You call the Church his Body: Then he had no such Body when he came at first, unless it were our Church. And he owned ours to be the Church all his life time; and commanded his Disciples to be obedient to her, as *Sitting in Moses's seat*: And she was owned as such by his Apostles. But how did he prove himself to be the *Messiah*? Mat. xxiii. 2, 3.
Acts iv. 8.
xxiii. 5.

R. C. He proved it evidently by his Miracles, by his heavenly Doctrine, and by the Prophecies of him in your own Scriptures.

JEW. But the Church determined against him in all these, and said, That he wrought his Miracles by *Beelzebub*: That he was a deceiver in his Doctrine: And that he was not the *Messiah* of whom the Scriptures spoke. Now, Sir, pray tell me, who is the proper interpreter of Scripture? Is it the Church, or is it left to every Man's Private Judgment? And take this along with you, that no *Jew* turned Christian, but he who preferred his

own Private Judgment to the Authority of the Church: But all who adhered to the Church as their infallible guide, and left the interpretation of Scripture to her, did reject your *Christ*, as we all do to this day.

Mal. ii. 7.

And we build upon the promises of God made to his Church, to our Church; That the *lips of the priests should preserve knowledge, and that we should seek the law at his mouth, for that he is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts.*

Isa. lix. 21.

And as for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord, my Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seeds seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever,

Isa xxxv. 8.

And this method of hearkning to the Church, is called *the way of holiness, and a high-way for plainness, that the way-faring men, though fools, shall not err therein.* And we have many other Texts to the same purpose.

R. C. These were meant of the christian Church which was to come.

JEW. But they were made to our Church. And if they did not belong to our Church, then we have been misled all this while, and we have had no guide of controversy, and so the goodness of God has failed, which you as well as we own is obliged not to leave Men without such a guide.

R. C. If you had hearken'd to your own Prophets, they would infallibly have led you to our *Christ*, for they spoke of him.

JEW. This is still the question, whether your *Christ* was the *Messiah*, or not? And let me ask you, are we not obliged to take the Judgment of the present Church in every age? Or may any Man in his private Judgment depart from the decision of the Church under which he lives, and appeal to the Church in primitive times? Has not the Church in one age as much Authority as in former ages? Is not her Commission perpetual? Therefore the Church in being at that time when your *Christ* came, was the only judge then to which all ought to have recourse, and by whose Judgment they ought to abide; and she was then the only authentick interpreter of Scriptures.

The promises of perpetuity, infallibility, &c. were made to us *Jews*, you *Gentiles* were not then concerned. And will you not give us leave to understand our own Law best, wherein we were born and bred, and which we received from our Fathers, who were perpetually conversant in it, and made it their study day and night? Yet you now would exclude us, and tell us you understand our Law better than our selves; and that it meant you all that while, and you quote it on your side. But if it did ultimately refer to you, yet surely that was not so literally and primarily as to us who were named, and were first in possession of it; if it did descend from us to you, yet we must not be overlooked; and if these promises were not made good to us, you can have no title to them, who only inherit them after us; can the Child inherit more than what his Father left him? And if the elder Brother was dispossessed, to make room for the younger, as you love to speak, yet the younger does but succeed to what the elder had before. Therefore these promises which were made to us the elder Brother, cannot belong to you the younger, unless they did first belong to us. Otherwise they did belong to none at all when they were made, nor for many ages after.

V. CHURCH of ENGLAND-MAN. You are both upon one bottom, the Authority of the Church; and both cannot be right. But the *Jew* has the advantage in this, that you both allow his Church to have been the

the only true Church in the World, for many ages together; whereas the *Jew* does not allow the Church of *Rome* ever to have been any true Church, or that Salvation is to be had in her.

R. C. This is to retort the argument we use against you of the Church of *England*, that you own ours to have been a true and orthodox Church; and then we ask, when did she fail? But we say, the Church can never fail; and that Salvation is only to be had with us.

C. E. I did indeed bring it in for this purpose, to shew you the fallacy of that popular argument by which you gain Profelytes among the vulgar sort, viz. The Church of *England* allows Salvation may be had in the Church of *Rome*; but the Church of *Rome* denies Salvation may be had in the Church of *England*; therefore it is safer by confession on both sides, to be of the Church of *Rome* than of the Church of *England*. This I have heard often urged, and it seems to carry a great deal in it, at first sight, with the unthinking People. But when they see that all the force in it strikes equally against Christianity in favour of Judaism, I hope it will make them consider and examine into the bottom of this pretence. Which is grounded upon the same error that misled the *Jews*, viz. The absolute and indefeasible Authority of the Church, in opposition to Private Judgment.

DISSENTER. I have now a fair field opened to me against you of the Church of *England*, for we set up our own Private Judgment against the Authority of your Church.

C. E. You shall be heard in your place. But the R. C. has not yet done with what I know he has to alledge.

VI. R. C. No, I have not. For since my argument is now with you, I have more to urge than I could against the *Jew*, which is, the proofs out of the New Testament for the infallibility and perpetuity of our Church, such as, *Upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it—Tell it unto the Church; but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an Heathen-man and a Publican.* Matth. xvi. 18.
And *when the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you unto all truth.* Joh. xvi. 13.
And there are other Texts which you know we urge to this purpose.

C. E. But not one of them that names the Church of *Rome*. And here you know is our dispute. You call your selves the Catholick Church, and confine whole Christianity within the Communion of the Pope of *Rome*, as the principle of unity, and head of all: And yet there is not one word in the Scripture of either the Pope or Church of *Rome*. So that this must be determined purely by Private Judgment. And this is your whole foundation, as you stand distinguished from us and other Christian Churches. And if Private Judgment is to be determined by vote, there are ten to one, against the Church of *Rome* upon this point: And that not only of those who have broke off from her since the Reformation; but the *Greek Church*, and other numerous Churches in *Asia*, and *Africa*, did never own the supremacy of *Rome*, nor do to this day. And these; without the Reformation, will far out number not only what can be properly call'd the Church of *Rome* now at this time, but in the largest extent that ever she was, even before the Reformation.

VII. R. C. But the Church of *Rome* is the Mother-Church.

C. E. How can she be the Mother of those Churches which never descended from her? There were Churches of the *Gentiles* before there was any at *Rome*: *The disciples were called Christians first in Antioch.* Act. xi. 26. But it is certain that the *Jewish* christian Church, was the Mother of all other christian

Luk. xxiv. 47. Christian Churches. And so *Christ* did ordain, That the Gospel should be preached among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. And the Apostles went about, Preaching the word to none but unto the Jews only. And thus it continued till the vision of the Sheet to St. Peter. *Acts* x. for they did not know before, that the Gentiles were to be made partakers of the Gospel. Therefore all the promises of *Christ* which you have named were made to this first and Mother christian Church of the Jews, and she was in possession of them before there was one Christian in Rome, or any where among the Gentiles.

R. C. But Rome is become the Mother Church since.

C. E. Not to half, as I have shewed above. But if the Mother Church, and the promises made to it can be transferred from one Church to another, then it may be transferred from Rome, as it was from Jerusalem, and so without end. And to what particular Church will you then fix these promises of perpetuity, &c? You must come to us, who believe that *Christ* will always have a Church upon Earth; and that the gates of hell shall not finally prevail against his Church in general; but that there is no promise to secure any particular Church that her candlestick may not be removed, as others have been.

R. C. But what Church was that of which *Christ* spoke when he said, Tell it unto the Church, &c.

C. E. It was every particular Church. For the case there put is of private difference betwixt Man and Man, *If thy brother trespass against thee*—There *Christ* directs first private admonition, then the intervention of friends; but if that would not do, then Tell it to the Church, that is, to the Church or Congregation of which you are both Members. It is impossible to bring every private Quarrel before the Catholick Church. There was nothing at all of the Faith concerned in this case: Nor in the xvii. of *Deut.* (often quoted by you for the infallible Judgment of the Church;) the case there put is only about civil causes, as you may see *Y.* 8. And the civil Judge is joined with the Priests in this. But neither God nor *Christ* does any where send us to a Judge of Faith. There cannot be any Judge of Faith but God alone.

VIII. R. C. Why do you say there cannot? No doubt there may be such a Judge, whether there is or not.

C. E. The best way is to put it to a tryal. Let us begin then with the Creed, the first Article is, *I believe in God, the Father Almighty.* Now I ask, who is Judge of the Article? Who is Judge? Whether there is a God or not? And so of the rest. Whether there is a *Christ*? Whether he died, rose, &c? Whether there is a Holy Ghost? Whether there will be a resurrection of the dead, and a life eternal?

R. C. This is an odd way of turning the question. There is no such Judge of these things, as that we were not to believe there is a God, or *Christ*, &c. if such Judge should so determine.

C. E. Then there is no Judge of faith. And now I will give you the reason why there cannot be such a Judge among Men: Because where any thing is determined by Authority, such Authority must be superior to what it determines. As in civil causes, the Authority of the King by whose commission they are determined, is superior to the right or property of the Subject. And for the same reason, if I shou'd believe a God, or a *Christ*, &c. upon any Authority whatsoever, that Authority with me must be prior and superior to what I believe upon that Authority. And thus the Church (supposing it such a Judge of Faith) would have an Authority above God, or

or *Christ*, or any thing contained in the *Creed*. And therefore I think it is plain, that we receive not the *Creed* upon the Authority of the Church.

IX. R. C. You had never had the *Creed* but by the Church.

C. E. That may be. The Church taught it me, propos'd it to me, and convinc'd me of the truth of it: But not by way of Authority, for I could not believe the Authority of the Church till I was first convinc'd by the Scriptures that *Christ* had established such a Church, and vested her with such Authority. So that I receive the Scriptures upon the Testimony not Authority of the Church; and I examine that Testimony, as I do other facts, till I have satisfy'd my Private Judgment, there is no other way. As suppose an Atheist to be convinced by me of the Being of a God; he then believes it, and I may be said to be an instrument in this. But how foolish would it be in me, nay blasphemous, to assume Authority over him for this, and say, that it was by my Authority he believed a God, and therefore that he was obliged to believe every thing else I told him, without examining; because if my authority was taken for the Being of God, then nothing surely of lesser consequence could be excepted from it? This is the manner of argumentation for receiving the Faith from the Authority of the Church: This is that circle from which you can never rid your selves of believing the Scriptures upon the Authority of the Church; and then back again, of believing the Church upon the Authority of the Scriptures: This makes each of them of greater Authority than the other, and each of them of lesser!

And now tell me, if I have nothing but my Private Judgment for the Being of a God, shall the Church pretend to an Authority over Private Judgment, and that I shall not be allowed to make use of it in any thing she proposes to me?

X. R. C. In smaller things you may, which we call matters of opinion, but not in matters of Faith, for then *who shall be judge?*

C. E. I think the reverse of this to be the truth, *viz.* that this question, *who shall be judge*, and the submitting of our Private Judgment, is only in smaller matters, and of little consequence: As in temporal affairs and disputes of *meum* and *tuum*, and in determining rites and ceremonies in the Church, which are not of the essentials of Religion, and in matters of discipline for the better government of the Church; in these things we ought to submit our Private Judgment, and if there be a dispute about them, it is very proper to ask, *who shall be judge*: Because the contest and breach of unity in the Church is of far more importance than any of these things, let them be determined which way it will. But in matters of Faith it is quite otherwise, and there to ask, *who shall be judge*, is most abhorrent; as *who shall be judge* whether there is a God or not, or a *Christ*: And so of other articles of the *Creed*, as I have shewed you before.

God has subjected our lives and fortunes to the absolute disposal of civil government, because these are no great things, and we must give them up however: And in these there is a necessity of determining the question, *who shall be judge?* Without this there can be no end of civil disputes, and government would be impracticable; there must be a last resort from which there is no appeal, otherwise there would be an eternal round, or a *progressus in infinitum*, and no contest about civil affairs could ever be determined: And there is no security in this that an unjust judgment will not be given at last; nor is that of great moment, for, as I said, we are not much hurt by it.

But God has taken more care of our souls, and not put our Faith under the absolute dominion of any. The Apostles disclaimed it, and when they exhorted and instructed, they said, *Not for that we have dominion over your Faith, but are helpers of your joy.* And again, *If we or an Angel from Heaven preach any other Gospel, let him be anathema, that is, accursed:* And this was to be known only by Private Judgment, and is a very positive decision for it, against Authority, of the highest sort possible next under God himself.

2 Cor. i. 24.
Gal. i. 8.

It is this mistaken notion of Authority which detains you of the Church of Rome, and shuts your ears from hearkening to reason: You stop us every turn with the Authority of the Church! Nay, you bid us deny our reason, and our senses too, in obedience to the Church!

And it is this very same mistake which hardened the Jews against Christ, as they said to those who were charmed with his doctrine and had seen his Miracles, and told them, *Never Man spake like this Man,* but the Chief Priests, &c. answered, *Have any of the Rulers or of the Pharisees believed on him? But this People who knoweth not the Law are cursed.* Here was a full stop to all farther enquiries concerning him, whether he were the true Messiah or not. They must learn this from the Church, and not trust to their Private Judgment, let the case be never so plain!

Joh. vii. 48,
49.

XI. And I cannot here but observe a wonderful providence in the oeconomy of God. He might, no doubt, have so dispos'd things if he had pleased, as that Christ should have been received by his own, and acknowledg'd by the Church; but he chose the way, wherein the husband-men should kill the heir, and the builders reject the corner-stone, that the pride of Man might be humbled, and our Faith stand in God alone. Christ was denied and persecuted by all the powers on Earth, as well ecclesiastical as civil: And of his own Apostles, one betrayed him, another forswore him, all forsook him: *He trod the wine-press alone, and of the People there was none with him.* And this was prophesied of before, that he should be a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, and that their eyes should be blinded that they should not know him when he came: As I have shewed before in the *Truth of Christianity demonstrated*, p. 159. And what was it blinded them against this full and clear evidence, but their notion of the Authority of the Church? And was it not to beat down and for ever silence this pretence, that Christ would not suffer the Church to give attestation to him, nor come by their recommendation? Should the sun borrow light from the moon? Yet this pretence is taken up again by the Church of Rome. It never was maintained by any but by the Church of the Jews, and of Rome: And we have seen strange effects of it in both!

Isa. lxiii. 3.
Isa. viii. 14.

XII. R. C. After all you have said, how do you know the canonical Book of Scripture but by the authority of the Church?

C. E. Not at all by her Authority, but by her Evidence: There is a great difference, I pray you to consider it. There were false Gospels and false Epistles inscribed to several of the Apostles, set up by the hereticks in the first age; and they were detected in that same age, while the * originals of what the Apostles wrote were still in being. But the hereticks could not produce the originals of theirs, nor did their copies agree one with another, as Eusebius tells us: And this was not deciding the matter by Authority, but by plain Evidence of a fact, as of any other forgery, or supposititious writing.

* Euseb. Hist. l. v. c. 28.

But you state the matter so, as if there were a heap of papers, of many hundred years past, some genuine, some spurious, all confusedly thrown together, and that it were left to the Church to distinguish these, by her Authority, and that we were oblig'd so to receive them, without knowing any more of the matter, and had nothing but her authority to trust to. But this, Sir, is far from being the case: The canon of the Scripture was settled at the time when it could be done by full evidence, and the notoriety of the thing was known to all: And we have receiv'd it down from that time in copies so universally spread through the christian World, that it is impossible to add or detract from it without a general detection of the forgery by all Churches: And this has preserved the canon of the New Testament so entire, that there is no difference about it between you and us, or any other christian Church.

It is true indeed we differ with you as to the canon of the Old Testament; but we have the *Jews* on our side for this, who never received those Books we call apocryphal into their canon: They were not wrote in their language, at least most of them. And I might bring in the *Jew* again to reason the case with you, how you came to understand their canon better than themselves, who were in possession of it many hundred years before Christianity, and were so careful as to number the very letters? But I will not prolong this, nor enter into the particular disputes betwixt your Church and ours, my business now being only to consider the foundation principle of the Authority of the Church, upon which all the rest depend. I will only say this farther as to these apocryphal Books, that St. *Jerom* in his *Prologus Galeatus*, printed before all your vulgar *Latin* Bibles that I have seen, excludes all these by name out of the canon, and says the Church did so too: And we may suppose that so learned a Father, who had himself translated the Scriptures, knew what the Church receiv'd in his time: And it seems strange to me that such a flagrant testimony against you should stand in the front of your own Bibles. But if you would have farther satisfaction as to this point, I refer you to Bishop *Cosins's* elaborate *History of the Canon of the Scriptures*, which has not been answered by any of your Church that I hear of, for it seems to carry demonstration along with it, proceeding wholly upon fact, and giving vouchers in abundance: And as to the Books themselves, let any one read the conclusion of the Book of *Maccabees*, 2 *Mac.* xv. 39, 40. and see if he can persuade himself that such words could come out of the Mouth of God.

XIII. But to return. The great cause I conceive of the Church of the *Jews*, and the Church of *Rome*, having fallen into this mistake of their own absolute and unlimited Authority, and indefeasible perpetuity, is their not rightly apprehending the nature of the promises which God makes to Man. For though they may be full and unconditional as expressed in the words, yet they are to be understood with an implied condition of our obedience: And we are not to think that he is bound by his promise, though we are never so wicked. No, God will not thus be mocked! If he has spoken concerning a *Land to pluck up and to destroy*, if they *repent*, he will also *repent of the evil*: And if he has promised to *build and to plant*, if they *do evil*, he will *repent of the good*. See what he said to *Eli* the High-priest for his not restraining his sons, who were wicked in their ministry; *Wherefore the Lord God of Israel saith, I said indeed, that thy house, and the house of thy father should walk before me for ever; but now the Lord saith, be it far from me; for them that honour me, I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteem'd.*

Jer. xviii, 7.

or.

1 Sam. ii. 30.

God

God had promised to the Children of *Israel* whom he brought out of *Aegypt*, to carry them into the Land of *Canaan* to possess it; but upon their murmuring, he condemned them all (except two) to die in the Wilderness, and said, *ye shall know my breach of promise*, in the margin it is, *the altering of my purpose*.

Num. xiv. 34. Jer. x. 4, 5. Obey my voice (says God) that I may perform the oath which I have sworn unto your fathers.

It would be tedious to go through the multitude of texts to this purpose: Many promises were made to the People of *Israel* and to the Temple, of perpetuity for ever; yet both it and they were destroyed for their wickedness: All which will not yet persuade them that these promises were conditional. This was the hardest point to gain upon them. *John the Baptist* began with this, to shew them the vanity of their hopes, in saying, *we have Abraham to our Father*. And this was what our blessed Saviour set forth to them in the parable of the Vineyard and the wicked Husband-men: But they would not understand: They still stuck to their own being the only *Peculium* of God: They could bear nothing against this. When our Lord told them of God's shewing to some of the *Gentiles* more favour than the *Israelites*, in the instances of *Naaman* the Syrian, and the widow of *Sarepta*, they were filled with wrath, and thrust him out of the city, and led him to the brow of the hill, that they might cast him down headlong. They heard St. *Paul* with attention unto this word, of his being sent to the *Gentiles*, and then they lift up their voices and said, away with such a fellow from the earth, for it is not fit that he should live; and they cried out, and cast off their cloaths, and threw dust into the air. Such transports have I seen among some of your communion, when their title to be the only *Peculium* was questioned! And yet you have less pretence than the Church of the *Jews*, for there were many promises made to them by name, but not one to the Church of *Rome* by name, nor by any implication which does not depend upon great uncertainties at best, and must be resolved wholly by Private Judgment at last.

Luke iv. 25.
etc.

Acts xxii. 21,
etc.

XIV. DISSENTER. It is now time for me to come in: I stand upon Private Judgment, and if you condemn me, you condemn that too.

C. E. No doubt Private Judgment is often mistaken; therefore you must take pains to have your Judgment rightly informed.

DISS. Do you inform me then: You have run down the Authority of the Church: I see no Authority you have left her.

C. E. Because I do not allow her an absolute, unconditional, and infallible Authority, and that in matters of Faith; you think she has no Authority at all.

DISS. Your 20th Article (of late so much contested) says, she has *Authority in controversies of Faith*.

C. E. Yes, but far from infallible. You see how it is there limited, not to be repugnant to holy Scripture, &c. She has Authority as a *witness* and *keeper of holy Writ*, as the Article words it.

DISS. What Authority is that?

C. E. The same that is acknowledged in your *Westminster Confession of Faith*, chap. xxxi. *ministerially to determine controversies of Faith*, as you there word it. But in regulating the worship of God, and in discipline for the better government of the Church, there to determine authoritatively: And this is perfectly agreeable to our 20th Article, against which you have wrangled perpetually, and of late have called in the Deists to your aid, at least accepted of their assistance in their *Priest-craft in Perfection* against this 20th Article. For their information therefore, and by your own confession the Authority of the Church stands thus, to determine controversies of Faith

only
6

only ministerially, as the ordinary dispensers of the word, as servants of *Christ*, and ministers of the Gospel; not absolutely and authoritatively, as lords of our Faith, and infallible interpreters of Scripture: And it is most reasonable to submit and acquiesce in such determination of the Church, except where the case is notorious, and out of doubt, and of the last consequence, as of the case of the *Messiah* when he came: For unconditional obedience in matters of Faith is due to none but God, nor has he delegated any such power to Men. Will it therefore follow, that he has given no power at all to his Church?

It was a great power was given when he said, *Go ye and teach all Nations, baptizing them, &c.* And he left power with them to invest others¹⁹ with the same Authority, without which none can preach the Faith, for *how shall they preach except they be sent?* And this is an Authority relating to Faith: As likewise the power of the Keys, which implies all Authority of government, as being the *pillar and ground of the Faith*. And *Christ* has promised to ratify in Heaven the censures of the Church when justly inflicted upon Earth.

R. C. Why do you limit the Text? The words are general, *Whatsoever ye shall bind, &c.* And *Whosoever sins ye remit, &c.*

Mat. xviii. 18.
Joh. xx. 23.

C. E. This is what I just now told of you, That you will take the words of God without any implied condition. Yet you your selves cannot deny but that there are conditions here implied, as of contrition in the penitent, &c. And if the censures of the Church are inflicted *clave errante*, as you term it, that is, not justly, you say not that such sentence will be ratified in Heaven.

XV. R. C. *Christ* said, *The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses's seat, all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do.* What exception do you here find from this absolute Authority recognized by *Christ* to be in the Church?

Mat. xxiii. 2, 3.

C. E. By this you own the Church then to have been in the Synagogue of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*: And were they infallible? Were all the *Jews* who had believed in *Christ* obliged to renounce him, because so commanded by these *Scribes* and *Pharisees*? But, Sir, there is not a word of believing in all this Text. They were only to observe and do what the Synagogue should bid them: And no doubt the condition was implied, of such commands being lawful, and agreeable to the Word of God. And this is the full of what is meant in our obedience to any Church or Authority upon Earth. And being worded here to the utmost extent, shews how the like expressions are to be understood when applyed to others. This is beyond, *Feed my sheep*, or *Tell it to the Church*; how then shall so much be inferred from these, when far less is meant in more positive and comprehensive words? It is said, *Children obey your parents in all things*. And if this had been said of our obedience to the Church, it could have meant no more than as it stands in relation to Parents, *viz.* in all their lawful commands. And Private Judgment must determine that, in the one case as well as in the other.

But since you bring this Text to shew the Authority of your Church, you shall have it; and take it altogether, in what *Christ* says of these same *Scribes* and *Pharisees*. In the same discourse where he commands this obedience to be payed them, he calls them blind guides, leading the blind into the ditch: He bids his Disciples *beware of their doctrine*; and charges them with having made the *Commandments of God of none effect through their traditions, and many such like things which they did*, before his coming into the World.

Mat. xvi. 12.
Mark vii. 13.

Now if your plea should hold, of the Church being transferred to the *Messiah* at his coming; yet you will be obliged to maintain the infallibility of the *Jewish* Church before that time: Else your Principle falls, of the goodness of God being engaged to afford Men always an infallible guide; and likewise your argument from the promises made to the Church of the *Jews* in the Old Testament of infallibility, perpetuity, &c? which you quote now for your own Church. You have brought a very hard task upon your selves, either to maintain the infallibility of the *Jewish* Church all along before *Christ* came, or else to lose your own. You must answer, what I have quoted, of the *Jews* having *rejected the commandments of God, that they might keep their own tradition*. And consider that it takes a long time to make a Tradition. Therefore these false Doctrines with which *Christ* here charges them were of old standing among them before he came: And they called it the *Tradition of their Elders*, that is, of of those before them, and of the Governors of their Church, called generally by the name of their Elders.

Mark. vii. 5.

Exod. xxxii. 1, &c.

Daniel ix. 11.

2 Chr. xxxvi. 14.

Jer. xxvi. 8, 11.

Mat. xxvii. 20

Mark. xiv. 53, 55.

Jer. xviii. 18.

Acts vii. 52.

Matth. xxiii. 29, &c.

But let us look into their former times. We find them all involved in the idolatry of the Golden-Calf, even *Aaron* the High-Priest and whatever can be called their Church, when they thought they had lost *Moses*, upon his tarrying so long on the *Mount*. There is not one exception made of any of the People who did not come in fully to this idolatry. And how frequently afterwards did they relapse into this sin? *Daniel* charges it upon all *Israel*, as well as upon their Kings, Princes, &c. *All the chief of the Priests*.

They persecuted their own Prophets, and at the instigation of their Priests. Who likewise *persuaded them to ask Barabbas, and destroy Jesus*: It was their whole *Sanhedrin*, the *Chief priests and all the Council*. And it was upon the same Principle, and their assurance of the infallibility of their Church, for, said they, *The law shall not perish from the priest*. Therefore, *Let us smite Jeremiah, and let us not give heed to any of his words*. Which of the *Prophets*, says St. *Stephen*, *have not your fathers persecuted?* Our Saviour told them, *your fathers killed the Prophets, and and ye build their sepulchers; and say, if we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the Prophets*. Wherefore ye be witnesses unto your selves, that ye are the children of them who killed the *Prophets*. Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers. Yet they could not see the fallibility of their Fathers; nor their own, when they were filling up their measure, in persecuting the *Messiah*, as their Fathers had the *Prophets*. But they still stuck to their infallibility, That *the law could not perish from the priest*. And which is more wonderful, you still stick to their infallibility, because you cannot otherwise support your own; and you quote the promises made to them, as securing you from fallibility: Thus they are your Fathers as well as of the *Jews*, and we may say to you, as *Christ* said to the *Jews*, *Your fathers killed the Prophets, &c*. Nay, we may say more to you, that your Fathers killed the *Messiah*, and yet you still maintain their infallibility.

But while *Christ* exposed the fallibility of the Church, he still supported her Authority, by owning that *the Scribes and Pharisees sat in Moses's seat*.

And this determines the limits of our submission to any Authority, viz. To observe and do whatsoever they command us (that is lawful) let them be never so wicked, as wicked as these *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, whom in the same Chapter *Christ* calls *serpents, a generation of vipers, and children of hell*: But to beware of their doctrine, not to think our selves oblig'd to give the inward assent of our minds and to believe all that they

shall require of us as of Faith. For this is the most desperate condition any mortal Man can be in: And if our Private Judgment lead us to this, there is no other instance in the World wherein it can so fatally deceive us.

The next to this is the condition of you Dissenters, who instead of observing and doing whatsoever is commanded you, though it be lawful, will do nothing you are bidden; and for that very reason, because you are bidden; inasmuch that what you your selves own to be lawful and indifferent, and that you might do it of your own head, you think it becomes sinful, merely because enjoined by your lawful Superiours: For then it is an encroachment upon your christian liberty: This is the Spirit of contradiction, it is crossness for crossness sake; of which you would soon be sensible if it were in your own Children. If one of them should say to you, I would have done what you bid me, but now will not, because you bid me.

Upon the whole, I allow the Church to be the Judge of Faith, the only and supreme Judge of it upon Earth. As in all civil Government there is a last resort which is supreme and unaccountable to Man; yet there is an appeal to God from whom both derive their Authority. But the Church of Rome will not suffer me to appeal from her to God, no not in my own mind. St. Peter owned the Authority of the Church of the Jews, and called their *Sanhedrim*, the rulers of the people, the elders of Israel, *Acts. iv. 8.* and the builders of the church; but yet he said to them, *whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye.* *Acts. iv. 11.* He spoke of the Messiah, the corner stone whom they had rejected, and therefore he appealed from the Church to God, in this supreme and most fundamental point of Faith. *Acts. iv. 19.*

Christ came with an Evidence and Authority then superior to that of the Church: He said, *I receive not testimony from man*—*The Father himself hath born witness of me.* And indeed to shew Christ by the Church, wou'd be lighting a Candle to see the Sun. *John v. 34.* *John v. 37.*

The Church is the interpreter of Scripture, as the Judges are of the Law: And they have Authority so to interpret, and they judge authoritatively. Yet they are but the ordinary dispensers of the Law, to which an ordinary interpretation of the Law is necessary. But the ultimate interpretation of the Law is only in the legislative Authority, according to the Maxim, *Cujus est condere, ejus est & interpretari*, that is, *It belongs to the same power which enacts, to interpret.* For the makers of the Law best know their own meaning. Thus the Church is the ordinary dispenser, and so far the interpreter of Scripture. But the ultimate decision is in God, and we may still appeal to him: And must make use of our own Private Judgment for our understanding it, and governing our practice accordingly, in the great points of Faith and Worship.

XVI. Let us come to a test in this matter. And it is very short. Christ says to the People, *Search the Scriptures, for they are they which testify of me*—*And how is it, that ye do not discern this time?* (that is, of the coming of the Messiah) *Yea, and why even of your own selves judge ye not what is right?* The vulgar has it, *Hoc autem tempus quomodo non probatis?* Why do you not examine and prove whether this be the time or not, by the signs which the Scriptures have testified of it? As you discern the Weather by the natural signs which precede; the comparison our Saviour there uses: *Ye can discern the face of the sky, but can ye not discern the signs of the times?* That is, when the Messiah should come? Which are as plain as the other, that you need not go to any Body to know it. *Matth. xvi. 3.* *Quid autem & à vobis ipsis non judicatis?* You may judge of it your own selves. *Luke xii. 57.* In

Joh. vii. 48.

In answer to all which says Authority, nay, but has the Church determined it? *Have any of the Rulers or Pharisees believed on him? But this people who knoweth not the law are cursed.* Are not they cursed who depart from the Church, and will not believe her? Who take upon themselves to know the Law, and to interpret it contrary to the Judgment of the Church? They set up Private Judgment against Authority! And I must leave it to every Man's Private Judgment to judge of all that I have said.

Rom. ii. 12.

Mark xvi. 15, 16.

Ecclus. xv. 14.

Deut. xxx. 19.

For this is the only general rule by which God will judge all Men. It is a presumptuous argument to say, that God is obliged to give every Man an outward guide, when he has left the greatest part of the World without it. Was *Abraham* given as a guide to all the World, who was known only to a few Neighbours? The Law was given only to the *Jews*, and the *Gentiles* were not to be judged by it: *For as many as sin without the law, shall be judged without the Law:* And not believing the Gospel is a condemnation to those only to whom it is preached. *Go ye and preach—* He that *believeth not*—that is, what you preach. So that rejecting the Gospel was the crime, when it was offered with full evidence: For this was despising the goodness of God offer'd to us. But as for a general guide to Mankind: *In the beginning God created man, and left him in the hand of his own counsel.* He set before him life and death, blessing and cursing, for him to chuse. And God will bless or curse him according to what he has set before him, whether by Revelation, or by his own natural Reason only, and who is judge of this? None but God, who only knows the sincerity of any Man's intentions, and what endeavours he has used towards the right informing of his Judgment. And where there is use for a guide, Man has no other way to determine himself but by his Private Judgment.

XVII. Now to apply this as to our own immediate concerns at present. I suppose a Man on his road to such a place, and coming where there are three or four different ways, he knows not which to chuse. But he finds there several guides standing who all pretend to be appointed guides of that road, and offer their service, with equal assurance, each saying, that the way he points is the right, and none other. But the traveller has a chart or plan of the way in his hand, which all the guides allow to be just and right, and would have him walk by it. Only one tells him, he may mistake his plan, therefore he desires he would give it up to him; and moreover that he should be blind-folded, because otherwise he might be disputing the way, which would retard his journey; and besides imply'd a distrust of his guide. But another guide tells him he should keep his plan in his hand, and he would give him leave to examine every step he led him by the plan, and then his own eyes should be judge whether he led him right or not; and he would not desire it should be left in his power to lead him over a precipice with his eyes shut.

The holy Scriptures are the plan, and the Church of *Rome* takes them from the People (lest they dispute about it) and requires them to trust absolutely and blindly to her guidance.

The Church of *England* shews her commission to be a guide upon this road to Heaven, derived by succession from the Apostles, with a competent, though not an infallible Authority.

The Dissenters have no commission nor succession to shew; they have thrust themselves as guides upon this road, of their own heads, not above a hundred and fifty years ago, in utter contempt and opposition to all the guides of God's appointment from the days of the Apostles. And they have no Authority at all, either to preach the Word, or to sign and seal the Covenant which God has made with Man, in the holy Sacraments of his insti-

institution, nor to bless in his name. This honour they have taken to themselves, which the Apostle says, *no man can take to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.* Heb. v. 4.

And now, since God has appointed his guides to lead us with our eyes open, and not to take from us the use of our Private Judgment, that is, of our Understanding, without which we could not be Men; since this is all the security of which we are capable in this frail state; and to strain it higher, would be to lose it all; let us not be taken with that presumptuous sophistry of Infallibility, which hardened the *Jews* against their *Messiah*; unanswerable by the Church of *Rome*, and hides repentance from her eyes!

I have given before a Demonstration of the truth of the holy Scriptures, and of Christianity, without touching upon the Authority of the Church, (only they come in for their share of the evidence, as they are part of mankind) to shew that our Faith stands not upon the precarious foot of the Authority of any Church, but upon such evidence as is agreeable to the common sense of Mankind, and which they cannot deny without throwing off all the certainty they can have in any facts whatsoever that have been done in the World. But if you argue from the Authority of the Church, you rivet every one in his own way; for you must suppose that another has as good an opinion of his Church, as you have of yours: And the *Jew* has moreover the same promises for his Church, which the Church of *Rome* alleges for her Infallibility and Perpetuity.

And the *Jewish* Church was uncontestably in possession of all these promises, for many ages together, because she was the true and only Church of God upon the face of the Earth, from *Moses* to *Christ*.

Therefore Christianity must have such a foundation to stand upon, as will not give equal (and greater) advantage to *Judaism*; else Christianity cannot be the truth, and her reformation was unjust against the Church in possession; and we ought to return to her who was undoubtedly the mother-Church, by the confession of all the Christians themselves: And she still complains, and asks the question, who was or ought to be judge betwixt her and her rebellious sons who broke off from her, and set up a new and opposite communion against her, though they were a *great company of her Priests*, and *Myriads* of her *People*? Yet they were all misled, if our Faith stands upon Church-Authority. Act. vi. 7. xxi. 20.

This is a hard saying to many; and I will retract it when any one shall have the charity to shew me my error.

But I have not said this till I had first established the truth of Christianity upon another foundation, to which neither *Jew* nor *Gentile* can have any pretence: I have shewed the way to *Christ* by his own glory, to which as nothing can add, so no other Truth can imitate, nor Authority give sanction to it, except that only of his *Father*, for *he receiveth not honour from Men.* Joh. v. 41.

If any answer me, I desire him first to join with me in this prayer, that it would please God to strengthen those that are in the truth, and to convince those that are in error: Towards which I have cast in my mite.

Quod faustum faxit Deus.

Ccc

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THE
Socinian Controversy
DISCUSSED,
IN SIX
DIALOGUES:

Wherein the Chief of the
SOCINIAN TRACTS

Publish'd of late Years, are consider'd.

To which is added, A

DEFENCE

OF THE

FIRST and LAST DIALOGUES

Relating to the

Satisfaction of JESUS CHRIST.

The Word was God, John i. 1.

The Word was made Flesh, ψ. 14.

The Lord is that Spirit, 2 Cor. iii. 17.

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Mat. xxviii. 19.*

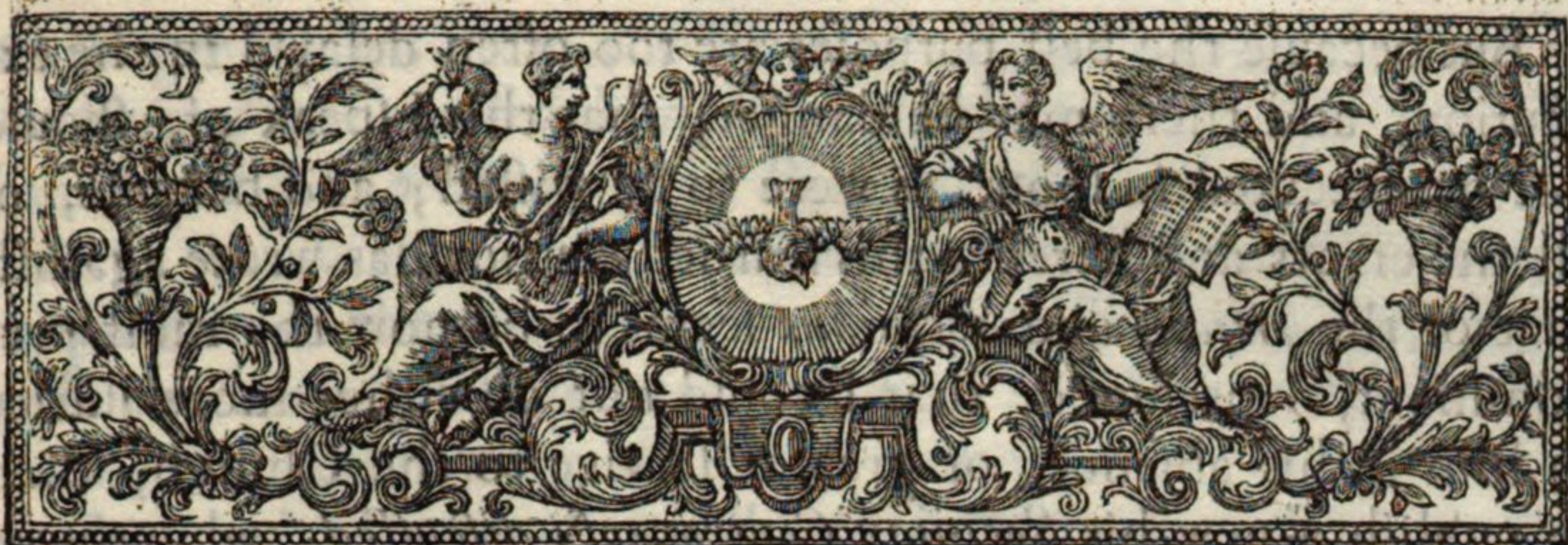
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T H E
Publisher's P R E F A C E.

TH E learned Author of these Dialogues, &c. (as the late very Reverend Dean of *Worcester* observ'd * of him some years ago) being *well known among us for his excellent writings against Atheists, Deists, Socinians, Quakers, Erastians, and Latitudinarians, for which he will never be forgotten*: Since when he has also writ against the Papists; and no Man since the time of Archbishop Laud, and Bishop Moreton, (as that venerable Writer adds, *not for his praise, says he, for that is due to God, but to set forth his felicity*) having had his labours blessed with such success, or made so many converts from error to truth, and from no principles to principles, and so considerable among their several parties as he: The publick having so much interest in this Author, and he being unhappily remov'd from, and as it were dead to us, tho' yet on this side Heaven: It has been much wish'd, that his works might be collected and published together; seeing they are of such use, and many of them now out of print. Nor has this been only desir'd, but design'd, as a very proper antidote against that general dissolution of principles, which all good Men lament in this age: And for the encouragement of so beneficial a design, we have here subjoined a Catalogue of his Theological Works.

* Preface to his 1. Vol. of Controversial Letters, first publish'd, An. 1705.

The Snake in the Grass in three Parts.
Satan disrob'd from his Disguise of Light.
A Discourse of Water-Baptism.
A Discourse shewing who are qualified to administer the Sacraments.
The Primitive Heresy of the *Quakers*.
The Present State of *Quakerism*.
Reflections on the *Quakers* Protest.
The *Quakers* Sayings under several Heads.
The divine Right of Tithes.

A Short Method with the Deists and Jews.
The *Socinian* Controversy discuss'd.
A Sermon against Marriages in different Communions.
The Case of the Regale and Pontificate.
The Truth of Christianity demonstrated.
The Case stated, in a Dialogue between the Churches of *Rome* and *England*, &c.
The History of Sin and Heresy.

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But because the best purposes are too often delay'd in the execution, and there may be danger, that this I speak of, should not be executed so soon, as were to be wish'd; and because, of all the errors and heresies this learned Author has wrote against, that of the *Arians* and *Socinians* seems to be now the most predominant, I presum'd, that I could not do either more justice to him in his absence, or greater service to the Church, than to publish a-new his *Socinian Controversy discussed*, wherein as the chief tracts are consider'd, which (at the time of his writing it) had been here lately printed by those Hereticks; so there is little they have put out since, but is in great measure obviated, and their cause so baffled, that if it had not had other supports, than what their weak pretences to reasoning afford, we might have hoped, it would have silenced them at least, if it had not been attended with the same glorious success, as his *Short Method with the Deists*, which convinced one * of their most celebrated Writers, and persuaded him not only to make a publick retraction of his error, but to write † against it in defence of the truth.

Instead of this, so much does Interest out-weigh Reason, and such power there is in the favour and countenance of a few great Men, that not only some remarks, as they call'd them, were soon publish'd upon the first and last of these Dialogues, and a pretended vindication of those on the first, which are all here answer'd; but from one degree of effrontery to another, these irreconcilable enemies of the Christian Religion are at last grown so hardy, as to declare openly and bare-faced against the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*, and no longer steal into the World their scandalous Libels against the Son of God, but usher in their publick entry with the Pomp of repeated Advertisements, and all this in order to arraign the very object of our worship, tho' in so doing they accuse of the grossest idolatry, not us only whom they delight to calumniate, but even themselves, as worshipping what they contend to be a mere Creature, instead of the Creator of Heaven and Earth.

And herein it may not be improper to observe, how they imitate their dear Brethren the Dissenters; amongst whom, it seems, they have no inconsiderable party; for *Gebal*, and *Ammon*, and *Amalek*, Sectaries of all Denominations, unite against the Church, as *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate* did against our Saviour; and now speak out, and boldly tell the World, they will

* C. Gildon, *Gent. Publisher of the Oracles of Reason. Enquiry into the Christian Religion, with some Considerations on Mr. Hobbs's Spinoza*, the Oracles of Reason, Second Thoughts, &c. 8vo.

† The Deists Manual, or a rational

no longer be tied up to the Doctrine of the Trinity: Witness *the Case of the ejected Ministers*, (as they call themselves) at *Exon*, and *the Account of the Proceedings at Salters-Hall*, &c. And to add to the malice, the Socinians imitate the Dissenters in copying from the Papists, tho' the greatest part of their Religion consists in railing against them. And they copy from them, in undermining the very foundations, of their own worship, the more effectually to destroy ours: For the Papists in defence of their darling Doctrine of Transubstantiation, to account for the many palpable contradictions most justly charg'd upon it, make no scruple to resolve all the difficulty into this, That that doctrine is a mystery, and upon that account unintelligible to our weak understanding. And to support this argument, they are not afraid to put a senseless invention of their own, upon the level with the Doctrine of the ever blessed Trinity itself, and to compare what our narrow capacities are unable to comprehend in the most tremendous mystery of a Trinity of Persons in the unity of the Godhead, and what is unintelligible therein, not in its own nature, but only in respect of the weakness of our understanding; to compare, I say, what is thus properly mysterious in the Trinity, to that which in their Doctrine of Transubstantiation is not mystery, but nonsense and contradiction, unintelligible in itself, and our not comprehending it, so little chargeable on any defect in our intellectuals, that if we had the understanding of Angels, we should be no more able to comprehend it, than to reconcile the grossest contradictions.

For (to pursue the argument a little further, as not foreign to this controversy, and give a full answer to that plausible objection against the Trinity, contain'd in this defence of Transubstantiation) a Mystery in the proper notion of the word, is something hid from us, which our short sight cannot perceive, nor our narrow capacities comprehend; something, tho' not against our Reason, yet so far above it, that through the weakness of our intellects, we are not able to understand it: Now to apply this to the case before us, that we cannot conceive, how the Body of *Christ* can be at the same time at the right hand of God the Father in Heaven, and yet with us upon Earth, even in ten thousand different places at once, and that really, truly, and substantially, as the Council of *Trent* declares, this, (to mention no more of the absurdities of Transubstantiation) is so far from any defect in our understandings, any weakness in the eyes of our minds, that we very clearly see, that this cannot be, and have a most distinct perception, that
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it is absolutely impossible; and it is only an impropriety in our manner of expression, to say, we are not able to conceive how that thing can be, which we evidently perceive cannot be, or to ascribe that to any defect in us, which is wholly owing to the nature of the thing it self: It is not we that are incapable to conceive, but the thing that is not capable of being conceiv'd.

When we charge the incapacity upon our selves, we might as well say, that our arms are too short to reach from any height a thing that is not there, and our eyes too weak to see it; whereas if we could reach up to the Moon, and see into the third Heavens, we should be never the more able, either to see or reach what actually is not there; nor could even an infinite understanding comprehend what is in it's own nature incomprehensible, and is clearly perceiv'd to be so by our finite understanding, weak and imperfect as it is; for would not this be altering the very nature of things, and by the extent of our knowledge making that to be true, which in its own nature is false? It is possible to imagine, that any degree of understanding can be sufficient to discover things to be otherwise than they really are in their own nature; a part, for instance, to be equal to the whole, any thing to be and not to be, to be true and false at the same time; and that there is not the least absurdity in any other contradiction. It is not the abundance, but the want of knowledge that occasions such misrepresentations; and to see things as they are not, is not owing to the clearness, but the dimness of our sight.

We know it is no impeachment even to the Omnipotence of God, that, Almighty as he most certainly is, yet he cannot lye, or change, or do any thing else against his nature. The impossibility is not in him, to whom all things are possible, but in the things themselves: And it is so far from any defect in his power, that the contrary, if it were possible, would be only an argument of weakness: What may induce ignorant Persons to think otherwise, is our improper way of expressing it; whereas instead of saying, that God cannot lye or change, who certainly can do every thing that omnipotence can do, we ought rather to say, that it is a thing impossible in the very notion of it, that he should do either; that it is absolutely repugnant to the divine nature, and implies a manifest contradiction. And as that must be impossible to omnipotence it self, which is impossible in its own nature; since no degree of power can alter the nature of things, or enable God to do that which cannot be done: So the nature of things being equally unalterable to any degree of knowledge, what in its own na-

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ture is unintelligible, must be so also, not only to our finite understandings, but even to the divine intellect.

Such are those numerous contradictions implied in the Doctrine of Transubstantiation: Whereas what is objected against that of the Trinity (as our Author shews in his Preface to this Work) is no contradiction, but only a difficulty, which our weak understandings can neither conceive, nor explain; and being thus hidden from us (as no wonder many things in the divine Nature should be) is on that account properly a mystery, not contrary to our Reason, but above it. For instance, that God should be one and three in the same respect, were a flat contradiction, which no degree of knowledge could fathom or reconcile, and which therefore could not be said to be above our reason, because it is manifestly against it. But that the three Persons in the Godhead should be but one and the same nature, that is, both one and three in different respects, one in respect of the divine nature common to them all, and three in respect of their Personality distinguishing each; tho' our finite understandings cannot comprehend or explain this (and what is there in the infinite nature of God, which we can fully comprehend?) yet, dim as the eyes of our weak intellects are, we can plainly perceive, that there is no contradiction therein, and that it is owing only to the shortness of our sight, that we cannot see clearly into it: We know it is no contradiction, that (I don't say three, but even) a multitude of Men, should make but one Society, one Army, one People, that is, be both one and a multitude in different respects: Nor therefore can it imply any contradiction, that God likewise in different respects should be both one and three; the only difficulty is, so to explain this mystery of a Trinity of Persons in the Unity of the Godhead, as neither to confound the Persons, nor divide the Substance; but it is one thing to understand any point so fully, as to be able to explain it, and another to see that there is no absurdity in it, tho' it be too difficult for our shallow capacities to comprehend.

The case is much the same here, as it is with Mariners out at Sea: where they are not able to fathom the deep, because their sounding line is too short, they are wont to say there is no bottom; whereas, in reality, the only defect is, not of bottom, but of line to reach it: And as in that case their not being able to find ground, is so far from proving there is none, that at the same time they cannot sound it, they can evince by undoubted arguments, that there must be some; so here, our inability

bility to comprehend the mystery of three Persons in one divine Nature, is so far from being an argument against the Trinity, or a proof that there is any absurdity in it, that at the same time that we find our selves unable to explain it, we can both produce manifest proofs of it from God's Word, and clearly perceive, that, difficult as it is, and out of the reach of our narrow capacities, yet there is nothing in it repugnant to Reason, or that implies a contradiction.

To use the words of Bishop *Stillingsfleet* * upon this argument, *We do not say, (in asserting the Trinity in Unity) that three Persons are but one Person, or that one Nature is three Natures; but that there are three Persons in one Nature. If therefore one individual Nature be communicable to three Persons, there is no appearance of absurdity in this Doctrine. And on the other side, it will be impossible there should be three Gods, where there is one and the same individual nature; for three Gods must have three several divine Natures, since it is the divine Essence that makes a God.* The difficulty is to apprehend the manner of this communication of the same Nature to three distinct Persons: but to argue from thence, that the thing itself is impossible, is as senseless as to maintain, that there is no Sun in the Firmament, because our arms are not long enough to reach it. There are ten thousand things, even in created Nature, out of the reach, not only of our arms, but of our understandings. Indeed our intellect is so very much bounded, that there is little even in this sublunary World, of which we have an adequate comprehension. What wonder then, if in the infinite Nature of God there be something which we cannot conceive, I may say, if there be nothing which we can? For his eternity, his omnipresence, and all his other essential attributes, are as much beyond our conception, even as the Trinity of Persons in the Unity of his Nature: Therefore to prove this impossible, it is not enough to shew, that we cannot conceive the manner of it (for that would be as good an argument that there is no God, as that there is no Trinity) but you must first prove (as the same learned Bishop says †) *that the divine infinite Nature can communicate itself no otherwise than a finite individual Nature can: For all acknowledge the same common Nature may be communicated to three Persons; and so the whole controversy rests on this single point, as to Reason, whether the divine Nature and Persons are to be judg'd and measur'd as human Na-*

* The Doctrine of the Trinity and Transubstantiation compar'd as to Scripture, Reason, and Tradition, in a new Dialogue between a Protestant and a Papist. *The second part*, p. 24, 25.

† The Doctrine of the Trinity and Transubstantiation compar'd, &c. *The first part*, p. 7.

ture and Persons are. It is agreed on all hands, that there is a difference between Nature and Person; but what is the principle of individuation, even in created Beings, which for instance, discriminates the human Nature in one Man from the same human Nature in another, and thereby distinguishes their Persons, is very hard to resolve, and therefore may well be incomprehensible in a Being, whose Nature and Perfections infinitely surpass the bounds of our narrow capacities.

And the same infinity of the divine nature, which renders the manner of its communicating itself unintelligible to our weak understanding, may induce us to *think it unreasonable* (as the same great Author argues *) *that it should be so bounded as to the manner of that, as the Nature of Man is. Every individual Man* (as he pursues the argument) *has not only individual properties, that is, the common nature of Man, limited by some unaccountable principle, that doth make him different from all other Men, having the same Nature with himself. The difficulty then does not lie in a community of Nature, and a distinction of Persons; for that is granted amongst Men; but in the unity of Nature with the difference of Persons. And supposing the divine Nature to be infinite in its perfection, I do not see, (says he) how it is capable of being bounded, as the common Nature of Man in individuals is; and if it be not capable of being bounded and limited, it must diffuse it self into all the Persons in the same individual manner; and so (as he concludes) this Doctrine of the Trinity is not repugnant to Reason.*

And yet as much difference as there is betwixt this incomprehensible mystery, and the manifold absurdities of Transubstantiation; tho' the former is the very object of our common worship, the basis and foundation of the christian Religion, and that into which we are all baptiz'd; yet the Papists are so fond of the latter, that they are not afraid, as I have observ'd, to put both upon the same level; and to excuse the gross absurdity and contradiction of their pretended mystery of Transubstantiation, dare to involve the real and tremendous mystery of the Trinity, in the same accusation of contradiction and absurdity: But that, as we have seen, with so little shew of Reason, as only to betray the slight regard they have for the most fundamental Doctrine of our common Christianity, and give occasion to suspect, that their design is not so much to defend the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, as to undermine that of the

* Ibid. Second part, p. 29.

Trinity. I do not say they design this, I cannot but hope better of them, from what many of their Authors have wrote, with great strength, in defence of the Trinity; but such is their zeal for a modern ridiculous doctrine of their own, that nothing must stand in competition with it: They leave no stone unturn'd to establish it, tho' it be on the ruins of our common Faith; and in a *Dialogue* publish'd in King James II's Reign, between a new Catholick Convert and a Protestant, they undertook to prove the mystery of the Trinity to be as absurd a doctrine as Transubstantiation, thereby exposing the most venerable mystery of our holy Religion (as the learned Answerer of that *Dialogue* justly complains, p. 2.) to the scorn and derision of Infidels and Hereticks,

He might have instanced particularly in the Deists and Socinians, who with all their clamours against Popery, condescend to use Popish arguments against us, and with the same spirit of opposition, wherewith the *Papists* venture the undermining of our common Religion to maintain their own, these Libertines and Free-thinkers involve themselves in that very charge of Idolatry, to which they would render us obnoxious, by robbing the Object of our Worship of his Divinity, and seem unconcern'd what they worship themselves, if they can but prove that what we worship is no God.

But I shall leave my Author to confute them, and conclude this Preface with my earnest prayers for their conversion, that at last the infinite Mercy of the Son of God may convince them that he is more than Man, and their own happy experience that he is almighty to save, extort from them an acknowledgment of his Divinity.

O merciful God, who hast made all Men, and hatest nothing that thou hast made, nor wouldest the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live; have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, Infidels and Hereticks, and take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart, and contempt of thy Word; and so fetch them home, blessed Lord, to thy Flock, that they may be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites, and be made one Fold under one Shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Spirit, one God, world without end. Amen.



THE Author's PREFACE.

THE importance of the Socinian Controversy shews it self, and needs no words to enforce it. It is no less than whether what we worship is God or a Creature: Whether we adore the true or false God, and are the grossest idolaters in the World.

I wish there had been no occasion of reviving this Controversy, which of a long time has lain asleep among us. But of late years these Socinians, under the name of Unitarians, have appear'd with great boldness, and have not only fill'd the Nation with their numerous Pamphlets, printed upon a publick Stock, and given away gratis among the People, whereby many have been deluded; but they have arriv'd to that pitch of assurance, as to set up publick meetings in our Halls in London, where some preach to them who have been spew'd out even by the Presbyterians for their Socinianism.

It is told in the life of Mr. Thomas Firmin that he design'd to have a publick Meeting-place set up in London for the Unitarians: And now we see it accomplished, and their standard set up!

These things have made it necessary to appear in defence of the christian Faith, that it be not lost among us; and to give some check to these Socinian Pamphlets which swarm, through this City especially.

Instead of enlarging in a Preface, I will here present the Reader with a rarity, which I take to be so, because of the difficulty I had to obtain it; it is the following Address or Epistle of our Unitarians to the Morocco Ambassador. And the Latin Treatise

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The Author's PREFACE.

mention'd in it (of which likewise I have a copy) I have seen in print here in London, to shew the diligence of the Party. I know not if it is publickly sold, for I only saw it in a private hand.

I have likewise added two Letters upon this Subject, one wrote in the year 1694, the other in 1697. Which may serve as a Compendium of what is at large treated of in these Dialogues, and summs up the merit of the cause in a few words; which will help the memory, and serve for a ready answer to Socinians in discourse, that may not be at hand to give, when it is to be collected out of a larger Volume.

I desire the Reader to consider what account the Unitarians give of Mahomet and his great judgment in their following Address to the Embassador, to whom they say, That God hath raised your Mahomet to defend the Faith with the sword, as a scourge on the idolizing Christians—And we, for the vindication of your Law-makers glory, strive to prove, that such faults and irregularities (not cohering with the fashion of the rest of the Alcoran Building, nor with the undoubted sayings of your Prophet)—were foisted into the scatter'd Papers found after Mahomet's death—And we do endeavour to clear, by whom, and in what time, such alterations were made in the first setting out of the Alcoran.

This is like the vindication which they make for the holy Scriptures of God, that many things were foisted in, which they do not like, as they frequently answer in their Pamphlets, particularly as to the writings of St. John, all of whose Authority they strike at, because they make most against them. So that by the same Salvo the Alcoran is vindicated and the Scriptures: And Mahomet is here said to be rais'd up by God, to scourge the idolizing Christians, and the Alcoran to preserve the true Faith: And they say in the same place, that Mahomet wou'd have himself to be but a preacher of the Gospel of Christ. Such a preacher indeed as our Unitarians: And they say truly to the Embassador, We your fellow Champions for the truth.

And they have since carry'd on the same argument in their late writings, of preferring Mahometism to Christianity, as you will see in the second Letter, Sect. II. Nay, that they esteem even Paganism as preferable to the christian Doctrine. And yet they take it ill, that we will not own them as our christian Brethren.

But now it is time to let the Reader see those Papers I have mention'd: And he will judge for himself.

A N



Epistle Dedicatory,

To his Illustrious EXCELLENCY

A M E T H B E N A M E T H

Embassador of the Mighty Emperor of *Fez*
and *Morocco*, to *CHARLES II.* King of
Great Britain.

AMONGST the many splendid entertainments and receptions, amidst the several congratulatory encomiums and presents, that were offer'd unto your excellency, as publick testimonies of the esteem and admiration the inhabitants of this western Empire do justly conceive of the mighty and glorious Emperor of *Morocco*; your Master, and of your own peculiar Virtues; there hath been no such address or present made unto your excellency, none, as we presume, that was of a weightier importance (tho' slenderer appearance) than this, which we now submit to your liking and acceptance, at your departure. For the contents thereof, being about the mysteries of that all-sufficient and invisible one Deity; its own intrinsick value needs no words, nor the usual adornments that might be expected from us, to set it out with an outward splendor, to so discerning a Person in spiritual and sublime matters, as your excellency is known to be, even in the judgment of learned Universities. Besides, truth in these countries is fain to go, sometimes like Princes, in a disguise; who being out of their own Kingdoms, are driven to put by their royal habiliments; for to converse with more safety and freedom, with a few wise and faithful worthies they can best trust. Religion then, excellent Sir, the Religion of an *one only God-head* (as also of many other great verities, wherein ye agree with our sect

and disagree from other Christians) is the vail'd Princess, whereof we are now become the venturesome ushers into your excellencies presence; I said venturesome not by reason of any affront we need fear at your hands, but rather from the rash severity of some of our own fellow Christians here, for venting those verities, we shall declare to hold in common with you; (which are contrary to them) yet *Christ's* and our Spirit is otherwise, to essay by gentle persuasions and union with all Mankind, as far as may be.

Know therefore, noble Sir, that we are of that sect of Christians, that are call'd Unitarians; who first of all, do both in our own names, and in that of a multitude of our persuasion (a wise and religious sort of People) heartily salute, and congratulate your excellency, and all that are with you, as votaries and fellow worshippers of that sole supreme Deity of the Almighty Father and Creator: And we greatly rejoice, and thank his divine bounty, that hath preserv'd your Emperor, and his People, in the excellent knowledge of that truth, touching the belief of an only Sovereign God (who hath no distinction, or plurality of Persons) and in many other wholesome Doctrines, wherein ye persevere; about which, this our western part of the World, are declin'd into several errors, from the integrity of their Predecessors. But besides this much in the general, our attendance on your excellency at this time, hath a more special prospect, as you shall perceive by the Sequel. For, about thirty or more years, there came an Ambassador, as your excellency is, from the Emperor of *Morocco* into *Europe*; with whom *Count Maurice* of *Nassau*, Prince of *Orange*, (a Protestant Christian) and the Prince of *Portugal* (a papal Christian) held a conference about the Christian and *Mahometan* Religion. The Ambassador deferred then to speak fully his mind on the matter till after his return home, and when he had there consulted with the learned in the *Alcoran*, he sends his answer in a *Letter*; which not only sets forth the tenets of his own Religion, but also refutes some errors held amongst the Protestant and *Romanist* Christians: In some of which, as in other points, we presume that Ambassador was mistaken and misinstructed. Now we herewith present unto your Excellency a faithful transcript of that *Letter*, that's with difficulty to be seen, only in the cabinets of those Princes to whom it was directed in *Latin*: Not that we account the contents thereof to be a novelty to you that are of that Religion, but because it is a piece of rarity and learning; and chiefly, for that it is the foundation on which we build another small piece or two in the same language: The which we here dedicate likewise unto your Emperor, to your Excellency, and to his *Mauritanian* Subjects, the which comprehends the main design of our waiting on you at present. Now forasmuch as that noble Ambassador doth in this *Letter* write some things which to us seem very ungrounded, and therein charges without sufficient distinction the whole body of Christians with such errors which we *Unitarians* do abhor as well as the *Mahometans*, with whom we must agree in such, even against our other fellow Christians; therefore we that are fain'd to be more exercis'd soldiers in such controverted points of Religion, and should best know the differences in *Europe* about the same, shall undertake in this our second and third Treatise, (which are but as observations on that *Letter*) *First*, to set forth (for your better information) briefly and distinctly, in what points all Christians do generally agree with the *Mahometans* in matters of Religion, *Secondly*, In what things Christians universally disagree from you, with the reasons for the same. *Thirdly*, In what cases you do justly dissent from the *Roman Catholics*. *Fourthly*, That Protestant Christians do join with you in your condemning of those *Romish* errors, and theirs and our reasons for the same. *Fifthly*, We intend there to lay down in what articles we the *Unitarian* Christians (of all others) do solely concur with you *Mahometans*, (to which we draw
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nigher in those important points than all other Protestant or Papal Christians:) With our additional arguments to yours, to prove, that both we and you have unavoidable grounds from Scripture and Reason, to dissent from other Christians in such verities, (tho' we do count them otherwise) our brethren in our Lord *Jesus Christ*.

Therefore in the *sixth* place, We, as your nearest fellow champions for those truths; We, who with our *Unitarian* brethren were in all ages exercis'd to defend with our pens the Faith of one supreme God, (without personalities or pluralities) as he hath rais'd your *Mahomet* to do the same with the sword, as a scourge on those idolizing Christians; We, I say, in this our peculiar lot in religious controversies, shall in our duty of love undertake to discover unto you, in these our Books, those weak places that are found in the platform of your Religion; and shall herein (with your favour) offer to your consideration some materials to repair them: For we do (for the vindication of your Law-maker's glory) strive to prove that such faults and irregularities, not cohering with the fashion of the rest of the *Alcoran* building, nor with the undoubted sayings of your Prophet, nor with the Gospel of *Christ*, (whereof *Mahomet* would have himself to be but a Preacher) that therefore (I say) those contradictions were foisted into the scatter'd papers found after *Mahomet's* death, of which in truth the *Alcoran* was made up; it being otherwise impossible that a Man of that judgment, that hath prov'd itself in other things so conspicuously, should be guilty of so many and frequent repugnancies, as are to be seen in those Writings and Laws that are now a days given out under his name. We do then in these our papers endeavour to clear by whom, and in what time such alterations were made in the first setting out of the *Alcoran*; and tho' we have ten times more to urge on the same subject than we present, yet by a few summary touches that we have here in a few days made up for your view, we suppose there may be enough to satisfy any unprejudic'd and thinking persons: Such as it is, we beseech you to accept thereof as friendly advices left to your Reason and Conscience to judge of with your selves; seeing we offer not the same as to defame or upbraid you, but out of humanity and a loving spirit, to the end that if you think fit to examine and redress those errors, we may by your proceedings stop the mouths of your adversaries, against whom we are often fain to stand for you in such points wherein we may well and reasonably do it. Lest after all, your Excellency should judge of this our undertaking and present, in a narrow and contracted idea, suitable to the slenderness of our persons, parts, or retinue, who are but two single philosophers, and yet come as orators of those *Unitarians*, whom we proclaim'd to be so great and considerable a People, it is necessary we should give a short view of the antiquity and extent of this noble Sect, and hint to you the reasons that makes them in these *European* parts use such cautiousness; and as to their sentiments to carry themselves, as those Princes I mention'd, to go *incognito*.

As to their Antiquity, I need but call it to your mind, that not only all the Patriarchs down from *Adam* till *Moses*, not only all the *Jews* under the written Law, and the Old Testament, to this very day, were still worshippers of an one only God (without a Trinity of Persons;) but that also all the primitive Christians, in, and after *Christ*, and his Apostles time, never own'd any other besides that single and supreme Deity; and all the true and purest Christians their lawful Disciples do to this very day worship no other but the sole Sovereign God, the Father and Maker of all things. And therefore are we call'd *Unitarians*, as worshippers of that one only God-head in Essence and Person, that we may be distinguish'd from those backsliding Christians named *Trinitarians*, who own three co-equal and self-

subsisting Persons, whereof every one is an absolute and infinite God, (as they pretend) and yet they'll have all these three to be but one God; which is such a contradicting absurdity, that certainly our wise Maker and Law-giver would never impose it to be believ'd upon that harmonious and relative rectitude he hath plac'd in the Reason of Man. But of the first who oppos'd this rising error in old times, was *Paul* of *Samosate*, a zealous and learned Bishop of *Antioch*, with his People and Adherents; he lived sixty years before the Council of *Nice*, that was held on this subject about three hundred years after the Ascension of *Christ* our Lord. There was also *Marcellus* Bishop of *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, with his friends and followers: *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch*, and *Arius* a Presbyter of *Alexandria*, with many more that lived in the time of that Council, did openly withstand and refute the *Trinitarian* Schism, as we see in the chronicles of that age. I omit *Photinus* Bishop of *Syrmium*, and the famous *Nestorius*, with many more persecuted persons for the same truth: Who, tho' they had some nominal differency about the too curious expositions of those mysteries; yet, they agreed in that main point of the undistinguish'd sovereign unity. And from the reign of the Emperor *Constantine*, both the oriental and occidental Empire generally persisted for some hundred years in that same Faith, resisting those contradictory opinions of the Trinitarians: Even in the declining times of Christianity, occasion'd by the growth, or the tyrannical usurpation of the Popes and Clergy, who wou'd force their private notions and human inventions on Men's Consciences; that is, in the reign of the Emperor *Charles* the great about the year eight hundred; *Bonofus* and *Elipandus* with other Bishops and Christians in *Spain*, unanimously oppos'd the Doctrine of the Trinity. And of late years in *Europe*, stood up the pious and noble personage *Faustus Socinus* and his *Polonian* association of learned Personages, that writ many Volumes against that and other sprung up errors among Christians. But now to lay before your Excellency, the Extent of this orthodox Faith of the Unitarian Christians, in what Nations it is held, be pleas'd to observe that all the Christians throughout *Persia*, *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, those call'd of *St. Thomas*, and some *Hollanders* and *Portuguese* in *Asia*, those that live among the *Greeks* in *Europe*, even your neighbouring Christians in *Nubia*: All those together (which far exceed the Trinity asserting Christians) do maintain with us, that Faith of one sovereign God, one only in Person and Essence. And why shou'd I forget to add you *Mahometans*, who also consent with us in the belief and worship of an one only supreme Deity? To whom be glory for ever. *Amen.*

But in the West and North of *Europe*, we are not so numerous, by reason of the inhumanity of the Clergy, who contrary to the gentle ways of *Christ*, wou'd convince us and others, but by Fire and Thunder, and Goals, and Swords of Princes; tho' our patient carriage and brotherly love towards them for their precious truths we still hold in common, might evidence to them of what sort of Spirit both they and we are. Yet our People are numerous in *Poland*, in *Hungary*, in *Holland* as well as *England*, but being under the threats of such un-christian Persecutions, (which hath been in the Wisdom of God the lot of all true Christians from the beginning, for to try, exercise and fortify their knowledge and virtue by the opposition of their adversaries) we cannot open our selves, nor argue touching our Faith, but that even our nearest Friends that are Trinitarians, out of a mistaken zeal, wou'd be the first to deliver us up to Bishops Courts, Prisons and Inquisitions to the endangering both our lives and fortunes. That is the sad reason, that we have not hitherto waited in greater numbers, to congratulate and welcome your excellency, nor can at this present in such a manner as we well judge to be suitable to your grandure, and the respect we bear to

An Epistle to the Morocco Ambassador.

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your Prince and People, for any share of divine truth, you or any other do hold entire with us from our God and from our Saviour *Christ*

Countenance therefore this philosophical plainness and freedom (that's part of our profession) which emboldens us two to be more forward than others of our persuasion, to offer to you rather than fail, even a mess of our own trade. Such slight presents in appearance as these little Books are, whose contents nevertheless we think so important for the good of your Souls, that we wou'd be ready (if acceptable) to go and assert the contents thereof, to the learned of your Country, had we any prospect of success, while we are uncertain what entertainment attends such as would object any thing against your *Alcoran* be it never so modestly and lovingly propos'd.

Therefore, since we cannot now in Person, be pleas'd, noble Sir, to communicate the import of these manuscripts, to the consideration of the fittest Persons of your Country-men, only as a scantling of what the more learn'd of our Unitarian Brethren cou'd say, far beyond any thing that's here on these subjects of our differences. And lest you might think it too mean an office to be instrumental in spreading any such divine verity; consider, if it be so great a matter to perform the part of an Ambassador among earthly Princes (which your excellency hath so laudably done of late) how far more glorious is it, to undertake the least embassy in the Cause and Religion of the supreme Monarch of the World? To whom be glory and dominion for ever, *Amen*.



THE



T H E

Socinian Trinity

EXPLAIN'D,

And COMPAR'D with that of the

CHRISTIANS.

In a LETTER to a FRIEND.

June, 1694.

S I R,



HE Socinians hold a Trinity as well as we: Nay they hold several Trinities. They have lately published *Bidles Confession of Faith touching the holy Trinity*. But in the explanation of this is all the difference.

I. He, and one part of the Socinians, make the second and third Persons to be Creatures; wherein they are guilty of a very gross sort of Idolatry, beyond what was acknowledged by any of the Heathens, to join Creatures into one holy Trinity with God, and to baptize Men into the Faith and Worship of Creatures. The Arians could never answer the charge of Idolatry in giving divine honour to *Christ*, while they acknowledged him to be but a Creature: Nor can the Worship of *Christ*, supposing him but a Creature, be excused from Idolatry, by any manner of way, which will not at the same time justify the excuses not only of the Church of *Rome*, but of the Heathens themselves for their Idolatry.

II. Another sort of Socinians deny the second and third of the Trinity, to be Persons: And make them no more than the Power and Wisdom of God, one call'd his Word, the other his Spirit, but yet that they are nothing different from God; as by Man's Spirit, you mean the Man himself. Thus the *Brief History of the Unitarians*.

But, by this rule, they cannot stop at a Trinity in God, but must go thro' all his attributes, justice, mercy, providence, omnipotence, eternity, and twenty more; and instead of the three in Heaven (which they acknowledge) they must go to a fourth, fifth, and sixth, and without end.

In the next place, where it is said, *The Word was made flesh*, they say John i. 14. that no Person was made flesh: This Second of the Trinity they say is not a Person, but only God's Power, or the manifestation of his Power, which they say inhabited an human person, *i. e.* the Person of *Jesus Christ*.

So God inhabited or inspired the Prophets, Apostles, &c. but this did not make him to become flesh. But he inspir'd *Christ* in a higher degree.

The degree signifies nothing as to the being made flesh: No inspiration or inhabitation of God, or any thing less than an impersonation, *i. e.* taking our flesh into his own Person, so as to be one Person with him, nothing less than this can make him to be flesh.

And it is certain that nothing can be made flesh but a Person. A manifestation of God, or of any thing else, is nothing in itself; it is but our manner of apprehending what is manifested or shewn to us: And to talk of this being made flesh, is the grossest nonsense and contradiction: Therefore if there be but one Person in the Trinity (as this sett of *Socinians* do hold) then the whole Trinity was made flesh; and then they must come to *Muggleton*, who says, as they do, that there is but one Person in the Godhead; which is God the Father; and that he was incarnate, and really died, so that there was then no God; but *Muggleton* says, that *Elijah* govern'd in his absence, rais'd him from the dead, and restor'd him to his throne, and then he was God again.

But, on the other hand, if there be three Persons in the holy Trinity (as the rest of our *Socinians* do hold) but the second and third only creatures, and that the Word (the second Person) was incarnate; then they must answer for their idolatry, in worshipping a mere creature; and answer the cloud of texts which require and attest divine honour to be due to *Christ*, and command the very Angels of God to worship him.

But to turn again to those *Socinians* who will have but one Person in the Trinity; they put this meaning upon *Mat. xxviii. 19.* that we are *baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son*, (who is the self-same Person with the Father) *and of the Holy Ghost*, (who is the same Person with them both.)

Again, *If you sin against one of these you shall be forgiven, but if you sin against another* (who is the very same with that one) *you shall not be forgiven.* Mat. xii. 32.

III. Now, I pray you, compare their Trinity and ours: They make three in Heaven who are not only three, but may be threescore, and yet all but one and the self-same Person.

We acknowledge the three in Heaven, whom the Scriptures tell us of, to be only three, and that they are three Persons.

One of these was made flesh, the other not; yet they will not allow them to be different Persons, but that he who took flesh, and he who did not take flesh were the same, or that they were not two.

These are the Men who cry out upon mysteries, and pretend to explain their Faith wholly by Reason and Demonstration, and to make it easy and intelligible to the meanest understanding!

Besides, they differ more (if more can be) betwixt one another, than they do from us. What greater difference can there be concerning the object of our worship than one to make it God, the other but a Creature? As it is among the *Socinians* in their opinion of the second and third in the holy Trinity. What greater difference, than for one to say they are Persons, another no Person? One to say they are adorable, the other not? Must not one of these think the other Idolaters? And the other think them profane, and erroneous in Faith, who deny divine honour to whom it is due?

IV. We acknowledge a great and sublime mystery in the holy Trinity of God. That is a mystery to us which exceeds our understanding: And many such mysteries there are, to us, in the Nature of God which we all acknowledge: A first cause without a beginning! A Being which neither made itself, nor was made by any other! Infinite without extension! In every place, yet circumscrib'd in no place! Eternal and perpetually existing, without any succession of time! A present, without past or future! And many other such unexplainable, unintelligible, incomprehensible mysteries; which yet hinder not our belief of a God: And therefore not being able fully and clearly to explain the Trinity, which is the very nature of God, can be no reason for us to reject such revelation which God has given us of himself. Yet do we not want several shadows and resemblances of one nature communicating itself to many individuals, without either a multiplication or division of the nature. We say that the Soul is all in all, and all in every part of the Body; yet that the Soul is neither multiplied nor divided among the several members of the Body. It is impossible for us either to explain this, or to deny it; for we feel it to be so, though it is wholly unconceivable to us how it can be. Now if the soul which is but an image of God, at an infinite distance, can communicate it self to several members, without breach of its unity; why should it be impossible for the eternal and infinite mind to communicate itself to several persons, without breach of its unity? I will be Bold to say, you will not find so near a parallel in nature whereby to conceive of God's Eternity, or his Infinity, as this and a great many more, whereby we may conceive of his Trinity and Unity. By what we feel in our selves, and see in a thousand things that are before us, we see extension not divided but distinguish'd into its three dimensions; and communicating its whole nature to each of the three, for each is extension; and yet there is but one extension in all the three.

The Soul is not divided betwixt its several faculties; they remain perfectly distinguish'd, though not divided from one another: To understand what is present, is a quite different thing from remembering what is past; and to love or hate is different from both of these; yet these three faculties, the Understanding, the Memory, and the Will, partake all equally of the same Soul.

Light and heat are so different, that some are capable of the one, who are not of the other; and yet they are not divided in the sun, but flow equally and naturally from it without any division of its nature.

I say not that any of these parallels do come up to the full explanation of the communication of the divine Nature to several persons, without any division or multiplication of the Nature; but I am sure they take away the contradiction alledged to be in it, while we see the same difficulty in our own and other Natures, which we can as little explain.

V. But instead of solving this difficulty, the *Socinians* have made it a downright and irreconcilable contradiction. They would have three to be one and the self-same Person: This cannot be sav'd from a contradiction. They acknowledge the three in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit: If they are one and the self-same Person, they cannot be three: If they are one Nature and several Persons, this is a difficulty, it is a mystery; but it is no contradiction, because they are not one and three in the same respect; for that is necessary to make it a contradiction. In one respect, that is, of their Nature, they are one; in another respect, that is, of their Persons, they are three: But if they are one in Person as well as in Nature, and yet are three, (as these *Socinians* do confess) then they are three and one, in the self-same respect, which is a full contradiction.

T H E

THE
SECOND LETTER,
PUTS OUR
English UNITARIANS
To DEFEND themselves:

And shews they are not

CHRISTIANS.

July 17. 1697.

S I R,



Have received yours dated the 5th instant, wherein you desire a second Letter from me concerning the Socinians, or Unitarians (as they call themselves) and you tell me how much you have been disappointed as to the issue of the first, which you desir'd from me: That you were made believe by those Socinians of your acquaintance, that they were as ready to defend their own Principles, by Reason, as to object against others: And that they wou'd immediately give you an answer to any thing upon that head, provided it were short and clear. You tell me, that they object nothing against my first Letter, upon either of these accounts: And yet that now in three years time, you can get no answer from them, tho' you have been made daily to expect it. Sir, this is no surprize to me, this is what I told you at the beginning, wou'd be the event of it. I told you, that Men of least Reason, were the greatest Pretenders; that many can apprehend an objection, who have not depth of Reason enough to search into the solution. Therefore objecting is the easier task; according to the Proverb, that *A Fool may ask more questions than a wise Man can answer*. Therefore I told you, that this sort of Men wou'd never endure to have the tables turn'd upon them, and be put to defend themselves. That when they saw more contradiction amongst themselves than they can pretend amongst us; and the difficulties which they object against our *Hypothesis*, return ten times more monstrous and manifold against their own, they wou'd be silent, and at last modest.

Therefore since they have worn out your patience, and that you are now out of hopes of having any answer from them, you are provok'd to pursue

pursue them; and desire to know from me how far they ought to be allow'd as Christians. You speak of our *English* Unitarians.

But I must first enter my protest against their assuming the name of Unitarians: For tho' they profess the unity of God (whence they take that name) yet they profess it not more than all Christians do; neither can they avoid that name which they wou'd render so odious, of Trinitarians; for they all hold a Trinity as well as we: And which is worse, different sorts of Trinities, and contradictory to one another, and to themselves, as is shewn in the first Letter. But however, they will have themselves known by the name of Unitarians, and us of Trinitarians, and so let it go: For we contend not about names, but things. Yet this precaution was necessary, lest they shou'd take advantage of words, or others be offended.

And now I come to answer directly to your question. And I think, That our *English* Unitarians can in no propriety, be call'd Christians; that they are more *Mahometans* than Christians, and greater enemies to Christianity than the *Mahometans*. Lastly I will shew, that they are not own'd as Christians, even by those they call their Brethren, the main Body of the Unitarians or Socinians in *Christendom*.

I. *First*, That they are not Christians. Christians are so called from the God whom they Worship. And therefore these who think *Christ* not to be God, nor worship him as such, with divine honour, cannot, in any propriety of speech, be call'd Christians.

For it will be allow'd me, on all hands, that to denominate a Man truly a Christian, it is not enough that he believes there was such a Man as *Christ*, for that is acknowledged by all the World: Nor is it sufficient to believe no more than what the *Mahometans* profess, *viz.* That *Christ* was the *Messiah*, the Word of God, and intercessor with God for Men; that he was conceiv'd and born miraculously of a Virgin; that he was a true Prophet sent from God; that he rais'd the dead, cur'd the blind, lame, &c. and wrought many Miracles; that all he taught was truth, and finally, that the Scriptures both of the old and new Testament are the word of God: I say all this is not sufficient to denominate a Man a Christian, because the *Mahometans* do believe all this; and their *Alcoran* does not reckon any to be a true *Mussulman*, that is, a Believer, who does not acknowledge all this. As you may see in the *Alcoran*. Cap. 3, 4 and 5. in the *English* Translation of it, printed at *London*, 1649. It was reprinted 1688. and added to the second part of the new Edition of the *Turkish* History. They who wou'd be farther satisfy'd may consult the *Latin* Translation of the *Alcoran* by *D. Pet. Abbas Cluniacensis* put out by *Theodor. Bibliander*.

But in the Chapters above quoted, and many other places of the *Alcoran*, you will see as high and honourable things spoken of *Christ*, as you will hear from any of our Unitarians here in *England*. And therefore if the belief of all this be not sufficient to intitle the *Turks* and other *Mahometans* to the name of Christians, neither can it intitle our *English* Unitarians to it; who are no more Christians than these.

II. And from the affinity betwixt our Unitarians and the *Mahometans*, our Unitarians do apparently side with the *Mahometans* against the Christians; and represent *Mahometans* as the true Christians, and our Christianity as mere *Paganism* and *Heathenism*, as I will shew you presently.

But they put their words into the mouths of others for popularity sake; for such new schemes when understood (and they are easily understood) wou'd, as yet, sound very surprizingly here in *England*.

Yet all this notwithstanding, when so fair an opportunity offer'd as the presence of the *Morocco* Ambassador, and the acceptance he found at Court in

in the year 1682. our *English* Unitarians here in *London* cou'd not resist the occasion, but sent an address to him, by two of their number, a copy of which I have from unquestionable hands, and wherein you will see how gently they deal with *Mahomet*, and the *Alcoran*, both of which they vindicate, and prefer to our Christianity.

And they have not been idle, since that time, of promoting their common cause secretly and under-hand, while they were kept under by the authority of Laws, and dis-countenance of the Government. But of late years, taking advantage of the plenitude of the indulgence granted to Dissenters of several sorts and sizes, they have appear'd publickly in print; and indefatigably fill'd the Nation with their numerous Pamphlets. And, finding encouragement have, at last proceeded, as to vilifie Christianity, so, in its place, to recommend *Mahometism*, under the fairest and most taking Characters. One of their late Treatises entituled, *A Letter of Resolution concerning the Doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation*. p. 18. represents *Mahomet*, as having had no other design, but to restore the belief of the Unity of God, which at that time (says he) was extirpated among the Eastern Christians, by the Doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation. That *Mahomet* meant not his Religion shou'd be esteemed a new Religion, but only the restitution of the true intent of the Christian Religion. That the Mahometan learned Men call themselves the true Disciples of the Messias, or Christ; intimating thereby that Christians are Apostates from the most essential parts of the Doctrine of the Messias; such as the Unity of God, &c. That *Mahometism* has preval'd so greatly, not by force and the sword——but by that one truth in the *Alcoran*, the Unity of God.

Then he represents the *Tartars* as acting more rationally in embracing the more plausible Sect of *Mahomet* (as he translates it from an Author he quotes) than the Christian Faith of the Trinity, Incarnation, &c.

He wou'd have us believe, that the Doctrine of the Trinity and Incarnation was that which pay'd the way for *Mahometism*, by prejudicing Men against the Christian Faith: Whereas the truth is, that *Mahometism* came in upon the ruins of the Doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, advanced by the *Arians*, which shook the Christian Faith, so as to dispose those who had forsaken it for the vile heresie of *Arius*, to receive any new impressions which were contrary to it: Insomuch, that generally speaking, wherever *Arianism* prevail'd, and no where else among Christians, was *Mahometism* embrac'd; which was but an improvement upon the stock that the *Arians* had laid down. And the *Alcoran* is a system of *Arianism*.

He says, that the Doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation do hinder the *Mahometans*, *Jews*, and *Pagans*, from embracing of Christianity.

Yes: And the Socinians, and our *English* Unitarians too. For till they believe these Doctrines, they are not Christians: These being the essential Doctrines of Christianity.

Indeed if we shou'd dwindle down the Christian Doctrine to what they believe, we shou'd soon gain them: For then we were agreed, that is, we shou'd cease to be Christians as well as they.

If it be true that is said of a *Jesuite*, who finding no other way to convert an Heathen Prince, represented *Christ* to him as a Warriar, and mighty Conqueror, and so gain'd him to be baptized in his Name; this was such a sort of Christian as we shou'd make, by bringing down the Christian Faith to their size, whom we cou'd not persuade to come up to it.

But I am not now arguing with these our Unitarians, only shewing their Principles; and how much nearer they come to *Mahometism*, or *Paganism*, than to Christianity.

And therefore I do not examine all that most notorious false representation before quoted, which our Unitarians have given of *Mahomet* and his Doctrine, from divers Historians, as they say, (but name none of them, least we shou'd examine them) as that he did not propagate his Religion *by force and the sword*, tho' it be the profest Principle of the *Alcoran*, and Practice of *Mahomet* and his followers, and is own'd in the address of our Unitarians to the *Morocco* Embassador, as well as witnessed by the Histories and Experience of all the ages since *Mahomet*.

This modest Author (or Clubb) affirms, with the same assurance, *ibid.* that the *Mahometans* call themselves the *True Disciples of Christ*. And in the same p. 18. he represents our modern Christianity (so he calls the Faith of the Trinity and Incarnation) as *no better nor other than a sort of Paganism and Heathenism*.

I stay not now to confute these. My present business being only to let the World see what sort of Christians our modern Unitarians are: And to give notice of them, as scouts amongst us for *Mahomet*, whom they have in so great a measure, already owned; and now openly propagate his cause, write apologies for him, and recommend him in the best manner that they can, in *odium* to the common Christianity, which they represent as much more vile; nay more vile than *Mahomet* ever represented it; as *no better nor other than a sort of Paganism and Heathenism*. Therefore these are greater enemies to Christianity than the *Mahometans*.

If these be Christians, I am sure we are not. But they are abominable and detested, so as not to be own'd for so much as Christians even by those whom they sometimes vouch to be of their own party, and boast in their numbers and authority: I mean the Socinians or Unitarians in *Poland*, *Transylvania*, and other parts of Christendom. Which is the *Second* branch of what I promis'd and come now to consider.

III. The great body of the Socinian Unitarians are in *Poland*; and their *Metropolis* is *Cracovia*; there is their root and stock whence branches are spread into other Countries.

And the *Cracovian* commonly call'd the *Racovian* Catechism is their Text; published by the body of them, in the year 1609. as the true standard of their Doctrine; and is own'd as such by the body of the Socinians elsewhere. Therefore I will take my proofs from thence, as being more authentick than any quotations out of their particular writers. And thus I frame my argument.

Those who deny divine Worship to *Christ* are not reckon'd Christians by the *Racovian Catechism*.

But the *English* Socinian Unitarians do deny divine Worship to *Christ*.

Therefore the *English* Socinian Unitarians, are not reckon'd Christians by the *Racovian Catechism*.

The *Minor* is prov'd (to save multiplicity of quotations) from a Book of theirs printed at *London* 1694. Intituled *Considerations upon the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, &c. where, p. 59. they express themselves plainly in these words. *We have wrote no Book these seven years, in which we have not been careful to profess to all the World, that a-like Honour or Worship (much less the same) is not to be given to Christ as to God.*

The Major is prov'd from the *Racov. Catech. Sect. 6. cap. 1.* in that printed *Irenopoli*, 1659. in *Octavo*, p. 164. I will translate the words for the sake of the *English Reader*.

Quest. In what manner ought we to trust in Christ?

Ans. In the same manner as in God himself.

Quest. What then do you think of those Men, who believe that Christ is neither to be pray'd to, nor worshipped?

Ans. Forasmuch as those are Christians, who worship Christ with divine Honour, and do not doubt to call upon his name, it is easily understood, that those who will not do this, are not hitherto Christians, altho' otherwise they profess the name of Christ, and pretend to adhere to his Doctrine.

And to cut off the distinction of several degrees of divine honour; and that a lesser degree of it may be given to *Christ* than to God; and that that which is given to *Christ* should be relative only to God, and so paid ultimately to God alone: By which distinction (of *Latria* and *Dulia*) the Church of *Rome* pretends to defend her giving an inferior honour to the blessed Virgin, and to Saints and Angels, but all referred ultimately to God: I say, the *Racov. Catech.* does plainly name this distinction, and overthrows it; and establishes this as a fundamental truth: That

All religious worship is due only to God: And that it is not lawful to give not only the highest, but the least degree of religious honour to any but God.

And says, that Christ is not only like God, but equal to God in the supreme power and government of all things: That he is not only the only begotten Son of God, but God.

To whom all things obey as unto God, and to whom divine worship ought to be paid, as being God over all blessed for ever.

It is true that the *Racov. Catech.* does, notwithstanding all this, deny Christ to be partaker of the divine Nature, and allows him to be but a creature: (*Sect. 4. c. 1. p. 114.*) Tho' it grants,

That God did make Christ most like unto himself by the participation of his divine Nature and Glory, and that, in Christ, he would have all to worship and adore himself.

Quest. Quo vero pacto Christo debemus confidere?

Resp. Eo pacto quo ipsi Deo. *ibid.* p. 172.

Quest. Quid vero sentis de iis hominibus qui Christum nec invocandum nec adorandum censent?

Resp. Quandoquidem illi demum Christiani sunt, qui Jesum—— divina ratione colunt, ejusque nomen invocare non dubitant—— facile intelligitur, eos qui id facere nolunt, Christianos hactenus non esse, quamvis alioqui Christi nomen profiteantur, & Doctrinæ illius se adhærere dicant.

Ibid. p. 172, 173. Etenim cultus religiosus soli Deo omnis debetur—— Ex quo apparet, non modo summo honoris gradu, sed nec inferiori, qui modo religiosus sit, quenquam licere afficere, præter Deum.

Ibid. Sect. 4. p. 47. Denique quia etiam imperio, ac suprema in omnia potestate Deo similis, imo æqualis est effectus——Non solum autem est Filius Dei unigenitus, sed etiam——jam tum Deus fuit.

Ibid. p. 100. Cui, sicut Deo, omnia parebant, & cui divina adoratio exhibetur.

Ibid. p. 108. Cum Deus sit super omnia, benedictus in secula.

Ibid. p. 118. Quod Deus Christum sibi divinæ Naturæ & Gloriæ participatione simillimum effecerit, in eoque se coli & adorari ab omnibus velit.

That

That he communicated to Christ his own divine and heavenly Majesty, and made him one and the self-same with himself.

Ibid. p. 170. Siquidem ipse Deus divinam suam cœlestemque Majestatem cum illo communicavit, & hactenus unum eundemque secum effecit.

I grant this to be a manifest contradiction: It says that *Christ* did, and did not partake of the divine Nature: And besides, it quite overthrows the distinction of relative and inferior worship, which it set up, p. 172, 173. against the Church of *Rome*; and yet, p. 118. as above quoted, is forc'd to make use of it, to solve the idolatry of paying divine or religious honour to *Christ*, supposing him not to be true God by Nature, but only a made God, as these *Socinians* most foolishly, blasphemously and contradictorily do dream.

But the use I have to make of it, is to shew, that our *English Socinian Unitarians* (because they deny divine honour to *Christ*) are exploded, as no Christians, by the main body of the *Socinians*.

If they say, that, because of this difference, they are not to be reckon'd among the *Polonian Unitarians*, I have shewn in the *first Letter*, that they differ as widely, and in points as fundamental, among themselves here in *England*; and that they own as Brethren (to increase their number, and make themselves more considerable) those whom they have as little pretence to as to the *Socinians* of *Poland*, and other countries; and from whom they differ as much as from these in *Poland*.

In the next place, when they come to boast their Antiquity, and to rid themselves from the scandalous imputation of being an upstart heresy, and contrary to all ages of Christianity; and from being such a contemptible number, in this small corner of the World, our miserably distracted and divided Island, which in the time of our late schism of forty one produc'd, like *Egypt* upon the overflowing of the *Nile*, monstrous herds of heterogeneous heresies; among whom were these now reviv'd, *Semi-Arian*, *Semi-Socinian*, *English Unitarians*, the foundation and rise of *Quakers*, *Muggletonians*, and vile puddle of our sectaries; among whom *John Bidle*, not the least, then arose, a School-master in *Glocester*, now own'd by our *English Unitarians*, his life written with great pomp, and his blasphemous works reprinted, and put amongst the volumes of the *Unitarian* tracts, now freely publish'd and openly dispers'd, to poison the nation; I say, when this novelty and paucity of our *English Unitarians* is objected, then the *Socinians* of *Poland*, *Transylvania*, and all other parts are mustered up, *Socinus* is magnified, and *Arius* too is brought in aid, and the numerous Council at *Ariminum* is much insisted on, and more ancient hereticks are insisted to shew the Antiquity and Universality of the *English Unitarian* Creed:

But when press'd with the different tenets of these or any of them, then they are all thrown off, and disown'd, and as hard words given them by our *English Unitarians* as by any other their adversaries whatsoever.

Then they take pains to shew, and brag of it, that they (the *Unitarians* of *England*) are not only disown'd, but that they would be excommunicated by the *Unitarians* of *Poland* if they were there.

See the full confession to this, in that most celebrated Book with them which bears this title, *A brief History of the Unitarians, called also Socinians*. This was printed, and industriously dispers'd gratis, in the year 1689. and re-printed, with additions, Anno 1691. There, in answer to *Acts* ix. 14. and 21. p. 33. of the second edition, they confess in these words, *The Polonian Unitarians were so zealous in this matter, that they excommunicated and deposed from their ministry such of their own party as denied that Christ was to be pray'd to, and worshipped with divine worship. This had bad effects; therefore the Unitarians of Transylvania were more moderate; they admitted to the Ministers and Professors places, those that*
rejected

rejected the invocation and adoration of Christ; but obliged them, under their hands, not to speak against worshipping or praying to the Lord Christ in their Sermons or Lectures. Those Unitarians that reject the invocation of Christ, say, &c. And so he goes on in favour of these latter Unitarians, who reject the invocation of Christ.

And by what themselves here confess, our *English Unitarians* would not be permitted among the *Unitarians* of *Poland*, or *Transylvania*, or indeed in any other part of the christian World, except in *England* at this time.

And if Christianity holds here, their next remove will be under *Mahomet*; to whom they are nearer a-kin, and with whose Embassador they have already concerted; for his disciples too are *Unitarians*, and of as good a form as those who, very unjustly, distinguish themselves by that name here in *England*: From whom,

Good Lord deliver this Church and Nation.

N. B. I have printed the address of our *English Unitarians* to the *Morocco* Embassador, without any remarks upon it in that place, because all the allegations there made on their behalf are fully answer'd in what follows.

Our *English Unitarians* say that the Christians borrow'd the notion of the Trinity from the Heathen (see before, p. 218. and the *Remarks* on my *first Dialogue* p. 6.) and yet their chief objection against the doctrine of the Trinity, is, that it is so absurd and contradictory as that neither *Jews* nor Heathens knew any thing of it.



THE FIRST DIALOGUE.



INTRODUCTION.

SOCINIAN.  AVE you read the Book I gave you, entituled, *A brief History of the Unitarians, called also Socinians?*

CHRISTIAN. I have: And I know it to be the celebrated Book of your party: Which therefore you have printed and reprinted often, in several volumes, since the year 1687. when you first did publish it: And you have since fully employ'd the liberty given you of propagating your principles openly and above-board; whereby

you have gain'd too plentiful a harvest among those who, since they must have some Religion, delight in that which is farthest from the true. But your success has been most among those who had not leisure or learning to examine your pretences; for whom this Book is calculated, in a short, easy, and plausible turn to several texts of Scripture; which they who love not the trouble of examining, are pleas'd should be true, think it sufficient for them, and so rest satisfy'd.

It is a translation and a compendium, yet with improvements, of larger *Socinian* treatises wrote in *Latin*, in the same method, of answering the several texts of Scripture, in the order of the Books as they lie, from *Genesis* to the *Revelation*, which are brought to prove the christian doctrines of the holy Trinity, and the Incarnation of the second Person, which is *Christ*.

And this is the true and only method to determine this Controversy; because these doctrines are discover'd to us only by the Revelation which is given of them in the holy Scriptures: So that the whole question is, whether they are reveal'd there or not?

And the way to know this is two-fold. *First*, from the very words of the Scripture itself. *Secondly*, from the current sense of the Church in those ages wherein the Scriptures were wrote, and downwards; which is, at least, the best comment upon the Scriptures: They who learned the Faith from the mouths of the inspir'd writers themselves, and convey'd their writings down to us, being the most capable of any to give us the true sense and meaning of them.

And in both these respects you pretend to have the advantage: Not only in your own interpretation of the Scriptures; but you say likewise, that your doctrine was the primitive doctrine of the Church; and ours introduc'd as a novelty and corruption afterwards.

We will discourse upon both these points in their order. But first let me ask you a question, in the same freedom of conversation which we have always us'd; and that is, whether your conviction or scruples began upon either the uncertainty of the Scripture Expressions themselves, or the sense of the first ages of the Church? But, on the other hand, is not this truly the case, that you thought these doctrines irreconcilable to your own natural Reason; and therefore by no means to be admitted, let the words of the revelation be never so positive, or the testimony of antiquity never so clear in the matter? And therefore that you were oblig'd to turn and wind these the best you could, and to force them to comply with your hypothesis?

Soc. I will not deny but that, if there were no difficulty in apprehending how three can be one, or God could be Man, I should without more ado acquiesce in such texts as these, that *these three are one*, that *the Word was God*, and that *the Word was made flesh*. But I suppose you will allow me, that where there is manifest contradiction, we must turn the sense of the text another way. Will you say, that we are oblig'd to believe contradictions?

CHR. No: But we are to be aware that we think not things to be contradictions thro' the weakness of our understandings, which are not so in themselves.

Soc. I grant you all that: Therefore if you can reconcile these things from being plain contradictions, I confess you will clear the way very considerably towards my receiving the texts you bring, in the easy literal sense, and likewise for my joining in the testimonies of the ancient Fathers of the Church; with both of which (I have no scruple to tell you) we have trouble enough, to satisfy our selves, and ward off the force of the arguments you bring against us.

CHR. Therefore if I can say any thing towards your satisfaction in this, it will be a good preparative for what is to follow, that is, the consideration of the Scripture texts, and the sense of Antiquity in the matter.

SOC. If you can do that, your business is more than half done: And therefore I should be glad to know if you have any thing to offer upon that head. But I must caution you not to trouble me with subjecting my Reason to Faith, and such topicks, with which I have been teaz'd till I have no patience left: For I must tell you, that I cannot believe any thing but what I think I have Reason to believe; else I could not believe it: And whoever tells me, that I must believe because I must believe, I will not answer him one word more; but look upon him as abandon'd from common sense, and only fit for *Bedlam*.

All Belief
founded up-
on Reason.

CHR. I readily agree with you, that we not only ought not, but that it is not in our power to believe any thing, but what we think we have Reason to believe. The Reason we go upon may not be good, that is the weakness of our understandings; but still we must think it good, else we cou'd not believe it: For that wou'd be to believe, what we do indeed not believe. Every Man has a Reason (such as it is) for what he believes, tho' every Man cannot always express it. My Barber told me so, may be a Reason with some: But they cou'd not believe it, if they did not think it a good Reason.

But after all this, you will allow me, that we may have good Reason to believe the matter of fact of many things, that such things are truly so and so; of the causes of which, or the nature of the things themselves, we may be ignorant to a great degree, and not able to solve many difficulties and objections which may arise concerning them. We know not the nature of any one thing under the sun, but *à posteriori*; by guessing at it, from the effects we see it produce. Our Knowledge here, is nothing but Observation: We see Trees grow, and produce their like; so of Beasts, and Men: We find such and such virtues in Herbs and Minerals, &c. But we know not the Reason of any one thing, no, not of a pile of Grass, why of that colour, shape, or virtue.

Yet we
know not the
Reason of
many things
that we be-
lieve.

But this we assuredly know, not only from Observation, but from Reason; that nothing can produce itself: For that wou'd be to say, the cause is not before the effect; it wou'd be to suppose the same thing to be before itself, that is, to be, and not to be, at the same time, which is the height of contradiction. Therefore we are forc'd, even from plain Reason, to acknowledge a first Cause, which gave a Being to all other things, and from whom all other things have proceeded.

But then, from the same Reason, we must believe that the first Cause did not produce it self; for that wou'd be the same contradiction as before: Neither that it was produc'd by any other; for then it wou'd not be the first Cause. We must likewise believe that this first Cause had no beginning; for then it must have a Cause, and there must be a time suppos'd wherein it was not: And if that were suppos'd, then it cou'd never be, because it cou'd not receive its Being from itself, nor from any other. From hence we must believe that its duration cannot be by succession or time; for then it must have a beginning.

Now, how can we apprehend a duration without time; an eternity all present together; a Being that is self-existent, neither produc'd by itself, nor by any other: Yet all this hinders not our belief of a first Cause, being forc'd to confess it, by undeniable Reason; tho' we cannot solve these and a thousand more difficulties, and seeming contradictions, which necessarily arise from such a supposition.

And

And because you cannot solve the difficulties which occur to you in this same incomprehensible Nature of God, as to the Trinity and Incarnation, you reject the Revelation that is given of it in the holy Scriptures, and the current sense of the Catholick Church in the first and all following ages of Christianity; and strain your wit, to turn and screw these to your purpose: Which you confess you wou'd not otherways have done.

Soc. I make a difference betwixt things incomprehensible and which exceed our understandings, many of which are in the Nature of God, besides those that you have nam'd; and betwixt those positions which are downright contradictions, for these cannot be true. And we must force all the Texts, and all the Authority in the World, rather than admit of them: As that God shou'd be Man; or, that three shou'd make but one.

No contradiction in the terms by which we express the holy Trinity.

CHR. A contradiction is only where two contraries are predicated of the same thing, and in the same respect, for three Men, or three thousand may make but one Company, or one Army: There is no difficulty in this.

Now I will grant you, that it is a contradiction to say, that three Persons are but one Person. But that three Persons may be in one Nature is no contradiction.

Soc. Come let us be plain. Is it not a contradiction that three Men, shou'd be but one Man?

CHR. By Man here you mean Person, in which sense it is a contradiction: But it is no contradiction to say, that there may be several human Persons, in the same human Nature. We say there is but one human Nature: Yet we know there are many human Persons.

Soc. But every Person that partakes of this one common Nature, is a distinct Man from all other Men. And one Man cannot be another Man.

CHR. That is, one Person cannot be another Person, which is granted. And tho' we call each Person a distinct Man, yet, as I said, that is only with respect to his Personality: For one Man does not differ from another as to his Nature, but only as to his Person. And tho' we allow this common way of speaking as to Men, to say, one, two, or three Men, &c. when it is strictly true only of their Persons; yet this is not allow'd as to the Persons in the divine Nature, to say, one, two, or three Gods; because it might lead Men into the notion of Polytheism, to think that there were more than one divine Nature. Therefore there is reason to guard our expressions of God, with much more care and strictness, than when we speak of Men. But if you wou'd allow that several Persons might partake of the one divine Nature, as you allow they do of one human Nature, our dispute wou'd be at an end, as to the substance of it; tho' still we have reason to insist upon the nicety of the expression, for the cause told before.

Soc. This is nicety and philosophy indeed somewhat incomprehensible.

CHR. You make that no objection in our contemplation of the incomprehensible Nature of God, as in the several instances before given: All that you require is, that there shou'd be no contradiction.

Soc. That is true. But still I think it a contradiction that several Persons shou'd not be several Men. And tho' the divine Nature is infinitely exalted above the human; yet what is a contradiction in one Nature, must be so in another.

CHR. I have before told you, in what sense several Persons may be call'd several Men, not with respect to their Nature, but only of their Personalities, which may differ, but their Nature cannot; for it is the same in all. So that here is no contradiction, tho' it may be a difficulty.

But now, as to your other position, that what is a contradiction in one Nature must be so in another, I think it will not hold.

Soc.

Soc. Why? A contradiction is a contradiction wherever it is.

CHR. That is true. But that may not be a contradiction in one Nature, which is so in another.

Soc. I do not understand you: Explain your self.

CHR. Let me ask you a Question. Is it not a contradiction that a Man shou'd go two yards as soon as one?

Soc. Yes surely: For two yards are but one yard, and another yard. And I cannot go two yards, till I have first gone one.

CHR. Now open your Eyes, and try if you see not what is at two yards distance from you, as soon as you see what is but one yard from you? You see a star, as soon as the top of the chimney.

Then go to Thought. Can you not think of *Rome*, of *Constantinople*, as soon as of the next street?

Thus you see that what is a contradiction to Legs, is none to Eyes, nor Thought. And the reason of this is, the different Natures of these things.

Again, Is it not a contradiction that I shou'd be here sitting with you in this room, and at the same time should be with other Company in another room? This is a flat contradiction to Body: But it is no contradiction to Soul, which at the same time is present in all the distant parts of the Body, according to the old saying, *That the Soul is all in all, and all in every part of the Body.*

Once more. Is it not a contradiction that yesterday shou'd be to day, or that to day shou'd be to morrow? For it wou'd imply, that the same thing shou'd be past and not past, present and not present, present and yet to come. But with God all things are present, there is no past or to come in Eternity.

Thus what is a contradiction to Body, is not to Soul; and what is a contradiction to Time, is none to Eternity; and what is a contradiction with Men, is not so with God. And the reason is, as I have said, the different Natures of these things; and that from a contradiction in the one, we cannot infer a contradiction in the other.

From hence I may conclude, That tho' it were a contradiction in human Nature, for several Persons to partake of the same Nature, and not to be several Men, that is, several Natures, as well as Persons; yet it will not follow, that it is so in the divine Nature, which is infinitely more distant and diverse from our Nature, than the motion of Sight or Thought is from that of our Legs, than Body is from Spirit, or Time from Eternity. And if it be impossible for all the philosophy and description in the world, to give to a Man that is born blind, any Idea whatsoever of the nature of Sight, or of its motion; or to reconcile its going two yards as soon as one, from downright contradiction; for he cannot but compare it with that motion which he only knows, of Legs, or Arms: Or, if we cou'd suppose a Man without Thought, it were utterly impossible to reconcile to him the progress of Thought, from the most palpable contradictions: How then shou'd we object contradictions in the incomprehensible Nature of God, from comparing it with our frail state of flesh and blood? Therefore I think we may safely depend upon this as a standing conclusion; That we cannot charge that as a contradiction in one Nature, because we find it so in another, unless we understand both Natures perfectly well. And the divine Nature being allow'd on all hands, to be incomprehensible, consequently we cannot charge any thing as a contradiction in it, because we find it so in our frail Nature.

And we find it thus in many other things. It is common to say, this is impossible, it is a contradiction. But being explain'd to us, we say, now it is easy, I did not understand it before, I took it quite wrong. There-

fore we must understand things first before we charge contradictions in them. It is our ignorance often which makes the contradiction. As of the blind Man judging of colours, or of the nature of sight, and comparing it with his walking.

II.
Of the word
Person as ap-
ply'd to God.

SOC. It is easy to apprehend the difference between walking, seeing and thinking: The very words do express it. And it would be improper to confound the words, to call walking, seeing; or seeing, walking, &c. Therefore, tho' doubtless there are many things in the divine Nature, which infinitely exceed our understanding; yet, for that reason, we ought not to apply to God those terms which are proper only to our selves; as the word Person, to say there are three Persons in the Godhead. This raises the contradiction we speak of: Because we cannot comprehend how three Persons can be one, in our Nature.

2 Cor. xii. 4.

CHR. I told you before, that we do not make three Persons to be one Person, but one Nature. And tho' the motion of the Feet is called walking, of the Eye is call'd seeing, and of the Mind is call'd thinking: Yet to a Man born blind, the word seeing is altogether unintelligible: He knows nothing at all of it. And you cannot give him any Idea of Light, or Colour, but he must apprehend it as something that may be felt, heard, smell'd, or tasted. For he cannot conceive but according to the senses he has. Now if there were words which cou'd express the Nature of God properly, or as he is known to the Angels of Heaven, they wou'd be as unintelligible to us, as the word seeing is to one born blind. The Apostle said, that when he was *Caught up into Paradise, he heard unspeakable words, which it is not possible for a man to utter*: And if they were utter'd it wou'd be impossible for us to understand them.

SOC. I can readily allow, that we must speak of God, in words not strictly and properly adapted to him, but borrow'd from terms we use among our selves. As when we call God Father, we mean that we have our Being from him; but not in that manner as a Son is begotten by his Father among Men.

Heb. i. 3.

CHR. And thus we understand the word Person. As when *Christ* is call'd *The express image of his (God's) Person*; we mean something of a quite different kind from the Person of a Man upon Earth. But it is a word we must use, like the word Father, because we have no other word to express it by.

And we find what we call personal actions, attributed to the Father, to the Son, and to the holy Spirit; as the one to send, the other to be sent. The one to proceed from the other. The one to beget, the other to be begotten of him. The one to take flesh and not the other, &c. Therefore we call these Persons, because we find personal actions attributed to them. And I cannot see but you have full as much reason to quarrel with the word Father, as the word Person; they are both Scripture words. Therefore keep the word Person, till you can find another word more proper, still remembering that these are words only *ad Captum*, in condescension to our capacities, and therefore not to be taken strictly and properly as to God, and from a seeming contradiction that may appear in these things, as they relate to Men, we must not infer a contradiction in God, to whom these words are but improperly apply'd, and whose Nature we do not understand. And therefore, as I said before, we cannot charge a contradiction in him, from what we find so in other Natures which we do understand. For we cannot infer from the one to the other, unless we understand both; as in the instances before given of the motion of Legs, Sight, and Thought, of Body and Soul, of Time and Eternity.

SOC.

SOC. But is it not a contradiction, that the Son shou'd be as old as the Father: As you say of the Persons in the Trinity. For must not the cause be before the effect?

CHR. This is still measuring from one Nature to another, when the one we understand not, and can speak of it only by allusion to the other. III.
Of the Son
being as old
as the Father. Therefore I may fairly deny your consequence, and shew that you argue from a wrong topick: That because it is a contradiction betwixt Father and Son among Men, it will not follow that it is so in God.

But in this, I can give you a plain answer, even from created Natures, which are before us. For tho' the cause must be before the effect in Nature, yet not always in time; nay, never in time, in all necessary Effects. For where the effect is necessary to the cause, the cause cannot be without it; and therefore the effect must be as early in time as the cause. Thus Light and Heat are necessary effects of the Sun; therefore they must be as early in time as the Sun. Of light and
heat in the
Sun. And if the Sun were eternal, light and heat wou'd be as eternal. And yet they both proceed from the Sun. And the Sun is before them in Nature, because they proceed from it; but not before them in time, because they are necessary effects, and the Sun cannot be without them.

Now it is not necessary for a Man to be a Father; else every Man must be a Father. But if a Man could not be a Man without being a Father, then he must be a Father as soon as he was a Man; and consequently, the Son must be as old in time as the Father, tho' in the order of Nature he would come behind him, as proceeding from him, and as the effect follows the cause: Therefore tho' it cannot be in human Nature, that the Son should be as old as his Father, yet it may be in the divine Nature.

SOC. That is, if the production in the divine Nature be necessary.

CHR. As no doubt it is: For the first cause must be a necessary Being: And there can be no accidents in him: He is incapable either of addition or diminution; for either would argue imperfection.

SOC. But God is a Spirit. Is there production or generation in Spirits? Do they beget their like, as Men do? Or must two Spirits join for the production of a third? Or can Spirits beget of themselves? IV.
Of the pro-
duction in
Spirits.

CHR. This is still bewildering your self with the comparifon of a Nature you do not understand, and measuring it with a nature you do understand, and inferring from the one to the other, which will by no means hold.

But in the case you put, there is some light given to us in the contemplation of our own Soul, which is that Image of God, wherein he made Man. In our Soul we find there is a faculty of understanding a thing, that is, apprehending, or, as it were, seeing of it: And this resembles creation, or bringing things into being, as to us; for what we understand not is to us as if it were not. I.
Of the facul-
ties in the
Soul.

Then when we understand a thing, and are thus in possession of it, we find that our Soul has another faculty of remembring it, that is, preserving its being, as to us: For without this, our understanding of any thing would last no longer than the impressiion of a seal upon water; and when the thought was past, it would be gone for ever, and we could never recover it. By which means we could have but one thought at a time; but we could not compare thoughts and things, and infer or draw consequences from one to another, which we call reasoning; which therefore is attributed chiefly to this faculty of the Soul: So that a Man of sound Memory, which is the form in Wills, means the same in the construction of Law, as a Man of sound Judgment.

This resembles the *Λόγος*, or Word of God: Which *Justin Martyr* in his *Apol.* calls the Reason of God; for the word *Λόγος* signifies Reason, and

and so is used, *Luke* xvi. 2. *Rom.* iii. 28. xii. 1. 2 *Pet.* ii. 12. *Mat.* xvi. 7, 8. *Luke* v. 21. and several other places of holy Scripture. And indeed Reason, which is the reflexion of the Mind, is properly call'd the Word of the Mind, as near as an allusion can be made from Body to Soul: For Words do outwardly express the reasoning that is inwardly in the Thoughts; and the reflexion of the Mind is speaking Words to its self: Every reflex act is a colloquy.

When things are thus as it were created to us by the Understanding, and preserv'd by the Memory, that we may reason and reflect upon them, then they appear either agreeable or disagreeable to us: We contract either a liking or distaste to them; that is, we love or hate them: And this is the operation of a distinct faculty of the Mind, which is called the Will, and is the seat of happiness or misery. To enjoy what we love, is pleasure and happiness; and to be join'd to what we hate, is misery and affliction. There are several things which we know, and which we remember; but they are indifferent to us, we neither love nor hate them; and therefore they afford us neither pleasure nor trouble: These passions are seated in the Will, and come not till the Will has exerted an act either of love or aversion: Thence arise love, fear, joy, grief, hope, despair, and all the passions: The Will is the seat of all the passions.

This is a resemblance of the third Person in the holy Trinity, who is therefore called the Spirit of Love, and the Comforter.

Now of these three faculties of the Soul, the Understanding may well be call'd the father faculty; and the Memory may be said to be begotten by it: For we could not remember what we did not first know. And the Will results or proceeds from both of these: For we cannot love or hate what we do not both know and remember.

But in how many things should we err and be mistaken, if we should think to draw an exact parallel betwixt this generation in the faculties of the Soul, and the generation of Bodies? In that of Bodies, it is contradiction the Father should not be prior in time to the Son. In that of the Soul, it is a contradiction the Son should not be as old as the Father, because the Soul cannot be without the three faculties: They are of the constitution of the Soul, and it could not be a Soul without them: Therefore each of them must be as old as the other, and all as old as the Soul.

SOC. That is, because the words Father and Son are not strictly and properly belonging to the faculties of the Soul, only by way of allusion to the generation of Bodies; therefore what is a contradiction in the one, is none in the other.

CHR. How readily you can give this answer in the parallel betwixt Body and Soul! And yet how do you stick to give the same allowance in the parallel betwixt mortal Man and the infinite Being! But you will make that to be a contradiction in the one, because you find it to be so in the other!

SOC. I grant there must be a vast difference betwixt the production there is in Bodies, and that in Spirits: They are not of the same kind. But methinks there should be an exact parallel in the production of Spirits; for tho' there is higher and lower among them, yet they are all Spirits, and so of the same kind. Now see if you can find an exact parallel betwixt the faculties of the Soul, and the Persons of the Godhead; and I will be content.

CHR. Think you not that there is infinitely greater difference and disproportion, even in kind, betwixt the Soul of Man and the eternal incomprehensible Almighty, than there is betwixt the Body and Soul of Man! So that you ask of me what I will no ways undertake.

Only I still insist, that from a contradiction in the one, if you could find it, you could not infer a contradiction in the other, because you understand

not

not both the Natures you speak of: And what is spoken of the one, is by way of allusion only to the other.

In the next place, the contradictions you alledge are all by way of parallel betwixt God and the bodily Persons of Men upon Earth: And since you have granted me, that a contradiction will not lie in the parallel betwixt the Body and Soul of Man, I can much more strongly argue, that it will not lie in the parallel betwixt the Body of Man, and God; so as that a contradiction in the one should infer a contradiction in the other.

But still I will go as far along with you as I can: And having enter'd my protest, that I put nothing of the merits of the cause upon it, I will go on to shew you what is no contradiction in the Faculties of the Soul.

It is no contradiction, that these three faculties should be one Soul; and the Soul nothing else, that we can tell, but these three Faculties: That these three Faculties should be all coeval as to Time, and yet one before the other in order of Nature, as proceeding the one from the other: That they are perfectly distinct the one from the other, having different objects and different manners of operation; the Understanding being conversant about what is present, the Memory about what is past, and the Will about love and hatred: Yet that they all act in concert, and no one of them can act without the other: For as the Memory cannot act but upon a previous act of the Understanding, and the Will upon the act both of the Understanding and the Memory, so even the Understanding does not act, nor the Memory without a concurrent act of the Will which consents to it: So that tho' they act distinctly, yet not separately; and the Soul is not divided or multiply'd among them, but the whole Soul acts in each and all of them.

Soc. And now you think you have solv'd all our objections as to the Trinity, of three being one, and one three; and of their being co-eternal, tho' one proceeding from the other: But your parallel will not hold betwixt Faculties and Persons.

2.
Of the difference betwixt Faculties and Persons.

CHR. I pretend not to prove any thing by parallels; they are but illustrations: Nor do I think there can be any exact parallel betwixt God and any Creature. But if the objections you bring may be solv'd by what we can observe in created Natures, it shews your unreasonableness to insist upon such difficulties against what is reveal'd of the incomprehensible Being: Therefore let me hear what use you make of the difference betwixt Faculties and Persons in the present case.

Soc. You know the difference betwixt Substance and Subsistence: It is the latter only makes a Person: And we give not different Subsistences to the Faculties of the Soul; therefore they are not different Persons: And we say, that three Persons or Subsistences cannot be one Person.

CHR. And so say we too: We say that three Persons are always three Persons, tho' they may be one Nature. But let me ask you, can three Substances be one Substance, or three Faculties one Faculty, more than three Subsistences or Persons can be one Person? If not, then your distinction is of no use in the present case: For the difficulty of three being one, and one three, lies as much in the one case as in the other, and all you can say from this puzzling piece of Philosophy signifies nothing: For whatever other uses may be made of it, it cannot help you in this case, since one Substance can no more be another Substance, nor one Faculty be another Faculty, than one Person can be another Person.

Soc. But why do you not say three Faculties instead of three Persons in God? And then we should not so much quarrel with you.

3.
Why we say Persons and not Faculties, in God.

N n n

CHR.

CHR. Because we must not alter the phrase of Scripture, which calls *Christ* the express Image of his (Father's) Person; *Χαρακτὴρ ὁ Ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ*, the Image of his Subsistence or Personality.

Heb. i. 3.

For a Son, being a distinct Person, is the Image of his Father's Person, but not of his Nature; because the Son partakes of the same Nature in as full and ample manner as his Father, and is as much and truly a Man, having the same human Nature with his Father; in which he is equal to his Father, but inferior as to his Person: The Relation and Subordination between them is only upon a personal account: As it is among the Persons of the holy Trinity; tho' all equal in Nature, which is but one: For if we say there is not more than one human Nature, we cannot say there is more than one divine Nature, tho' several Persons partake of it.

Again, a Person being the most complete and perfect Substance, as subsisting by its self, and not in another, (like Faculties or Qualities) must be given to God. There are no Accidents, Faculties, or Qualities in him: But every thing in him is himself: And the Faculties of the Soul are but a resemblance of the Persons of God.

4.
Of the Difference betwixt Faculties and Passions.

SOC. How come you to make but three Faculties in the Soul? You may make three hundred if you will. Why do not you make every Passion a distinct Faculty? And so of the Attributes of God, you may make them all Persons; one of Wisdom, another of Justice, another of Mercy, another of Power, and so forth.

CHR. The Faculties are the Powers of the Soul itself, and of perpetual necessity to its constitution; so that without these the Soul would not be a Soul: Therefore they are always in the Soul. Not so of the Passions: They go and come: A Man is not always in Joy, Grief, Fear, Anger, &c. but he always has an Understanding, a Memory, and a Will, and it is as these are conversant about any object, that the Passions arise: The Faculties are the Constitution, the Passions the Complexion of the Soul: The Complexion often changes; but when the Constitution is broke it is death; and the Complexion arises from the Constitution, not the Constitution from the Complexion.

Now tho' the Passions are many and various, yet the Faculties are but three, and they can be neither more nor less.

5.
Of Extension and the Dimensions.

The difference betwixt these is like that of Colour and Dimensions in a Body: The Colours are many and various; the Dimensions are but three, and can be neither more nor less; that is Length, Breadth, and Thickness: These must be in every Extension: They are of the Nature of Extension, and therefore inseparable from it: And tho' these three make one Extension, yet they are perfectly distinguish'd, tho' never separated from one another. Length is not Breadth, and neither of them is Thickness; yet no one of these can be without the other two: They are distinctly three, yet entirely but one; they all make up but one and the self same Extension.

The Colours change according to every variation of the Light; but the Dimensions are still the same, and still necessary to the Body: Which alters not in its Nature from the change of Colours in it: But would cease to be a Body, if it were possible it could want any of the three Dimensions; for then it would be no longer an Extension, that is, no more a Body.

Thus we say of the Soul: It could not be a Soul if it wanted any of the three Faculties, for they are of its Nature: But the Passions may go and come without any alteration in the Nature of the Soul. The Passions suppose the Faculties, for the Passions are an operation of the Faculties: But the Faculties suppose no more than that we are capable of the Passions, not that they are always necessary to us, for sometimes we are without any.

And our blessed Saviour in the Parable of the Sower, describing the several ways by which the Seed becomes unfruitful, ranges them into three, according to the three Faculties of the Soul, but not after the Passions, which are many. The first was of those who understand not; the second was of those who retain or remember not; and the third was of those whose Wills or affections were corrupted, through the cares and pleasures of this life.

Now this allusion betwixt the Body and the Mind, betwixt Colours and Dimensions in the Body, and the Faculties and Passions in the Soul, will not come up nor answer exactly in every thing, because of the vast difference there is in the Natures of Body and Spirit, and the different manner of their operations. But tho' they fail in some things, yet they answer in others, and serve for illustration. And so much the more, because, while we are in the Body, we conceive of spiritual things, even of our own Soul, in some sort, after the manner of Body. And if our own Soul, by which we move, and act, and think, is so hidden from us, that we cannot conceive rightly of it; how much more must the infinite and incomprehensible Nature be remov'd far above our poor understanding? Seeing we cannot conceive any thing of it but by allusion to what we understand here of our selves, and other Creatures that are before us. Therefore such allusions are given to us, and God speaks to us of himself after the manner of Men, because we cou'd not otherwise understand any thing at all of him. Thus God ascribes Passions to himself, as Joy, Anger, Grief, Repentance, &c. And we describe him by what we call his Attributes, as Power, Wisdom, Goodness, Justice, &c. And these we conceive to flow from his Nature. Tho' at the same time our Reason tells us, that there can be no accidents in God, nor any change in him; and therefore, that whatever is in God, is God: But by the three Persons in the Godhead, we mean the divine Nature, which consists of the three Persons, as the Soul does of the three Faculties, and Extension of the three Dimensions, without any confusion of the Faculties, or Dimensions; or division of the Soul, or of the Extension. As we say the three Persons are God, neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the Substance. But what we call the Attributes of God, are the different manners of our apprehension of the actions of God, and so are many and various: As Passions are in Men, and Colours in Bodies. But Colours do not make the Body in which they are, tho' they suppose it; and Passions do not make the Soul, tho' they are in it: But the Faculties are the Soul, and the Dimensions are the Extension. Thus we say, the Persons in the Godhead are God, but we conceive of the Attributes of God, after the manner of Passions in the Soul; tho' we know at the same time, that the allusion does not, cannot answer; but we cannot conceive otherwise of God. And thus it is when we use the words, Father, Son, Spirit, Person, in relation to God, we must not suppose them to quadrate and answer to these words as us'd among Men; they are only allusions, but they are necessary, because we cannot otherwise speak of God at all.

Hence appears the unreasonableness of inferring a contradiction in the Nature of God, from what we find to be so in the Nature of Man, and in these words as apply'd to Man; which is the topick I have insisted upon from the beginning. And I have illustrated it by the comparison of those irreconcilable contradictions which must appear to a Man born blind, in any description possible to be given him of the Nature, Motion, and Progress of Sight. And you cannot help him with any allusion or image of it, in any thing that he understands. He can apprehend nothing like it, in any manner whatsoever, tho' at never so great a distance. It cannot be said he has a wrong or imperfect notion of it, for he has not, nor can have any notion of it at all, not the least glimps. Whereas on the other hand, as to the present

6.
Apply'd to
the Persons
and Attributes
of God.

7.
These con-
clusive to the
Argument.

present subject we are upon, and to which I apply this; tho' it be impossible for any Creature to have a full and compleat apprehension of the infinite Nature; yet there are such allusions and similitudes given us of it, chiefly in the Soul of Man, which is said to be made after his image, as enables us to have some sort of idea and apprehension of it, tho' we must still suppose at infinite distance, and that we presume not to draw inferences from the one to the other, from Man to God. And even as to that ineffable mystery of the holy Trinity, there is no obscure resemblance of it given us in the frame of our own Soul, consisting of three distinct Faculties, as I have before explain'd it. And even in the three Dimensions which make up every Extension, so far as Body is capable of such a resemblance; at least it solves the contradictions you alledge as to the holy Trinity, when we see how three may be one, even in Bodies: Nay that one must be three; for Extension cou'd not be Extension, if it were not three Dimensions. As the Soul cou'd not be a Soul, if it were not Understanding, Memory and Will: so that the multiplicity makes the unity. Tho' as I have said, if these were contradictions in Body, or in our Soul, it wou'd not follow it was so in God, because of the infinite disparity of the Natures.

8.
Allusions
from Body to
Soul necessary:
Yet many
contradictions
in them.

I have said likewise, That we cannot apprehend the Nature of a Spirit, even of our own Soul, but by allusion to Body, to something material: Hence some have contended that our Soul is Matter, that is, a Body; nay, that God himself is so; that there is nothing but Matter. And yet we find many contradictions in this allusion. As what I mention'd before of the presence of a Body which is so circumscrib'd, that it cannot be in two places at once. And yet how one and the same Soul can actuate all the distant members of the Body, without being either multiply'd or divided among them, is what we can find no resemblance of in Bodies. And yet we cannot frame a conception of a Soul, without allusion to something material. And yet all this notwithstanding, we charge not this as a contradiction in Soul, because we find it so in Body: Tho' all our notices of the Soul come from the Body.

9.
Apply'd to
our present
Subject.

Now to apply: The imperfect notices we have of the Nature of God come from his works of Creation which we have seen; yet in none of these do we find any resemblance to his eternity, self existence, and omni-presence, &c. nay, they wou'd be flat contradictions, if apply'd to any Creature: Yet we call them not contradictions in God; how then can we call three and one a contradiction in God, tho' we found it so in all Creatures? But when we find it not to be a contradiction, both in the Nature of Body, and of Soul, will we still make it a contradiction in God, whose Nature we understand not; and for this only cause, reject the plain Revelations that are given to us of it?

10.
We must
think of three
in every Spirit.

But pray, let me ask you, what notion have you of any Spirit, of an Angel? Can you apprehend an Angel without an Understanding, a Memory, and a Will? Can you think otherwise of God the Father of Spirits, and who made them after his own image? There cannot be a Thought without these three; for every Thought is the act of these three. We have no nearer an idea of God than an omnipotent Mind; and whose Thoughts are omnipotent: Therefore God must be these three; and these three are God. Our notion of his attributes are the acts of these three, Mercy, Wisdom, Power, Truth, Justice, &c. And since there is no accident in God, but every thing that is in him must be of his essence, consequently these three are of the essence of God; and each of them is God, and all three the same God. So that instead of this being a contradiction, it wou'd rather be a contradiction if it were not so. That is, that there cou'd be a Thought without what is of the essence of a Thought, that it should proceed from three jointly,

jointly, from an Understanding, a Memory, and a Will, each distinct from the other, yet all three one and the same Mind. So that if we think of God, after the image he has made of himself (and we can think of him no otherwise) we must think of a Trinity, in Unity.

At least, I hope what I have said is sufficient to take away all pretence of contradiction in the case, so as to hinder us to believe the revelation God has given us of it.

Soc. Whether God has given us any revelation of it, is the grand Question, which must be determin'd when we come to examine those texts of Scripture which are alledg'd for it. But we insist it is a contradiction, and therefore that these texts must not be understood in that sense.

V.
If the Trinity were a contradiction, that would prove it not to be of human invention.

CHR. If it be not a revelation, it must be an invention of some or other; but if it be a contradiction, it could not be an invention. For who could invent a contradiction? Or if he could, who would do it with a design to have it pass upon the world, and to be receiv'd among Mankind? When Men have a mind to impose upon others, they contrive their story as plausible as possibly they can; to be free, not only from contradiction, but objection.

In the next place, what does any Man get by it? What end could it serve to set up such a notion in the world? Men generally have some prospect of advantage when they would impose upon others.

Soc. Who invented Transubstantiation? Which you, as well as we think a contradiction, that one and the same Body should be in many places, at same time.

I.
The Objection as to Transubstantiation solv'd.

CHR. *First*, It was not purely an invention; for I believe that could never have come into the head of a Man of it self. It was but grafting upon some very high expressions in the Fathers, concerning the great mystery in the holy Sacrament, which they mistook, and thence were led to take the words, *This is my Body*, strictly according to the Letter. Whereas they were plainly figurative; and there are several other figures in the words of institution of the holy Sacrament, which they cannot deny, as where the cup is put for the wine: Which is the figure we call *continens pro contento*, where the thing that contains is put for what is contain'd in it. And again the present is us'd for the future, *Luke xxii. 20. This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you*. Whereas this was spoke before his Blood was shed. There *is*, is put for *shall be*, which is another figure of Speech. Then, *this Cup is the new testament* another plain figure. Men may run themselves into contradictions, in pursuit of an argument, but none can invent a contradiction.

Soc. This is the same we say of you: That the contradictions you run into arise from your mistake of those texts which you alledge for the Trinity, which we say you take too literally.

CHR. But you cannot shew the figure: They are no figurative expressions. This we shall see plainly when we come to them. So that if there be a contradiction, it must be in the words, not in what we infer from them.

Secondly, We put no new construction upon them, but the same that was taught in the whole christian Church from the beginning, which likewise I shall shew you. Whereas, in the case of Transubstantiation, we shew the novel construction they have put upon the words, contrary to the sense of all Antiquity. This is unanswerably done in Bishop Cosins's *History of Transubstantiation*.

Thirdly, There is no temptation in the world to set up the Doctrine of the Trinity: But there was a very great one in that of Transubstantiation, of reverence,

verence, and even adoration to the Priesthood, to think that four words pronounc'd by a Priest shou'd make God.

But, *Fourthly*, there are contradictions in Transubstantiation, which cannot be alledg'd in the doctrine of the Trinity: For example, that I should disbelieve my Senses upon the credit of a Revelation made to my Senses: Which is to believe, and not to believe my Senses at the same time: If I believe the Revelation, I must disbelieve my Senses; and yet unless I believe my Senses, I cannot believe the Revelation. They who were present at the Institution must believe their Senses, that it was *Christ* who spoke to them, and that they heard such Words: Yet they must not believe their Senses, that it was Bread and Wine which they saw and tasted; but that they eat and swallow'd the very Person whom they saw sit whole and entire before them, and who was then discoursing with them!

SOC. And does not the doctrine of the Trinity contradict our Senses as much as all this?

CHR. No: Not at all: It contradicts none of our outward Senses. Pray which of them does it contradict? Is it our Seeing, Taste, or Smell?

SOC. None of these can reach to it.

CHR. No: Nor to our Soul: They can neither touch, see, nor smell it. A Spirit is not the object of outward Sense; therefore no contradiction to it: It is above it, and of another kind. But an outward Revelation is an appeal to our outward Senses: And without the truth of our Senses suppos'd, we could believe neither Revelation nor Miracle exhibited to our Senses: And no Miracle that ever God wrought, or Revelation that he gave, did contradict any one of our Senses, much less all together: For, as I said, it would be a perfect contradiction to our believing them.

And as you *Socinians* make use of this of Transubstantiation, to shew that Christians believe contradictions; and compare those you suppose in the Trinity with this: So the Church of *Rome* insists mainly upon this against us, why we should make such difficulty in believing Transubstantiation, since we believe the Trinity, which they and you say implies as many contradictions as the other.

2.
No allusion
or parallel in
Nature to
Transubstan-
tiation.

And I will add this to what I have said, that there is not any thing in Nature which bears the least resemblance or likeness to Transubstantiation, that we might be able to frame any sort of notion of it: Whereas God has given us several Allusions and Images of his holy Trinity, in as near proportion as finite can bear to infinite, chiefly in the frame of our own Soul; whereby, tho' we cannot come to a clear and full perception of his Nature, for that is impossible; yet we see so much of him in the glass of his Creatures, as to give us some idea of him, and to solve what is reveal'd to us of him from being contradictions, by comparing it with the likeness, tho' faint, that is found of it in Creatures. But Transubstantiation is the very reverse to Nature, and all natural things: Not only above them, but stands in direct opposition to them, and leaves nothing certain, no not our Senses. And what then can be like to it?

3.
Compar'd
with Confub-
stantiation.

The *Lutherans* endeavour to get clear of this, who take the words of Institution, *this is my Body*, as literally as the Church of *Rome* does; but they deny not the certainty of our Senses, and own that it is true and real Bread and Wine which we see, smell, and taste. But then there is no resemblance in Nature, nor ground in Reason, and as little in Revelation, that two Bodies should be consubstantiated under the accidents of one of them, and which are not accidents proper for the other: In which, tho' there is not a deception of the Senses as to the Bread and Wine, yet there is as to the Body and Blood of a Man, which if hid under the accidents of Bread, my Senses are deceiv'd; for they have no other way to distinguish Substances but by the accidents proper to them: And when I eat a piece of Bread,

my

my Sight, Touch, Smell, and Taste, inform me that it is not Flesh; which if it be, they have all deceiv'd me, and I can be certain of nothing in the world.

Besides, the *Lutheran* notion gives Ubiquity to Body, as well as that of Transubstantiation: Which is a contradiction to the Nature of Body, which must be circumscrib'd, else there could not be a greater or a lesser Body.

So that upon the whole Consubstantiation is very little remov'd from Transubstantiation.

Soc. But was not Consubstantiation the invention of *Luther*? So you see Men may invent contradictions.

CHR. That will not follow: For *Luther* was bred up under Transubstantiation; in which finding absurdities, he thought to mend them by this new-coin'd distinction. I grant that Men may invent distinctions, and upon examination they may be found contradictory, which themselves might not see at first; but that is not parallel to the inventing a downright flat contradiction in terms, without ground or foundation, or any previous principles leading to it; as it would be in our notion of the Trinity if it was invented; and, as I said, without any temptation, or serving any end or purpose in the world. If there was no foundation for such a thing in Reason, as you say, nor any Revelation of it, how could it have come into the head of any Man living?

Soc. Do you think there is any thing in Reason for it? Or that all your allusions and parallels will prove it?

CHR. I bring them not for proof, but to clear our way towards the proof, which is the Revelation of it in holy Scripture; and to take off your objection and great prejudice towards the receiving that proof, which is, your conceit of contradiction in the thing, and which blinds your eyes against the proof let it be never so plain.

Yet this I will say on behalf of allusions and parallels in the present case, that they are not only useful, but necessary: For we cannot otherwise come at any notion or apprehension of God at all: His Being, in itself, is far exalted above all created Understanding: Therefore we cannot come at it directly, it is Light inaccessible, and would strike us blind. We must know it then by the reflexion of it in Creatures, like beholding the Sun in Water, which is too bright for our eyes to look upon, without some means to darken its rays.

And God discovers himself to us by such allusions: For how could he do it otherwise? He calls himself our King and our Father: Is it not lawful then to contemplate him under such allusions, when it is impossible for us to do it otherwise? We come at the knowledge of him by those Images of himself which he has created in us: He has planted Wisdom in our hearts, and a Fore-sight or Providence in managing our own affairs, as likewise Justice and Mercy, and other noble endowments: Thence we frame our notions of his infinite Wisdom, Power, Providence, &c. And we can have no notion of him at all but by allusion to what he has created in us: All the rest is clouds and thick darkness to us.

Therefore I have insisted upon these parallels and allusions, to shew, that there is an Image and Resemblance of his holy Trinity imprinted in our very Souls, as well as in Bodies, so far as they are capable of it: But still with that distance and disproportion that must necessarily be suppos'd betwixt finite and infinite.

Having said thus much to remove your prejudice, I will go on and shew you yet farther parallels, whereby we may rise up higher, as on a ladder, and view more of the Perfection of God, by that Image of it which he has impress'd upon Creatures.

VI.

Allusions and Parallels necessary, in our contemplation of the Nature of God.

VIII.

Of the Feasibility of the Reflexion of the Image of God.

VII.

Self-reflexion an Image of the holy Trinity.

To

To be beneficial to others is an Image of God, from whom all good things do come: This is express'd in the Heavens, the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and their Influence upon the Earth: But they are not sensible of it, nor have any Pleasure and Happiness in it: The Sun shines to others, not to himself.

It is then a nearer Image of God to know when we do good, and to take Pleasure and Satisfaction in it; to do it voluntarily, and when it was in our power not to do it: Whereby it becomes our act, and we gain the name of benefactors; and rejoice in it, as God did in his works, and saw they were very good: We by this partake of the Happiness we give to others.

But there is an higher degree of Happiness still, and a yet nearer Image of God, and that is, when we our selves are made the object of our own benefactions, as I may so call it: When we can do good to our selves, and can taste our own Happiness, can rejoice and take pleasure in our selves. This is the nearest to us of any thing; and this Joy no Man can take from us, no Stranger can intermeddle with it: This is perform'd in us by what we call Self-Reflexion, whereby we become the object of our own knowledge and love: And this is reciprocal in us, we are the Person knowing, and the Person that is known, the Person that loves, and the Person that is loved: And this could not be done but by the operation of several Faculties in the Soul, which are an Image of the several Persons in the Deity: And the original of this Self-reflexion is a reflex-act of the Understanding, the father Faculty, as has been before discours'd: And this resembles the Father, the Fountain (as I may so say) of the Deity.

In this consists the essential Happiness of God, in the Knowledge and Love of himself; and this reflected perfectly from one Person of the God-head to another: Which is infinitely more complete than the Shadow of it in the reciprocal Reflexion of the Faculties in our Soul: But a Shadow and Image of it, it is; and without which we should not be able to have the least glimps or apprehension of the other.

VIII.
Of the Fe-
cundity in the
Deity.

This leads me to another step up this ladder, which necessarily follows from what has been said, or is rather but a farther prosecution of it.

We all agree that whatever Perfection is in Man must be much more eminently in God from whom it came,

Now to the Happiness there is in Thought, there is a farther added, which is, to communicate that Thought to another: Without this the Soul would be a very solitary thing; and would grow weary of it self in a little time: As we find it when we are left too long alone. Without conversation Life would be a burthen. Who would be content to live if there were never a Man left in the World but himself? This communication of Thought is done among Men by Words: Whence in compliance to our manner of apprehension, the Son is likewise call'd the Word of God. Self-reflexion is very properly call'd the Word of the Mind: And this Word was the first communication which God gave of himself. He is also call'd the Word, as he was the instrument by which God made all things, and communicated himself to Creatures: Whence the Creation is describ'd as being all spoken; *he spake the word, and it was done, he commanded, and they were created. God said, let there be light, &c. And by his word were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth.* So the Son is called the Word, in respect of God's communicating himself to himself; and likewise of his communicating himself to Creatures.

But there is another communication beyond the communication of Thoughts by Words, and that is, to communicate ones self, our whole Nature, full and entire; to produce ones like, in full perfection as ones self, thus we see Trees spring from Trees, Beasts, Fish, and Fowl, and Man, propagate

propagate their kind: And shall God who gave fertility to Creatures, be barren himself? *He that made the eye, does he not see?* And is not the fertility of Creatures an Image of a much more eminent fecundity of God? As he says, *Isab. LXVI. 9. according to the vulgar translation. Numquid ego qui alias parere facio, ipse non pariam? dicit Dominus. Si ego, qui generationem ceteris tribuo, sterilis ero? ait Dominus Deus tuus. That is, Shall not I who cause others to bring forth, bring forth my self? saith the Lord. If I give to others the power of generation, shall I be barren my self? saith the Lord thy God.* Since therefore the communication of ones Nature is a perfection, it is of necessity that God must have it. For it is a maxim, in philosophy, that *Nemo dat quod non habet, None can give what he has not.*

Besides, the former argument includes this: For God cou'd not communicate his Thoughts, without communicating also his Nature; that is, he cou'd not communicate all of his Thoughts, except to what was capable to receive them: And nothing but infinite can contain infinite: And it being natural to goodness to delight in communicating it self, consequently God must be depriv'd of the plenitude of this Perfection, if there were not a Person capable of receiving all his goodness; else God must be stinted in this greatest of happiness. As a River cou'd not empty it self, unless there were a place to receive it; and so wou'd cease to be a River.

And thus, unless there were different Persons in God, there wou'd be a contradiction in all his Attributes. There wou'd be infinite Power, without Power, to exert it self infinitely; which is a flat contradiction: And so of infinite Love, Wisdom, &c.

Soc. Whatever there may be in these reasons for two Persons in the Godhead, the one to contain and receive all of the other, yet what can you say for a third? What need is there of that?

I.
Of a third
Person in the
Trinity.

CHR. First, that it is reveal'd which we are to see: In the next place, by the Image God has given us of himself in our own Soul, we have seen already, that the Soul is not compleat, nor can act, without three Faculties, and no two of them can act without the third. And to apply this, the communication of infinite Power and Wisdom (which are represented in the two first Faculties of our mind) cannot be suppos'd without an infinite reciprocal love, betwixt these Persons: And there being no accident in God; but whatever is in God, is God; consequently the reciprocal love (to which answers the third Faculty of the Soul) which unites these two Persons, must be a Person too, and God, for it must be infinite. And there is an Image of this in human Production, wherein there must be just three Persons, neither more nor less, that is, Father, Mother, and Child. Which names God uses in relation to himself; Therefore we may use them. Thus the Son of *Sirach* uses them *Eccclus. XXIV.* where he speaks of the second Person by the name of Wisdom, and as that word of God he introduceth him saying, *Y. 5. I came out of the mouth of the most high, first born before all creatures. I caused the light, &c.* And so speaks of the other works of Creation, all of which he ascribes to himself: Then says, *Y. 20. I am the mother of beautiful love.* This is the third Person of the holy Trinity. But more of this, when we come to the texts of Scripture.

Soc. If the divine Nature shou'd repeat this Production of Persons, then you might have as many Persons in the divine Nature, as in the human, and consequently as many Gods as Men.

2.
Why but
one Production
in the De-
ity.

CHR. Your conception is gross. For *First*, three Persons in the divine Nature does not make three Gods, more than three Faculties make three Souls, as we have discours'd before. But *Secondly*, there cannot be another Production in the divine Nature, more than there can be another divine Nature; for the three Persons are of the essence of the divine Nature; as the three Facul-

ties are of the Soul, therefore unchangeable and unalterable. And as to the argument I have proceeded upon of infinite communication from one to another, if it be infinite, it can be no more: And to infinite production nothing can be added; but human productions may be oft repeated, because they are all finite, therefore additions and additions may be made to them: From all which follows;

First, That an infinite Power without an infinite production, is a contradiction: For it supposes infinity to be limited.

Secondly, That there can be no infinite production but in the Persons of the blessed Trinity.

Thirdly, That an infinite production cannot be repeated; because it wou'd add to infinite, and make more infinites.

SOC. The heathen Philosophers might have talk'd at this rate: How came they not to find out a Trinity as well as you?

CHR. They did talk at this rate; and did hold a Trinity in the God-head, as I shall shew you by and by, when we come to that head.

3.
The second
Person be-
gotten, the
third pro-
ceeding,

SOC. But your St. *Athanasius* the Creed maker will not only have us believe all this, but takes upon him to determine the very manner forsooth, as if he knew it, how all this is done, that *the Father is neither created nor begotten; the Son not created, but begotten; the Holy Ghost neither created nor begotten, but proceeding.*

CHR. You Socinians pretend of all Men to argue without passion and personal reflexions, but fairly and upon the square, keeping close to the argument; and have been propos'd as a pattern for this, by some that lov'd you better than they knew you: For none have exceeded you in bitterness and foul language; even in this brief History we are now upon, the common Epithets you bestow upon Christians are *ignorant, brutal, stupid, without common sense, &c.* Hence came your Witticism, in your *Brief Notes upon St. Athanasius's Creed*, whom you call *Sathanasius*, and *Creed-maker* there, and in other of your Books; and please your selves with this prophane jest and contempt cast upon that great and learned champion of Christianity.

But to leave your dirt. You charge very unjustly upon him, the inventing of these terms and distinctions: He follow'd the same terms us'd in holy Scripture, and by the Catholick Church before him. The terms of Father and Son, and the Son being call'd the only begotten of the Father, you cannot be ignorant are Scripture-phrases. But the word *begotten* is never apply'd to the Holy Ghost, but the word *proceeding* is, as *John xv. 26. The Spirit of truth which proceedeth from the Father.*

SOC. But you say he proceedeth from both Father and Son.

4.
The Holy
Ghost pro-
ceedeth from
the Father
and the Son.

CHR. Then he proceedeth from the Father: If he proceeds from both, he proceeds from each. And in the same text, the Son takes upon him to send the Holy Ghost jointly with the Father. *The comforter—whom I will send unto you from the Father.* And *Chap. xiv. 13, 14. He shall not speak of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak.* And from whom shall he hear? Even from the Son, who saith, *He shall receive of mine, and shall shew it unto you.* Does he not receive it likewise of the Father? Yes, for *Christ* saith in the next verse, *All things that the Father hath are mine; therefore said I, that he shall take of mine, and shall shew it unto you.* Here the Father is made the fountain, from whom the Son receives all the whole of the Father, all that the Father hath; and the Holy Ghost receives the same all from the Father and Son, and he is call'd the Spirit of God, and the Spirit of *Christ*, as *Rom. viii. 9. If so be the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.* And *Gal. iv. 6. God hath sent forth the Spirit of*

of his Son into your hearts. And he cou'd not be call'd the Spirit of the Son, any otherwise than as proceeding from the Son; so that it is evident he proceeds from both Father and Son; and he is call'd the Spirit of each, that is, of both.

And to this answers the parallel I have before mention'd of the three Faculties in the Soul, for the Understanding is the fountain or father Faculty, whence the Memory receives all that it has, and may be call'd its Son; and the Will receives from both, and proceeds from both.

So c. But why do you say the one is begotten, the other proceeding? ^{5.} Of the terms begetting and proceeding.

CHR. This is entring too far into the mystery of God: Or to expect that parallels shou'd hold in every thing. We are to follow the expressions of holy Scripture. But yet we are not left wholly destitute even in this point. We have discours'd before, *Seet. VII.* of Self-reflexion in the Soul; and that this is the generation of Spirits: And that this is an act of the Understanding the father Faculty, by which it begets its own similitude and likeness in the Memory, by its own internal power and fecundity; so that the Memory may be call'd a second Understanding: But the Memory is no reflective Faculty, it only preserves what the Understanding has committed to it; and the Will determines itself only as to like or dislike; and therefore may be said to proceed, rather than to be begotten: And the more because the Will acts perfectly voluntarily, tho' as we say, it must follow the ultimate dictate of the Understanding, but that is not by way of force, but choice; for the Will does every thing by choice.

So c. But who can think of this diversity of Persons in God, without a breach of his Unity? It makes him as it were compounded of the three Persons, whereas we know God to be a Being that is most simple and one in his Nature, and cannot be compounded or made up of any thing. ^{IX.} Of the Uniry of God.

CHR. God is not compounded or made up of any thing; his Unity is the most perfect of all Unities. But in every Unity there is an Union of something, and that must be divers things: For there is no Union of one.

This Unity in Bodies is by way of composition: For every Body is compounded of other Bodies, which are parts of that Body, as a Brick is part of an House, and my Finger is part of my Body, and there are several parts in my Finger, and parts of those parts again, and so without end: And these parts may be divided the one from the other; and other parts may be added to them, and the Body made bigger: So that every Body is many Bodies, that are compounded and put together. ^{1.} The Unity of Bodies.

But it is far otherwise in the Unity of a Spirit, for a Spirit is not compounded, or made up of parts, and therefore cannot be divided: It is not capable of addition or multiplication. We say not that our Soul is multiply'd or divided among its three Faculties; or that it is compounded of them: They cannot be taken from it as a part may be taken from a Body; therefore its Unity is more perfect than that of a Body: It consists not of several parts, tho' it does of several Faculties: We call not the Faculties parts of the Soul, they are rather Powers of the Soul, essential Powers, by which it acts, and without which it cou'd not act at all, nor be a Soul. ^{2.} The Unity of Spirits.

These Powers of the Soul bear a nearer resemblance to the Persons of God, which are essential to the Godhead, without which it cou'd not act: ^{3.} Apply'd to God. It cou'd not have a reciprocal knowledge and love of itself, nor enjoy its own blessedness, nor communicate it fully, as has been said, and consequently must be stinted and limited in the greatest of happiness.

Yet

Yet these Persons are not parts of God, nor is he compounded of them, or either multiply'd or divided among them: But the whole Deity flowing perpetually, in its full infinity, from one Person to another, is in the eternal enjoyment of its own beatitude, blessed for ever in itself; in so perfect an Unity as can be but faintly represented in the Unity of any Creature, even of a Soul.

X.
Of the mutual communication of Spirits.

Soc. But is there not a mutual communication of Spirits? Does not one Spirit join with another and partake of it, as Bodies do?

CHR. Yes surely, and in much more intimate manner than Bodies. All the enjoyment and satisfaction in the Union of Bodies, is from the Union of their Souls: This is what we call love. Without this Bodies are insensible of their Union, and can take no pleasure or satisfaction in it, as in the production of Trees, Plants, Flowers, &c.

I.
Stronger than that of Bodies.

And the Union of Souls is stronger, the less of corporal is mixt with it; therefore friendship is the strongest tie among Men. This is the chief cement of conjugal affection; where that is wanting, 'tis a yoke indeed, and upon the comparison the preference is given to friendship, *Deut. xiii. 6. If the wife of thy bosom, or thy friend, which is as thine own Soul, entice thee, &c.* And *2 Sam. i. 26. Thy love to me was wonderful* (said David of Jonathan) *passing the love of women.*

But the comparison of the Union there is in flesh and that which is between Spirits is carried much higher by the Apostle, (*1 Cor. vi. 16, 17.*) *For two, saith he, shall be one flesh, but he that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit:* To be one spirit with God; and that more nearly than Man and Wife are one flesh; This seems to be one of those unspeakable things which St. Paul says, *are not lawful* (or possible) *for a man to utter.* *2 Cor. xii. 4.*

2.
Allusions to this in holy Scriptures.

But this must be the foundation of those frequent allusions in holy Scripture, where *Christ* is call'd the Bride-groom, and the Church his Spouse; and Heaven is describ'd as the eternal Marriage-Feast. And he having taken our Nature into the Deity in his own Person, what communications thence may be given even to our Bodies when glorify'd, by our participation of the same human Nature with *Christ*, is *what eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor can enter into the heart of man to conceive.* *That they all* (says *Christ*, *Joh. xvii. 21, 22, 23.*) *may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee; that they also may be one in us— And the glory which thou gavest me, I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are one. I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one, and that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them, as thou hast loved me.* These are wonderful expressions, and lead our thoughts to what we cannot comprehend! But they plainly import, that by our Union with *Christ*, who has united himself to our Nature, we shall partake of an Union with God, even like to the Union of *Christ* with him, who partakes likewise of his divine Nature. As the Apostle speaks, *2 Pet. i. 4. Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, that you might be partakers of the divine nature.* An earnest of which was given in the miraculous descent of the Holy Ghost at *Pentecost*, like that at our Saviour's Baptism; whereby we are (as it may be said) put into possession of the holy Spirit of God: As the same Apostle speaks, *1 Pet. i. 12.— With the holy Ghost sent down from Heaven, which things the Angels desire to look into; or to pierce narrowly into them, παρακύψαι, to stoop down and look earnestly, as St. John into the Sepulchre, John xx. 5. παρακύψας, or else to bow themselves, in adoration of so great a mystery.*

St. Paul speaking how intimately we are united to *Christ*, says, *Eph. v. 30. We are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones.* And he takes this from allusion to the production of *Eve* out of *Adam*, whereupon

upon *Adam* said, *Gen. ii. 23. This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh.* And the inference is made in the next words, *Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh:* Which the Apostle repeats, *Eph. v. 31. immediately after his words before quoted, We are members of his (Christ's) Body, of his flesh and of his bones. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh: this is a great mystery; but I speak concerning Christ and the Church.* Here is the parallel closely carry'd on betwixt the Union there is in our Marriages, and that much more intimate Union in our Marriage with *Christ*, and in him, with the whole blessed Trinity; which the Apostle calls the great mystery.

Therefore let none despise the use of parallels, which are so frequent in holy Scripture. By these we are led to the knowledge of God, and the great mystery of our redemption, and future enjoyment of God: We see indeed by these but as in a glass, darkly; but without these we shou'd know much less, and not be able to frame to our selves any ideas of it at all, or any but what wou'd be much more erroneous. And since God in holy Scripture has us'd this method with us, no doubt it is most proper, and the best we can use: We must ascend to God by the scale of his Creatures; we have no other way; for we cannot see him as he is.

3.
Use of parallels.

Hence our partaking of the Nature of *Christ*, is made lively to us by what we know, that is, our partaking of the Nature of our Parents, and so up to *Adam*. Hence *Rom. v. 14. Adam* is call'd *The figure of him who was to come:* And the parallel betwixt him and *Christ* is carry'd on to the end of that Chapter. And *1 Cor. xv. 21. As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.* And *1. 45. The first man Adam was made a living soul, the last Adam was a quickning Spirit.* And *1. 47. The first man is of the earth, earthy: The second man is the Lord from Heaven.*

4.
Adam a type of *Christ*.

Tertullian insists largely upon this parallel, (*de Resur. Carn. c. 6.*) and goes through every particular and circumstance of the formation of *Adam*, and shews how it all referr'd to *Christ*. He says, *Quodcunque enim limus exprimebatur, Christus cogitabatur homo futurus—it a limus ille jam tunc imaginem induens Christi futuri, non tantum Dei opus erat, sed & pignus. i. e. Whatever the earth of Adam was made, Christ was meant by it, who shou'd become Man—so the earth then putting on the Image of Christ to come in the flesh, was not only God's workmanship, but his pledge.* That is, that *Christ* shou'd come in the Flesh.

And as *Adam* was a type of *Christ*, so was *Eve* of the Church, which shou'd bring forth Children unto God. And as the Church is builded upon *Christ* her Rock and Foundation; so was *Eve* made or builded (as our Margin, after the *Hebrew*, reads *Gen. ii. 22.*) out of *Adam*. And as the Church has no life but what she derives from *Christ*, so neither had *Eve* but what she deriv'd from *Adam*; and the side of *Christ* was open'd after his death, whence issu'd Water and Blood; of which he has given us two salutary Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper: By the first we are born again of Water and the holy Spirit; and made Members of his Church, which is his Body: And by the second we are perpetually nourish'd with his Blood into eternal life. Now these flowed not out of *Christ*'s side, till after he was dead; for till then he had not fully paid the price of our redemption, the *consummatum est* was not pronounc'd but with his last breath upon the Cross; for till his death all was not finish'd: Then came out the Water and the Blood, which are the life of his Church; and the Church, being then perfectly redeemed, may be said to be born, and taken out of his dead Body. So it is said *Gen. ii. 21. The Lord God caused a deep sleep*

5.
And *Eve* of the Church, particularly in her formation.

to fall upon Adam, and he slept. And while he was in this nearest image of death (and we must suppose it was more than an ordinary sleep which the Lord caus'd to fall upon him) his side was open'd, and Eve was taken out of him.

And as it was said of the first Adam, that there was no help meet for him found among all the inferior Creatures, therefore that God made an help meet for him, out of his own Flesh and Blood: So was there no help meet for the second Adam among Birds, Fish, or Fowl, but his delight was with the Children of Men; and out of them he purchased a Church with his own Blood, to be an holy Spouse unto him, and an help meet for him, to bring forth Children unto glory.

It cannot escape any body's observation, that the male and female of Man were not created together, like those of the Birds, Fish and Fowl; but that the Man was created alone, and afterwards his female was deduc'd out of him. And there is more circumstance and particularities told of this deduction of Eve out of Adam, than even of the formation of Adam out of the Earth, or any other part of the Creation. And in that very short History in *Genesis* of the times before the Flood, it cannot be imagin'd so much of it shou'd be taken up with this, if it were not a matter of the highest moment, and greatly to be regarded by us. And it appears the more to be so, by the frequent allusions made to it in the New Testament, not only with relation to Man and Wife, but to *Christ* and his Church.

By the word God in holy Scripture the whole blessed Trinity is meant.

XI. Soc. Come, to have done with your allusions: If each of the three Persons in your suppos'd Trinity was God, then the word God wou'd not in Scripture be apply'd to one of them more than to another: But it is evident that generally through the Scripture by the word God is meant God the Father, and him only. As to those particular texts wherein you alledge it is apply'd to the other two Persons, we shall examine them by and by; but it wou'd be always apply'd to them, if each of them were God, as you say; why not always to them, as well as to the Father?

CHR. It is not always given to the Father, as I shall shew you. But first take my direct answer. That by the word God in holy Scripture the whole Trinity of God is meant; and it must be so: For if the three Persons are of the Nature of the Godhead, which we have already discours'd, then the word God must imply them all; as when we say the Soul of Man, the three Faculties, and each of them is certainly meant.

Particular acts attributed to each.

Soc. But why then do you attribute Creation to the Father, Redemption to the Son, and Sanctification to the holy Ghost.

CHR. As we attribute one operation of the Soul to the Understanding, another to the Memory, and another to the Will; and yet they all three act in concert, and no one of them can act without the other; as has been plainly shew'd before: And that thus it is in the Persons of the holy Trinity.

And to apply the parallel to your present objection; the Understanding, which is the father Faculty, has the name of Soul given to it more commonly than either of the other two Faculties. For example, when we describe a Fool, a Man of no Understanding, it is common to say, such an one has no Soul, or, as *Chrysippus* in *Tully* said of the Soul of a Swine, that it serv'd only as Salt, to keep his Body from stinking. But we say not so of an obstinate Man, or one of a perverse Will, or of a Man that has a treacherous Memory: On the contrary, it is a saying, that the greatest Wits have the shortest Memories.

Thus

Thus the word God may sometimes be us'd to express God the Father; but generally speaking it means the Deity: And sometimes it is us'd in distinction even from the Father, as *Col. II. 2.* — *The Mystery of God, and of the Father, and of Christ.*

The word God sometimes distinguish'd from the Father.

And the Godhead is sometimes express'd without the word God at all, only by the Persons of the Godhead, as in the form of Baptism which *Christ* commanded, *In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*

And the Deity express'd by the Persons only.

And sometimes the term of Father is given to the Son, as *Isa. ix. 6.* where *Christ* is called the *Everlasting Father*: That was in relation to Creatures; *For by him were all things made, Joh. i. 3.*

And the word Father given to the Son.

Soc. We will talk more of this when we come to examine these texts. But now, in the mean time, I must call upon you for what you promis'd, *Sect. VIII. of the Fecundity of God*: Where you said, that even heathen Philosophers have argued as you did; and had a notion of a Trinity of Persons in God from the Fecundity of his Nature.

XII. That the Heathen had a notion of the Trinity as well as the Jews.

CHR. This notion of the Fecundity of God made them describe God as Male and Female: Thus *Damascius* repeats what old *Orpheus* taught of the Deity, ἀρσενόθηλυ αὐτὴν ὑπεσῆσατο, πρὸς ἐνδειξιν τῆς πάντων δημιουργικῆς ἐξίας. *He made it Male and Female to shew the generative power of all things,* which they deriv'd from it; or by which he made all things: And *Proclus* upon *Timæus*, p. 95. quotes this among other *Orphick* verses,

Ζεὺς ἀρσεν ἦμετο, Ζεὺς ἀμειρόμενος ἐπλετο ὡμῶφι.

Jupiter is a Man, Jupiter is also an immortal Woman.

It was very common among their *Mystick* Writers to style God Ἀρρενόθηλυ, that is, Man and Woman: And *Synesius* a learned and pious christian Bishop follows this form of expression in some of his Hymns to God, as

Σὺ πατήρ, Σὺ δὲ ἰσὺς μήτηρ,
Σὺ ἀρρεν, Σὺ δὲ θήλυς.

Thou art Father, thou art Mother.

Thou art Man, thou art Woman.

Soc. This goes but to two Persons; it seems they thought not of a third.

CHR. That does not follow: *Synesius* a Bishop did not think so, who uses the same Expression: And he liv'd in the fourth Century, when the doctrine of the Trinity was fully and every where establish'd, by your own confession: And he could not then have been a Bishop without acknowledging of it. Owning two Persons does not deny the third: And the heathen Philosophers held three supreme and almighty Principles, which they call'd likewise Persons or Hypostases (which is the *Greek* for Persons) and that these act in conjunction, and made the World and all things.

Soc. I have heard indeed that there is a great deal of this in *Plato*: For the *Defence of the Brief History of the Unitarians*, which we are now upon, p. 5. and p. 17. speaks of three Principles of *Plato*; and accuses the *ante-Nicene* Fathers for arguing so like *Platonick* Philosophers, and says, that they followed the Ideas of *Plato* concerning the three Principles. And p. 17. he tells us likewise, that the *Jews* had this notion of the Trinity, and quotes *Philo* for it, one of the most learned *Jews*.

CHR.

CHR. These are large concessions: He has given us up the *ante-Nicene* Fathers, the *Jews*, and the Heathens; but having started the objection, what answer does he give to it?

SOC. For the Heathens, he says, that the Fathers finding fault with *Plato's* notion, brought into the world a new interpretation of the three Principles: And for the *Jews*, he says, *Must we believe Philo Judæus rather than St. Paul? Who plainly tells us, in direct opposition to Philo, that there is one God.*

CHR. And so said *Philo*: For the *Jews* acknowledg'd but one God: And *St. Paul* (who was co-temporary with *Philo*) does not charge them with holding more than one God: So that in this there is no direct opposition, or any opposition at all betwixt *St. Paul* and *Philo*. You must shew then that *St. Paul* oppos'd him as to the three Hypostases or Persons.

And as to the Heathen, we suppose not that they invented it, but learn'd it from the *Jews*. It is plain that *Plato* attain'd to the knowledge of the *Jewish* Religion in *Ægypt*: And several of the Fathers have observ'd the agreement of his doctrine, in many things, with the Old Testament: Whence *Numenius* the *Pythagorean* said of him, *Quid enim aliud est Plato, quàm Moses Atticissans?* That is, *that Plato was nothing else but Moses speaking at Athens*: And many of the Fathers, as *Justin Martyr*, *Clem. Alexandrinus*, *Eusebius*, &c. have said, that *Plato* had penetrated into the mystery of the Trinity.

But these Philosophers having got possession of the notion, did refine upon it by their Philosophy, and fell into sundry errors: As they did about the notion of a God, and several other things which they had receiv'd by tradition from the beginning but knew it not, as of Marriage, Sacrifice, Priesthood, &c. instituted by God from the beginning of the world, and descended thro' the heathen as well as *Jewish* Posterity of *Adam*: But the original of them was lost among those who had not the holy Scriptures to preserve the tradition: Thus false Religions came in, and were nothing else but a corruption of the true, at first instituted by God.

But still they retain'd so much of the stricture of it, as to shew from whence they came, and to be reducible into it again: And they stand in many points as witnesses to it, and confirmations of it; particularly where Reason comes in, in aid of Religion, as in our present case. The Church having the revelation of the blessed Trinity, builds upon that; and is not oblig'd to go any farther. But the heathen Philosophers had no other way of proving it but by Reason: And some of them went very far in that, as we have seen, and may be helpful even to Christians in their contemplation of the divine Mysteries. *St. Augustin* owns this in the seventh Book of his Confessions, and professeth that the Books of the Philosophers were of great use to him to help him to understand more easily some orthodox Truths: And that he found in some of them almost all the beginning of the Gospel of *St. John*: Which made *Amelius* an heathen Philosopher say when he read it, that that *Barbarian* (as he call'd *St. John*) had stolen from their Philosophers his notion of the $\Lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, or *Word of God*, being God, and one of the three first Principles. *Euseb. Prepar. Evan.* p. 540. But we shall see more of this when we come to consider that place in *St. John*; and likewise how the Philosophers, but especially the ancient Hereticks, (the predecessors of the *Socinians* and *Arians*) had corrupted the doctrine of the three first Principles with the multitude and confusion of their *Æones*, &c.

Therefore the Apostles and Fathers had reason to give a new (which was nearer to the old) interpretation of the three first Principles.

SOC. Let me know a little what the old notion of these three Principles was, and when it began among the Heathen.

CHR.

CHR. I told you before, that it came down to them by immemorial Tradition from the beginning, and therefore we cannot trace the beginning: But we can trace it so far, as to shew that it was no invention of the Christians. For *Plato*, who has so much of it, was born about four hundred and twenty eight years before the Birth of *Christ*. But the Heathen did not ascribe the beginning of it to *Plato*, as if it were an invention of his: They said that *Orpheus* had it long before *Plato*; and the *Chaldeans* had it long before *Orpheus*: They look'd upon it as coming down to them by old and long tradition, whose beginning they knew not. *Plotinus* speaking of these τρεῖς ἀρχικὰς ὑποστάσεις, *three chief Persons*, which sometimes they call Principles, says, Μὴ καινὴς μὴ ἢ νῦν ἀλλὰ πάλαι μὲν εἰρηθεύει. *That this was not new, or then invented, but a Tradition of old time.* And *Proclus* upon *Timæ. Plat.* calls this doctrine ἡ τῶν Θεῶν παράδοσις. *The Tradition of three Gods.* And Θεωλογία Θεολογία. *The Doctrine or Theology that was deliver'd or reveal'd by God.* They call'd these *three*, sometimes *three Principles*, sometimes *three Gods*, sometimes *three Natures*, sometimes *three Persons*, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, and τρεῖς φύσεις. And it is not strange that that they should fall into these varieties of expressions wanting the true revelation of this great mystery, and consequently not tied up to that strictness of expression as we are. But they explain'd themselves so as to shew, that by these three they meant one only God: Therefore they call'd this Trinity of Gods the τὸ Θεῖον, the *Godhead*, or *Nature of God*: As says their ancient Oracle,

Πάντι γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ λάμπει τριάς, ἧς μόνος ἀρχεῖ.

In all the World there shines a Trinity, of which an Unity is the Head.

This is inserted among the *Oracula Zoroastri in Platonicis Collecta*, p. 8. This Treatise of *Zoroaster's* is publish'd by *Franc. Patricius*, at the end of his *Nova de Universis Philosophia*. Fol. Edit. *Venet.* An. 1593.

The heathen Philosophy is full of this doctrine: And they plac'd a gradual subordination of these three divine Hypostases or Persons: And from thence they argu'd that there was a necessity for these three Hypostases to be in the Nature of God; and that they could be neither more nor less; and that they must proceed from one another. *Porphyrus* is quoted to this purpose by *St. Cyril.* cont. *Jul.* i. p. 34. Edit. *Paris.* 1638. in Fol. Πορφύριος γὰρ φησι, Πλάτωνος ἐκλήθερμον δόξαν ἄχει τριῶν ὑποστάσεων τὸ Θεῖον προσελθεῖν ἑαυτῶν. *That the divine Nature does extend or communicate itself to the three Hypostases or Persons.* And *Philo the Jew* calls these three Persons, τὸν, δεσποτικόν, τὴν ἰλεω δυνάμιν. *de Agric. Noæ.* l. 2. the first, *being*; the second, *governing* or *preserving*; the third, *Love* or *Beneficence*; Which is the very order in which we have discours'd of the three Persons. And *Euseb.* in his *Præpar. Evangel.* p. 327. says, οἱ πάντες Ἑβραίων θεολόγοι μὲν τὸ πάντων Θεὸν καὶ μὲν πρωτότοκον αὐτῷ Σοφίαν, τὴν τρίτην καὶ αἰγιαν Δύναμιν ἅγιον πνεῦμα προσειπόντες, ἀποθεαίνουσιν, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ ἐφωτίζοντο θεοφορεῖσθαι. *That is, all the Jewish Divines, after the God of all, and his first-born Wisdom, do deify a third and holy Power, which they call the Holy Ghost, of whom the inspired were enlighten'd.*

Grotius quotes some of their *Cabalists*, who call God three Lights, and by the names of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

And *Ainsworth* on *Gen.* i. recites out of one of their *Rabbies*, that in the word *Elohim* there are three degrees, each distinct by itself, yet all one, join'd in one, yet not divided from one another.

But more of this as to both *Jews* and *Heathens*, when I come to shew you their notion of the Δις in explanation of *Joh.* i. i.

Soc. You have begun with clearing contradiction out of the way as to the Trinity, that there is none in the terms wherein you express it, that is, of three Persons in one Nature. Secondly, That we cannot infer con-

R r r

tradiction

XIII.
A short Re-
capitulation.

tradition from one Nature to another, unless we understand both: Which you have exemplify'd in the instance of a Man born blind, of the different manner of the presence of Soul and Body, &c. *Thirdly*, You have drawn parallels as to those particulars wherein we charge contradiction in your notion of the Trinity, chiefly from the three Faculties in the Soul of Man. *Fourthly*, You have endeavour'd to prove even by Reason, the diversity of Persons in God, from the necessity of infinite Power having an infinite scope wherein to exert itself: Whence you have inferr'd what you call the Fecundity of God: And supported it with several parallels which are made use of in Scripture. And *Lastly*, To remove the prejudice of the Trinity being an invention of the Christians, and likewise to reconcile it more to our Reason, you have produc'd testimonies from the Heathens as well as the *Jews*, to shew that the same notion had been with them all along, and descended to them from the first revelation given to *Adam*.

And all this I suppose you intended to facilitate my understanding the texts we are to discourse of in your sense, and the commonly receiv'd notion, and not to strain them as you say we do from the plain and genuine meaning of the words; and which you say we wou'd not do, but from the necessity we think lies upon us to avoid contradiction: And now I suppose you think the way is open to enter upon the consideration of the texts in Scripture, which must determine the point.

Parallel of
two Natures
in *Christ*.

But there is another point involv'd with that of the Trinity, wherein you and we as much differ; that is, what you call the Incarnation, that the divine and human Natures should be both join'd in one Person: And among the texts we are to discuss, several refer to this. Therefore before we begin with the texts, let me know if you have any parallel or illustration of this, to remove my prejudice (as you call it) from this sense of these texts too: And then we have done with parallels.

CHR. I will give you that in the words of the Creed of St. *Athanasius*, That *as the reasonable Soul and Flesh is one Man, so God and Man is one Christ*. Now there are no two things in the World so different as the Natures of Body and Soul: Hardly any thing, except that of Being, agrees to both. Yet how are they united, so as both to make but one Person? And the parting of them is the destruction of the Person: And even while they remain united, their Natures and Properties are no ways confounded or blended together, the Soul partakes nothing at all of the Nature of the Body, nor the Body of the Nature or Properties of the Soul; but both remain, tho' united, distinct and entire, each in its own Nature and Properties: Yet the Properties of either are attributed to the Person that is compos'd of both. Thus Man is said to eat, drink, sleep, &c. whereas these belong only to the Body. He is said likewise to understand, remember, love or hate: And these belong only to the Soul: Thus when *Christ* suffer'd, God is said to suffer, to shed his Blood, to die for us, *Acts* xx. 28. 1. *Joh.* iii. 16. Tho' this could not belong to the divine Nature of *Christ*. He is likewise call'd *the mighty God, the everlasting Father*, *Isa.* ix. 6. And that *all things were created by him*, *Col.* i. 16. Which could not belong to his human Nature: But both and either are spoke of his Person, in which both Natures are united: And this shews him to be both God and Man, since the Properties of both Natures are attributed to him.

SOC. By what links and chains can God and Man be join'd together, so as to make one Person?

CHR. I cannot tell you: Nor how God does communicate of himself to Creatures: *In him we live and move and have our being*: The being of every creature is a communication of God.

SOC. But how can the same Person be finite and infinite? Does not this imply a contradiction?

CHR.

CHR. How can the same Person be mortal and immortal? Does not this imply a contradiction? But it is none, while it is not spoken of the same thing: It is spoken of the same Person, but not of the same Nature. Thus we say of the same Man, that he is mortal, and likewise that he is immortal; but the one is spoken in relation to his Soul, the other to his Body. And can any Man tell the links and chains by which mortal and immortal, by which spirit and flesh are join'd together, so as to make but one and the same Person? These things we cannot explain in our selves: And wou'd we explain them in God? Whose Power is infinite, and what is impossible with Men, is easy to God, for with him all things are possible.

SOC. But can the *Godhead* be converted into any thing else than what it is? That wou'd argue mutability in God: How then can the *Godhead* be converted into the *Manhood*?

CHR. The *Godhead* is not converted into the *Manhood*, as the Soul is not converted into the Body, in the Union of our Persons. Therefore the Creed of St. *Athanasius* says, That *God and Man are one in the Person of Christ; not by the conversion of the Godhead into Flesh, but by taking the Manhood into God.*

SOC. I see that *Athanasius* went upon parallels as well as you: But you urge parallels no farther than as illustrations, to remove our prejudice from taking the Scriptures in your Sense; therefore the Scriptures must determine the Cause; and now let us come to them.

CHR. There is another preliminary necessary to be settled, in order to our right understanding of the holy Scriptures; and that is, in what sense we shall take them: All words are equivocal, and capable of different meanings, either literal or figurative: And for us to set our fancies on work what this or that word may be screw'd to, and to put our own inventions upon them, is endless, and of no certainty when we have done; who wou'd build his Faith upon the Criticism of a *Lexicon*? Tho' I deny not but there is use for this sort of learning too, in its place; and many times it serves to illustrate and clear up things very much.

XIV.
The current sense of the Church the best interpreter of the holy Scriptures.

But the ground and foundation we have to go upon, in disputed places of holy Scripture, is the sense in which they to whom they were deliver'd did understand them: They who learn'd the Doctrines from the mouths of the Apostles, as well as from their writings. These surely, must best know the meaning of these writings: And then again, they to whom these taught them; and so on thro' the several ages of the Church. And considering that the Gospel was preached, before the Apostles left the World, in most Countries of the then known Earth, even as far as the *East Indies*, what was the common and receiv'd Doctrine in all these far distant Churches, must be what was at first deliver'd to them; and cou'd not be any concert or contrivance among them, who had no correspondence with, or so much as knowledge of one another.

This is reducing our dispute to matter of fact, to what was the Doctrine of the Church, and the universal and receiv'd Doctrine, especially in the first and purest ages: This was the method taken with *Arius*, in the Council of *Alexandria*, they did not go with him upon his Logick, nor Criticism and Etymology of words, but *Quis unquam talia audivit? Who ever heard of this Doctrine before?* And there being Bishops assembled from several Countries, each declar'd the Doctrine that had been receiv'd in his Country. All which concurring against the new notions started by *Arius*, they were rejected as Novelties, and Breaches upon the christian Faith; as you may see in *Socrat. Hist. l. i. c. 5.*

SOC.

SOC. We know the force of this argument, and therefore we contend that the current Doctrine of the Church was our way before the first Council of *Nice*, which we say corrupted the true christian Faith.

CHR. You have none to quote on your side, but those who were condemn'd by the Church, as Hereticks, for these and such like Doctrines, contrary to the Faith establish'd every where.

This is learnedly and elaborately set forth by Dr. *Bull*, in a Treatise wrote on purpose upon that subject, concerning the *Ante-Nicene* Faith; wherein he fully vindicates the Fathers of those ages, from the aspersions you wou'd cast upon them, as any way favouring your heresy.

And thus far will come in my way, that in examining the several texts of Scripture, I will endeavour to bring some of the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers for the orthodox construction, against that interpretation which you set up: And wherein their Faith concerning the Doctrine of the holy Trinity, and likewise as to the Divinity of our Lord *Christ*, will fully appear.

If I bring them not upon every text, or not many of them, it is not strange, since the writers of those ages were not many; and their works, that are come to our hands, are generally Epistles or Apologies, or upon particular Subjects, not comments upon the Scripture in order, as became more the use in the after ages: And therefore their sense upon particular texts is to be found, as it were by chance, where they have occasion to quote them upon other Subjects: And tho' it will take more pains, yet I hope I shall have sufficient for what I have undertaken.



THE SECOND DIALOGUE. CONCERNING

*The Texts of Holy Scripture, which are brought
for the proof of the Blessed Trinity, and Divi-
nity of Christ.*

SOCINIAN.



YOU have promis'd fair, if you can perform equally: But before we begin with the texts in the order they are quoted in our *Brief History*, I desire you wou'd give me one of your masterly texts, as you think, for the proof of your Doctrine, that we may consider it more fully by itself, than the time will allow us in running over the many other texts quoted.

CHRISTIAN.

CHRISTIAN. With all my heart: And this will determine the cause in a manner, before it be determin'd; and besides, will make my answer to your interpretation of the other texts both shorter and plainer, and save many repetitions.

The text that I offer for this is, *John. i. 1. In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God.* In order to understand this more perfectly, it will be necessary to know upon what occasion, and with respect to whom, the Apostle wrote this.

There was at that time one *Cerintus*, an Arch-Heretick and Disciple of *Simon Magus*, who affirm'd that *Jesus* was the Son of *Joseph* and *Mary*; that *Christ* or the Word came upon him, in the form of a Dove, at his Baptism, and inspir'd him with the knowledge of God the Father, and with the power of working Miracles: That when *Jesus* suffer'd, *Christ* left him, and flew up into Heaven without partaking any thing of his sufferings. It was against this *Cerintus* and his followers, that St. *John* wrote his Gospel, when he was return'd to *Ephesus*, after the death of *Domitian*. See *Iren. l. 1. c. 25. l. 3. c. 11. Epiphan. Her. 22, &c.*

These Hereticks being bewildred in their imaginations, and given up to the delusions of *Satan*, fancy'd to themselves several *Æones* or Ages, which they said God produc'd after one another. Of these St. *Irenæus* gives us a large account: One of these they call'd *Σιγή Silence*, from whence they said the *Λόγος* or Word did proceed. Whence St. *Ignatius*, in opposition to them, calls *Christ* the *Λόγος ἀίδιος* ἐκ ἀπὸ Σιγῆς προελθὼν, that is, *The Eternal Word, not proceeding from silence*, *Epist. ad Magnes.*

This was in pursuance to what his Master St. *John* (whose Disciple he was) had wrote against these same Hereticks, beginning his Gospel in the words of this text, asserting the Word of God, not to have been any of these fancied *Æones*, produc'd in time, but to have been in the beginning with God, and to be God. And *Grotius* upon this text says, that in the beginning was a common Hebrew Phrase, whereby to express eternity. *Sicut mos est Hebræis Æternitatem populariter describere.* And his Authority is the more considerable to you, because your *Brief History* says, p. 31. That *H. Grotius* is a Socinian all over.

There were others concern'd besides these Hereticks in what St. *John* wrote concerning the *Λόγος*, those were, the *Jews* and the *Heathens*: And it will be necessary also to know what their notion was of the *Logos*, that we may see how the Apostle adapted what he said to all of them. And this I will shew you presently, when I come to answer what your *Brief History of the Unitarians*, says to this text, from which I will no longer detain you.

Soc. He says, p. 83. That by the Word is only meant God's Power and Wisdom, which is not something different from God, but being his Wisdom and Power, is God.

He says likewise, p. 84. That the appellation of God is given to Angels and Men; as *Moses* was call'd a God to *Pharaoh*. *Exod. vii. 1.*

CHR. These two answers which the *History of Unitar.* gives to this text, do contradict one another; the first supposes the word to be real God; the second to be but Man, and call'd God in a borrow'd sense, as there are Gods by office or deputation from God. The first answer makes the Word not to be any thing different from God; the second says that it is Man and not God,

Soc. These two answers I confess cannot well stand together, they cannot both be true; but let us see if either of them will hold; therefore pray satisfy me as to the first answer; that is, that by the Word of God any

more is meant than the Power or Wisdom of God, as we say the Power or Wisdom of a Man, by which nothing is meant different from the Man.

CHR. You remember what we have discours'd, that Properties in Body, and Faculties in Soul, are Persons in God; and the reasons why it must be so; and therefore the Wisdom of a Man is not a distinct Person in Man; but it is otherwise in God, whose Wisdom is a distinct *Hypostasis*, that is, a Subsistence, or Person in his Nature.

SOC. I remember this very well, and what has been said upon it; but we are now upon the point of Scripture, and therefore I desire that you wou'd shew me from Scripture, that the Word is a distinct Person from God.

CHR. You have not remembred exactly, for we do not say, That any of the Persons of God are distinct from God; but they are distinct in God. God is as it were a *Species* to all the Persons; tho' it be sometimes more particularly apply'd to the first Person, as has been shewn. The Nature of God is one, and the three Persons are all in it; and there is an example of this among Men: We do not say that *John* is a distinct Person from human Nature; but he is a distinct Person in human Nature: That is, he is a distinct Person from other Persons who partake equally of the same Nature. *John* is a distinct Person from *Peter*, and *Peter* from *John*; but neither of them is distinct from that Nature of which he partakes, and which consequently is his own Nature: That wou'd be, to be distinct from himself. The distinction is not in the Nature, for a distinction cannot be 'twixt one; but the distinction is 'twixt several Persons who are united in the same Nature: Thus the Son is a distinct Person from the Father, but not from God, unless where God is taken for the Father.

SOC. I see my mistake in this: Therefore, pray, go on and shew, that the Word is a distinct Person in God, or from the Father.

i.
The Son a
distinct Per-
son from the
Father.

CHR. I prove it, because personal actions are attributed to him: And because he is set up as the object of our adoration; which you do not deny, for you worship him. *i. e. Christ*, whom *St. John* calls the Word. And I think you will not dispute that any thing but a Person can be an object of worship: Therefore, if *Christ* be a Person, which you confess, the Word must be a Person, because you cannot deny that in the first of *St. John*, he is call'd the Word.

I shall have occasion to shew you hereafter, that the *Chaldee Paraphrase*, and the *Jewish Targums* do all along, in the Old Testament, make the Word of *Jehovah* synonymous with *Jehovah* himself, and yet a distinct Person, from him; and do attribute to the Word the same personal actions, as to *Jehovah*; and to be equally adorable as *Jehovah*. As, the Word of *Jehovah* raining down fire from *Jehovah* upon *Sodom*. *Gen. xix. 24.* The Word of *Jehovah* shall be my God. *Gen. xxviii. 21.* *Abraham* worshipped and called upon the name of the Word of *Jehovah*, and said, *Thou art Jehovah, &c.* more of this I shall shew you, when I come to explain what notion the *Jews* had of the *Logos*, or Word of God, how they esteem'd him to be both God, and a distinct Person. But now, as to the Scripture, in the plain words of the text, *Psal. cx. 1.* The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool. That the second Lord here spoken of, was *Christ*, is plain from *Matt. xxii. 44.* and that the *Jews* so understood it; whence the *Targum* of *Jonathan* renders it thus, *The Lord said to his Word*; in the language of *St. John*, who calls *Christ* the Word of God. And there cannot be a greater distinction of Persons, than one to speak to the other, one to sit on the other's right hand, one to subdue the other's enemies, &c.

And

And therefore where it is said, *the Word is God*, by the *Word* a Person must be meant, and not only a Property or Attribute of God: *Which*, as your Author says, *is not something different from God, but is God*; and yet in the very same answer he says*, *that it is so God, that it is not all that God is*. This is as unintelligible to me as the Trinity can be to him: *To be God*, and to be *nothing different from God*, and yet to be *so God* as not to be *all that God is*! This is past all human Understanding, for if you be not *all that God is*, you cannot be God, but a piece of God, and if you be not something *different from God*, then you must be *all that God is*.

Soc. The *Defence of the History*, p. 44. means no more by, *the Word was God*, than that the *Word* was in some manner like God.

CHR. He does not deserve an answer: Let his Historian answer him, or let him answer the Historian, for in this he disputes against him instead of defending him: Nay, let this Defender answer himself, he says, p. 53. that the Knowledge which *Christ* had was by the divine *Word* abiding on him, which agrees with the Historian, p. 120. who likewise tells of the divine *Word* being communicated to Angels and Men, p. 83. and 84. and that the *Word was made flesh* means no more than the *Word's* abiding on or inhabiting an human Person, the Person of *Jesus*, p. 87. So that here the *Word* is kept as a distinct thing from *Jesus*, and according to this the *Word* was not a Man, was not *Jesus*, but only did inspire *Jesus*; and yet the Defender, p. 46. says expressly, and gives it as his paraphrase upon that text, *the Word was made Flesh*, that the *Word* did not only inhabit and inspire *Jesus*, but was that Man *Jesus*; these are the words of his Paraphrase. *The Word (Jesus) was a Man like unto us in all things, sin only excepted*; and to fortify this, he quotes Mr. Limborck, speaking these words. *The true sense of this place, is, that the Word was Flesh, that is, a true fleshly Substance, subject to all the infirmities that attend our Flesh, that is to say, he was mortal, vile, and contemptible, which appear'd more especially in the days of his Passion and of his Death, which are call'd, Heb. v. 7. the days of his Flesh, that is, the Flesh, Death, Passion, &c. of the Word of God*. And yet in the same place he says, *now is it not more agreeable to Reason and Scripture to interpret these words thus—than to say, the Word was incarnate, which is a language unknown to Scripture? &c.*

Is not this astonishing! Pray, what is the difference betwixt *the Word was made Flesh*, and *the Word was incarnate*, but that *made Flesh* is the English for *incarnate*? Do these Men speak against mysteries!

There are multitudes of more quotations out of Scripture may be given to prove the *Word* to be a Person: *John* i. 14. *The Word was made Flesh*. You will not say it was the Bible that was made *Flesh*? Or any outward Speech or Declaration of God's? Was it not a Person that was made *Flesh*?

Soc. By God's *Word* there, is meant God himself, and not any thing distinct from God, as I told you just now.

CHR. Was it God himself then that was made *Flesh*?

Soc. *The Word was made Flesh*, that is, † *Did abide on, and inhabit an human Person*; and so was in appearance made *Flesh* or *Man*; or the *Word* became incarnate, that is, *abode on the Person of Jesus Christ*.

CHR. I must still ask, what was it that was made *Flesh* or *Man*? If by the *Word of God* you mean God himself, then God was made *Man*, which you will not allow.

If you mean only some outward Speech or Declaration of his, as the Book of the Scriptures, or the like, then that Book was made *Man* or incarnate.

* Hist. p. 83, 84.

† Hist. Unitar. p. 87.

SOC. You do not observe that he says, the Word *was in appearance made Man*.

CHR. I did observe it, and see the utmost pains taken to escape the force of this text: But this, like all other fallacious subterfuges, will involve you in greater difficulties: For was there nothing really made Flesh in this text, those hereticks would be beholding to you, who say that *Christ* assum'd only a Body of Air, and suffer'd only in appearance and shew, but had no real Flesh or Blood.

But these your History calls false Prophets and Teachers, p. 151.

But pray how did the Word appear to be Flesh? Or how was it incarnate?

SOC. Because it did inspire or abode on the Person of *Jesus*.

CHR. Does that make it Flesh? Or appear to be Flesh?

SOC. I dare not say that, for it did inspire the Prophets and Patriarchs; and the Spirit of God inspires every holy Person: But it was in *Christ* in a more eminent manner.

CHR. Does that make it Flesh? Does the Spirit of God contract the Nature of Flesh, when it inspires a Person who has Flesh? It inspir'd *Moses* more than other Prophets, and the Prophets more than Men: Is it therefore more Flesh in a Prophet than in another Saint? Or can you say that it is Flesh at all, by any inspiration it gives to Men? Does it contract Corruption and become Flesh by its inspiration of Man? Can it be tainted by touching our Nature? Is the Spirit incarnate when it abides upon any Man?

SOC. All these you speak of did partake of God's Spirit or Inspiration in their several degrees; but it is said of *Christ*, that God giveth not the Spirit *by measure* unto him; what alteration this will make is to be consider'd.

CHR. It is indeed; and by the argument you have already heard, it will prove *Christ* to be God; for as we said before, nothing can hold infinite but infinite: And therefore nothing can hold the Spirit of God, *without measure*, that is, the *whole Spirit of God*, but what is it self as infinite and without measure as that Spirit.

Irenæus (*Advers. Her.* l. 3. c. 17.) disputes against those who said that *Jesus* was the Receptacle of *Christ*, upon whom *Christ* descended like a Dove: So you see this is no new shift of our Author's to avoid this text.

Origen (in *John*, p. 416. 2 Tom.) says, that the Son is the Brightness of all God's Glory, as it is deliver'd by *Paul*, *Heb.* 1. 3. *who being the Brightness of his Glory*. But there are particular Brightnesses which come from this Brightness of all the Glory. But none can partake of the whole brightness of all God's Glory, ἡ τὴν αὐτῆς, *except his Son*: And, says he, *if you add his Spirit too, you will think and speak most truly and perfectly of God*: These are the words of *Origen*.

SOC. I must not now be diverted, I have had my saying to that argument already: Therefore I desire to know if you have any more to prove the diversity of Persons in God, or, which is the same, that either of the two, the Word or the Spirit, are Persons.

CHR. *John* XVI. 13, 14. *Christ* says of the Spirit—*He shall not speak of himself, he shall receive of mine, and shew it to you*; and in answer to this, the *Hist. of Unitar.* p. 99. says, that of those who are Unitarians, all the Arians, and very many Socinians do acknowledge that the Holy Spirit is a Person.

SOC. But in the same place they deny him to be God; and make him only chief of the heavenly Spirits, and prime Minister of God and of *Christ*.

CHR. Then you make him not only to be a Creature, but to be a Subject or Minister to another Creature, which is *Christ*.

SOC. I cannot help that.

2.
The Holy
Ghost a Per-
son.

CHR. But what say you of the Word of God? Is that a Creature too?

SOC. The divine Wisdom and Power is call'd the Word, as said before.

CHR. Does the Wisdom or Power of God differ from the Spirit of God?

SOC. No sure, for what is the Wisdom or Power of a Man, but the Spirit of a Man? They are but different expressions of the same thing.

CHR. Then the Word of God and the Spirit of God are the same thing.

SOC. Yes: At most but a different expression of the same thing: And we use these words promiscuously: *The Word or Power of God abiding on Christ, and the Holy Ghost or Spirit is merely the Power of God*; says the *Hist. of the Unitar.* p. 4. 75. 125.

CHR. And in what you have quoted before, upon the text *John* i. 1. *The Word was God*, the *Hist. of the Unitar.* says that *the Word (or divine Wisdom and Power) is not something different from God; but being his Wisdom and Power is God.*

But, pag. 99. you say, that the Holy Spirit is not God, or a God.

SOC. That was but the opinion of some of the *Unitarians*.

CHR. Your *History* says it was the opinion of *all the Arians, and very many Socinians.*

SOC. Well! That is but some of the *Unitarians* still.

CHR. It is the major part by much of your Congregation, and the most ancient part.

SOC. I believe we must give off the *Arians*.

CHR. Nay, we will have very many of the *Socinians* too by the confession of your own *History*.

SOC. I confess we *Unitarians* are divided.

CHR. And worse than that, you lose all your pretence to antiquity: For you must not derive your selves from the *Arians*, no nor from *Socinians* neither, for very many of his disciples are against you.

SOC. I care not for antiquity, nor universality, truth is not carried by votes: Let us come to the argument; *Christ* says, that *the Spirit shall not speak of himself—He shall receive of mine, and shew it unto you.* *John* xvi. 13, 14. To this objection you have repeated one answer of all the *Arians*, and very many *Socinians*; and I must own, upon our Principles, that you have confuted it.

But there is a second answer there given, p. 99. which is that I stick too, and that is, *That actions proper to Persons are, by a figure apply'd to things, and even to qualities of things.* As God's commands are call'd *Counsellours*; Wisdom is said to *lift up her voice, build her house, and hew out her seven pillars, &c.* And this is the answer my Author gives to *John* i. 3. *All things were made by him,* (the Word;) for here, says he*, the Word begins to be spoken of as a Person, by the same figure of speech that *Solomon* saith, *Wisdom hath builded her House, &c.*

But farther, the *Defence of the History*, p. 40. says, that the Creation of the World cannot be prov'd from this text, that *all things were made by the Word*; because he says, that the words Heaven, Earth, or Sea, are never omitted in the descriptions we have in Scripture of the first and true Creation: For you must know that this Defender of our Historian understands all this passage in *John* i. not of the Creation, but only of the first propagation of the Gospel.

CHR. Then he thinks that Heaven, Earth, or Sea, are not included in *all things that were made.* But he is very positive that the Creation is never mention'd in Scripture without mentioning Heaven, Earth, or Sea: And

* *Hist.* p. 84.

consequently that where it mentions the Creation of Heaven, Earth, or Sea, it is never attributed to *Christ*.

This is a very bold assertion, but it is necessary to his cause to avoid the plain texts which speak of the World being made by *Christ*. Let us see therefore if we can please him in his own method, tho' it be no ways necessary; for none of common sense can deny, but the Creation may be spoke of in general words, which include all particulars, without mentioning the particulars, or any of them.

But to take away all his excuse, these words are expressly apply'd to *Christ*, Heb. i. 10. *Thou Lord in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the Earth, and the Heavens are the work of thine Hands*. We shall have occasion to clear this farther by and by. §. 2. it is said by whom (*Christ*) *he (God) made the World*. But your Author will not let this mean the Creation, because the words Heaven or Earth or Sea are not there; for the same reason he will except against §. 3. of chap. ii. *The Worlds were framed by the Word of God, so that things which are seen, were not made of things that do appear*. These things which are seen must be Heaven, Earth, or Sea: But it is no matter, if they be not nam'd it shall not do. Besides the Apostle is here making a regular deduction down all along from the Creation, which he begins §. 3. in the words I have repeated, then §. 4. he comes to *Abel*, §. 5. to *Enoch*, §. 7. to *Noah*, §. 8. to *Abraham*, and so on. But all this is nothing, that must not be the Creation whence this narration begins, but it shall be what came to pass, some thousand years after, and which has no relation to the narrative the Apostle has in hand. But that the Creation may be meant without the mention of Heaven, Earth, or Sea, appears from *Acts xvii. 24*. there it is said, *God that made the World and all things therein*. That this was spoken of the Creation no *Socinian* dare deny: It is *St. Paul's* argument to the heathen Idolaters, who knew nothing of the Gospel being call'd the Creation of the World: Indeed Heaven and Earth are mention'd afterward, where it is said that God is *Lord of Heaven and Earth*, but there is no mention of Heaven or Earth where it speaks of the Creation, and so spoils our Author's observation: Tho' if it were granted him, it could do him no service, because the Creation is attributed to *Christ*, with express mention of Heaven and Earth, as before is shewn, Heb. i. 10. Again, *Col. i. 16*. *By him (Christ) were all things created that are in Heaven, and that are in Earth*: And there are several other texts to the same purpose.

But there is nothing better to confute a *Socinian* than plainly to set down his Paraphrase, and shew how it fills the words of the text: Thus then the *Defence of the History* paraphrases this verse, *John i. 3*. *All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made*. Paraphrase. *All things necessary to the propagation of the Gospel were perform'd by him, and without his direction there was not any thing perform'd that was perform'd*.

A little of this art would turn the whole chapter of *Genesis* from meaning the Creation, or any thing else: I am weary of pursuing such extravagance.

But let Creation mean only the preaching of the Gospel, or what you please, yet is not that itself a personal action? How come you then to deny the Word to be a Person? You dare not trust your cause, and all your defence is because Wisdom is said to live, &c.

I have told you already, that the second Person of the Trinity is describ'd by the name of Wisdom, in the *Proverbs* particularly, and in many other Scriptures: But I need not this now, for I will freely acknowledge, that
actions

actions proper to Persons are sometimes, by a figure, apply'd to things, and even Qualities.

But at the same time you will allow me, that there is a way to distinguish betwixt figures and plain speaking; and that a figure will not do in every place; and that notwithstanding of figures, we may distinguish Persons from Qualities: And no where more plainly than in the present case. How could you distinguish one Person not to be another Person, or that the thing you speak of is not a naked Quality, more than to say, *He shall not speak of himself—He shall receive it of mine, and shew it to you?*

Do Men use to say, that a Quality shall not speak of itself, which certainly cannot speak at all? Wou'd you make *Christ* guilty of such a figure of Speech as this? Do Men say that a Quality shall receive of one, and give it to another? If these be not marks by which to distinguish Persons, I wou'd desire to know any others that are more certain.

All actions are personal actions: And when they are ascrib'd to Qualities, it means, that it was by such Qualities that the Person perform'd such an action, otherwise it was not proper to ascribe personal actions to Qualities.

You will say, it was great Wisdom built such a Fabrick, erected such a Monarchy, or the like effects of Wisdom: But you do not say, that Wisdom walks in the Garden, or rides such a Horse, or calls such a Man by his name, or grants him a commission to go to such a place, to do such things, which otherwise he had not authority to do, let him have never no much Wisdom as to command a troop of Horse, to be Governor of such a Town, to grant a Pardon or the like: These are a little too personal to ascribe to naked Qualities, and no Man wou'd understand you; if you speak at such a rate, you might as well give a Quality power to raise money, declare war against *France*, and name every Embassador, and say Lord *B*—shall not go, but Lord *D*—shall go.

So c. This indeed wou'd be out of all roads of speaking; but can you find that the Holy Ghost ever spoke so particularly as this, and name Persons of himself to do this or that, without acting by Ministers, that is inspiring Prophets to name Men, and the like.

CHR. Yes, as positively as ever was said of any Person, and in actions as personal and particular.

The Holy Ghost said separate me Barnabas and Saul, for the work whereunto I have called them. Acts xiii. 2.

The Spirit said unto Philip, go near and join thy self to this chariot. Acts viii. 29.

And again, *The Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip.* Was not this a personal action? Cou'd a naked Quality catch a Man up into the Air, and carry him from one place to another? *The Spirit said unto Peter, behold* Acts x. 19.

three men seek thee. Peter cou'd not tell by his own Wisdom, that there were three Men seeking him; therefore this cannot be made parallel to the expression of *Wisdom building a House*, or the like effects of Wisdom in a Man; for this was no effect of any Wisdom in *Peter*, but a revelation to him from the Spirit; which therefore must be a Person.

It is not call'd a Revelation such as I find out by any Wisdom God has given me.

Christ says, I will send the Comforter to you from the Father. Do Men send Qualities of errands? Is not the sender a different Person from him that is sent? Or does a Man send himself from himself? Besides *Christ* was conceiv'd by the Holy Ghost in the womb of the Virgin, which sure is a personal action; naked Qualities do not use to beget or generate.

So c. This must be consider'd of: But go on.

CHR.

CHR. I wou'd desire you to tell me what Spirit it was which *Christ* speaks of, *John* xvi. 13, 14. where he says, That the *Spirit shall not speak of himself, &c.*

SOC. That is told you in the second answer which we are now upon, Page 100. of *Brief History*. That it was the holy Spirit, or Power of God.

CHR. Is the Spirit or Power any thing different from God?

SOC. No, that has been told you already from Page 83. where it is said in plain and exprefs terms, That *the divine Wisdom and Power is not something different from God, but is God*; and that 'tis the common maxim of Divines, that the *Attributes and Properties of God, are God*.

CHR. Then it was God, who was not to speak of himself; but to receive of *Christ*; *Christ* was to dictate, and God to repeat.

SOC. Page 101. it is said, That he was *not to speak of himself, but to speak what he cou'd hear from God*.

CHR. Then it was God who was to hear from God: And God was not to speak of himself; but only what God should tell him.

SOC. All this nonsense cannot be charg'd upon my Author, because he supposes this Spirit to be a Creature, and not to be God.

CHR. That is the first answer, which you have rejected: And you have prov'd p. 83. and elsewhere, That the Spirit is not any thing different from God, but is God: And even in this very second answer which you mention p. 100. (that you may not be charg'd with forgetfulness) you call this Spirit by the name of the Holy Spirit, or Power of God.

SOC. We do so, and we keep constant to this now, tho' we part with all the *Arians*, and very many of the *Socinians* in so doing.

CHR. Then the nonsense, which you said just now cou'd not be charg'd upon your Author, must be laid to his account again, *viz.* To make the Spirit or Power of God, which is God, not to speak of himself, but to receive from God, and speak what God did dictate to God, &c.

SOC. I must take time to consider of this.

CHR. But besides, I'm afraid the constancy which you brag you have to this opinion now, *viz.* That the Spirit is not any thing different from God, but that it is God, does not hold very well with you, but that you are forc'd to part with it sometimes, when it is for your convenience.

SOC. If you can shew me any such thing, I will trust no more to any thing our *Unitarians* say.

CHR. Look into the History, p. 125. and there, in answer to that crabbed text, 2 *Cor.* xiii. 14. he replies in these words, *This text demonstrates, that neither the Lord Christ, nor the holy Spirit are God, for it plainly distinguishes them from God*.

Here the holy Spirit is plainly distinguish'd from God, and is not God. And before, as you have said, *It is not any thing different from God, but it is God*.

SOC. It is time to go to the second Answer which the *Hist. Unitar.* gives to that text *John* i. 1. *The word was God*. For there is enough said as to the first Answer, *viz.* That by the Word here is only meant God's Power and Wisdom, which is not any thing different from God, but is God. The second Answer is, That the Word God is given sometimes to Creatures, to Angels, and even to Men: And therefore that text may not mean that the Word was the supreme God, but only a God as Kings are call'd Gods, &c.

CHR. To reduce the state of the case as short and clear as possible, it is thus. The distinction is 'twixt a God by Nature, and a God by Office, or Deputation: By Nature we all agree, there can be but one God; but by Office *there be Gods many, and Lords many, whether in Heaven or in Earth.* 1 Cor. viii. 5.

Now in which of these senses the word is call'd God is the question.

SOC. That indeed is the question, and if you can make it clear, this cause, for ought I can see, will remain decided for ever.

CHR. If I can make appear what St. John's meaning was, who wrote these words, I suppose that will satisfy you.

SOC. Yes sure, what he meant by it is the whole matter.

CHR. I have told you before the notions of the Jews and Heathens as to the Trinity, that they did believe three *Hypostases* or Persons in the divine Nature; and consequently each of these Persons must be God by Nature. The second of these Persons they did call the Λόγος, the *Word*. ^{3.} The Heathens notion of the Logos.

This is so notoriously known that I might spare any proof of it, therefore I will give you but a few authorities, that I might not seem to speak wholly precariously. *Plotinus*, *Ennead*. 5. l. 5. c. 3. speaking of the *Logos* calls him God by Nature, Θεός, αὐτὴ ἡ φύσις, *his very Nature is God*: And to shew that he meant not the first Person of the Godhead, in the very next words he calls him δεύτερος Θεός, *a second God*: By which, as I told you before, they meant only the second Person in the divine Nature, and so have fully explain'd themselves. They meant the same thing we do, but (as St. *Augustin* observes by way of an excuse for them) not being ty'd up to strict forms of words, as the Christians have been, occasion'd by the many heresies that have arisen, they took their own latitude of expression, which yet made their meaning plain enough; as the same *Plotinus* does in another place of the same Book, *Ennead*. 5. l. 1. c. 6. where he affirms the *Logos* to be next to the most High, of necessity together with him, and nothing between them, and that he differs from him only in that he is another, or in his Personality: These are his words, ἡ χωρίστεις, ἀλλ' ὅτι μετ' αὐτὸν καὶ μετὰ αὐτὸν ἐστὶν—ἐξ ἀνάγκης συνῶσιν αὐτὰς, ὡς τῇ ἑτερότητι μόνον κεχωρίσται. And *Ennead*. 5. l. 8. c. 5. he calls this *Logos* υἱὸν Θεοῦ, *the Son of God*. *Orpheus* the eldest of all the Greek Philosophers (as he is cited *Clem. Strom.* l. 5. p. 254. Edit. Florent. Fol. An. 1550.) calls the *Logos* the divine Word, and the immortal King, in these Verses,

Εἰς τὸν Λόγον θεῖον βλέψας, τάτῳ προσέειπεν
Εὐθύων, κραδῆς νεῦρον κύτῳ, ὃ δ' ἰπταίνε
Ἀτρεπιτῆ, μᾶλλον δ' ἐσὶν ἅς κόσμοιο ἀνάκτορα
Ἀθάνατον—

Porphyry (quoted by St. *Cyril* cont. Jul. l. 1. p. 32. Edit. Paris. Fol. An. 1638.) calls the *Logos* ἄχρον καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ μόνος αἰώνος, *without time, always, and alone eternal*. *Tertullian* (*Apolog. adv. Gentes*, c. 21.) says, that *Zeno* call'd this *Logos* the *Maker of the World*, who formed all things in order, and that he was called *Fate*, and God, and the Soul of Jupiter, and the *Necessity* of all things. *Hunc enim Zenon determinat factitatorum, qui cuncta in dispositione formaverit, eundem & Fatum vocari, & Deum, & animum Jovis, & Necessitatem omnium rerum.*

And as the Heathen, so the Jews understood the *Logos* in the same sense: *Philo* (*Quæst. & Solut.*) calls the *Logos* in the same words of *Plotinus* above quoted, δεύτερον Θεόν, *a second God*, next to the Πατέρα ἢ πάντων, to the Father of all; and in his *Legis Allegor.* l. 2. p. 93. Edit. Paris. Fol. An. 1640. he speaks thus of the *Logos*, Καὶ ὁ Λόγος ὃς Θεὸς ὑπεράνω πάντων ἐστίν

ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος, καὶ πρῶτος αὐτῶν καὶ ὑψίστος αὐτῶν ὅσα γέγονε. *That the Word of God is superior to the whole World, and elder and more general than all the things whatsoever which are produc'd.* ἢ νοητῶν, he adds, (*de Profug.*) *elder than all Intelligibles, than all things in the intellectual World, as well as in the sensitive, than all Spirits, as well as Bodies, that is, than all created Beings.*

And to shew that he meant this of another Person than of God the Father, he calls this *Logos* the *High-priest of God*, that is, governing next under him, or having the administration of God's Kingdom in all the World, which he calls the *Temple of God*; Ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν θεῶν λόγος, *in which, his (God's) first-born divine Word is High-priest*; *de Somn.* Agreeable to this, the *Chaldee Paraphrase* makes the *Logos*, and *God* or *Jehovah*, synonymous, and instead of *Jehovah*, often uses the *Logos*, or *Word of God*, as *Exod.* xx. 1. *Deut.* xxxiii. 7, &c.

But does plainly distinguish them from being the same Person, as *Gen.* xvii. 7. *I will establish my covenant between my Word and thee.* Where God speaks of his Word as of another Person.

The *Jerusalem Targum* is yet more express upon *Gen.* iii. 22. thus.

The Word of the Lord said, behold Adam, whom I created, is the only begotten upon Earth, as I am the only begotten in Heaven. And *Philo* (*de Agricult.* l. 2.) introduces the *Logos* speaking thus of himself, Καὶ ὁ ἄτε ἀφ' οὗτος ὡς θεὸς ὢν, ἄτε ἡμεῖς ὡς ἡμεῖς; *I am neither unbegotten as God, nor begotten after the same manner that you are.*

Here the begotten Word is distinguish'd from the unbegotten Father of the Word, and the creation of *Adam* is attributed, in express terms, to the Word; and the text says he was created by God, which makes God and the Word to be synonymous; and *Onkelos Paraphrase* of *Gen.* xxviii. 21. thus renders it, *If the Word of the Lord will help me—the Word of the Lord shall be my God.*

Let me add to this, at least to shew the *Jewish* notion in this matter, the style in which the *Apocrypha* expresses it: Thus we find it—

SOC. But my business now is not what the *Jews* or *Heathens* meant by their *Logos*, or *Word of God*, but what *St. John* meant by the *Logos* he mentions in that text you have quoted.

CHR. Where do you imagine that *St. John* got this term of *Logos*, or the *Word of God*?

SOC. I have often reflected upon that, and really it appear'd very strange to me; the beginning of his Gospel seem'd to me to be out of all the common road of speaking; and therefore I put it upon the account of some extraordinary impulse of the Spirit of God, and that he spoke words which never Man had spoken before: And therefore I thought you to blame to draw arguments from such uncouth phrases, whose meaning seem'd as hidden as the *Revelations*.

CHR. But I hope you are of another opinion now, and believe that those terms were not of *St. John's* inventing, but were us'd before he was born, and were known common terms in the World.

SOC. I must not deny plain matter of fact.

CHR. Why then should *St. John* use common terms in a different sense from the whole World?

SOC. I can give no reason why he should.

CHR. He must not intend to be understood if he did, and so could not be a sincere Writer: He must intend either to confirm the World in the opinion they had of the *Logos*, or to disprove it. Now you find plainly that he did not absolutely deny or reject the *Logos*, but he reforms some errors concerning it, and teaches the truth of it: For, as was said before, the hea-

then

then Philosophers had corrupted the Tradition of the Trinity which had come to them; and consequently of the *Logos*, which was one of the three first Principles, whom they acknowledged.

Soc. What corruption did St. *John* intend to correct in his Treatise of the *Logos*?

CHR. The *Cerinthian* Hereticks denied the *Logos* to be *in the beginning*; but made many ages distance between the eternal Being of the Father, and the Emanation of the *Logos*, wherein they fancy'd the Father, *in silentio* & *quiete multâ fuisse in immensis Æonibus*, as *Irenæus* expresses it, *advers. Heres. l. i. c. i. to have been in silence and deep quiet for immense ages*: And they suppos'd that the *Logos* was at last produc'd by the Father *ἐκ Σιγῆς*, out of this Silence; which they made one of his Emanations: As I have said before; and I desire to repeat to you again, that you may remember it, what I before quoted out of St. *Ignatius* his *Epistle* to the *Magnesiensians*, where he calls *Christ* the *Λόγος* *ἐκ Σιγῆς* & *προελθὼν*, the eternal Word who did not proceed from silence.

And you will believe *Ignatius* to be the best interpreter of St. *John's* meaning, who was his own Scholar, and learn'd the Gospel from his mouth. *Irenæus* *advers. Her. l. ii. p. 257.* says expressly that St. *John* wrote on purpose against *Cerinthus*, to vindicate the *Logos*, being prior and superior to all fancied *Æones* or Emanations; and to that very end wrote the words of this text, *John i. i. In the beginning was the Word, &c.*

I have here given you two of the ancient Fathers, long before the Council of *Nice*, for our exposition of this text, in direct opposition to yours; and asserting the same doctrine concerning God and his Word which we believe and teach at this day. But I can give you more. And first more of St. *Ignatius*, who says of himself, *Εγὼ μὲν τὸ ἀνάσσειν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἶδα. i. e. I saw him (Christ) in the Flesh after his Resurrection. Epist. ad Smyrnenf. Edit. Usser. p. 112.*

This *Ignatius* (*Epist. ad Ephes. p. 33. of Edit. Usser.*) speaks of *Christ* in these words, *Ἐχομεν ἰατρόν, καὶ τὸ κύριον ἡμῶν Θεὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸ Χριστὸν τὸ πρὸ αἰώνων υἱὸν μονογενῆ καὶ Λόγον, ὑπερὸν ἢ καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου· ὁ Λόγος γὰρ σὰρξ ἐγένετο, ὁ ἀσώματος ἐν σώματι, ὁ ἀπαθὴς ἐν παθητῷ σώματι, ὁ ἀθάνατος ἐν θνητῷ σώματι, ἡ ζωὴ ἐν φθορᾷ. i. e. We have likewise a Physician, our Lord God Jesus, the Christ, who was before ages, the only begotten Son and Word, but afterward made Man of the Virgin Mary; for the Word was made Joh. i. i: *Flesh-incorporeal in Body, impassible in a passible Body, immortal in a mortal Body, Life in Corruption, &c.**

Ep. ad Magnes. p. 56. of Edit. Usser. *Ignatius* speaks yet more categorically in this point; he says of *Christ*, *ὅς ἐστιν αὐτὸς Λόγος, καὶ ῥῆμα, ἀλλ' ἐσιώδης. i. e. [Christ] who is his [God's] Word, not of his Speech, but of his Substance*

And *Ep. ad Polycarp. p. 138. of Edit. Usser.* he says of *Christ* *τὸ ἀπαθὲν ὡς Θεόν, δι' ἡμᾶς ὃ παθητὸν ὡς ἄνθρωπον. i. e. Who was impassible as God, but for us was passible as Man.* He calls him there *ἄχρονον ἐν χρόνῳ, ἀόρατον τῇ φύσει, ὁρατὸν ἐν σαρκὶ, &c. i. e. Without time in time, invisible in his nature, visible in the flesh.* And more to the same purpose.

Clemen. Alexandrin. Admonit. ad Gent. p. 5. says, that the Word was *Christ*, *Ὁ μόνος ἅμφοι, Θεὸς τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος; who only was both God and Man.* And in his *Pædagogus l. i. c. 8. p. 113.* he says, that God hates nothing, neither the Word; for both, says he, are one, that is, God; for he said, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.*

Just. Martyr. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 284, 285. says, that God, before all Creatures, begot out of himself *δύναμιν λογικὴν a rational power*, which is call'd

call'd by the Holy Ghost, *The Glory of the Lord*, and also the *Son*, and sometimes *Wisdom*, (as by *Solomon* in the *Proverbs*, &c.) and sometimes *God*, and sometimes *Lord*, and that it was he who appear'd in the form of a Man to *Joshua*, as Captain of the Host of the Lord: And that these appellations belong to him as being begotten by the voluntary generation of of the Father; and that the like generation may be seen in some sort in our selves, for when we bring forth a word, we do in a manner beget that word; not by cutting or parting it, as if it were made less in us who beget it; but as in fire, another is kindled by it, without any diminution of that fire whence the the other is kindled. And that this Word or Progeny of God was with God, before all Creatures, and that *all things were made by him*, and *nothing made without him*, and that it was to him God spake, *Let us make Man*, as you have heard.

Irenæus is full and large upon this text, *Advers. Hæres.* l. 3. c. 11. l. 5. c. 18. l. 1. c. 19. l. 2. c. 2. l. 3. c. 8, 11, 31.

Tertull. *Apologet.* c. 2. 1. shews what opinion the heathen Philosophers had of the *Logos*, whom they own'd as the maker of the World, and call'd him, Fate, and God, and the Soul of *Jupiter*. Him (says *Tertullian*) *ex Deo prolatum dicimus, & prolatione generatum, & idcirco Filium Dei, & Deum dictum ex unitate Substantiæ*—*De Spiritu Spiritus, & de Deo Deus, ut Lumen de Lumine accensum.* We say that the *Logos* is deduc'd from God, and in that deduction is begot, and therefore is call'd the Son of God, and God from the unity of Substance.—that he is Spirit of Spirit, and God of God, as Light is kindled of Light. And (*De Præscrip.* l. 13.) this Word, or Son of God, appear'd variously to the Patriarchs in the name of God, was always heard in the Prophets, and at last by the Spirit, was made flesh in the womb of the Virgin *Mary*, &c. But *Tertullian* is so full and in so many places, that I suppose our Adversaries will not contend for him. Read his 7th *Sect. advers. Prax.* p. 503, and 504 and see how expressly he disputes against our Author's notion of the Word being nothing different from God, as we say of the Word which a Man speaks, it is not a distinct Substance from him. *Quid est enim? dices—* for you will say, *What is a Word but the Voice or Sound of the Mouth*—a sort of an incorporeal empty thing? But I say that nothing void or empty could proceed from God—nor could want that substance which comes forth from so great a substance, and which made so great substances—How can he be nothing, without whom nothing was made?—Can that Word of God be a void and empty thing, who is called the Son, who is nam'd God himself? and *the Word was with God, and the Word was God.*—This certainly is he, *who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God.* Therefore whatever the substance of the Word is, *Personam dico; I call it a Person, and vindicate to it the name of the Son: Thus Tertullian.*

* *Origen* upon this text p. 17. means by the Word something distinct from God. *In the beginning was the Word, by the Word here, he understands the Son, who is said to be in the beginning, because he was in the Father.*

You would not make God to be in and with himself, to beget himself, to be his own Son, &c. And without saying this, you cannot reconcile the sense of these Fathers upon this text, to that sense your Historian puts upon it. *viz.* That the Word in this text is not something different from God.

* *Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος, Λόγον νοῶν τὸ ὕον ὡς δὲ τὸ εἶναι ἐν τῷ πατρὶ, λεγόμενον εἶναι ἐν αὐτῷ.*

SOC. Our *Brief History* says, p. 80. *The Trinitarian Exposition of this Chapter is absurd and contradictory.*

CHR. This is his civil way of treating us! These are the patterns for genteel disputing, without passion or heat! But what Reason does he give for this hard censure?

SOC. He says, 'Tis this, that *In the beginning* shou'd be meant *from all Eternity*. For, says he, *from all Eternity, is before the beginning.*

CHR. What before the beginning of Eternity?

SOC. Eternity has no beginning.

CHR. Then there is no such thing as *from Eternity*. The word *from* implies a *beginning*. Does any body say *from no beginning*? Or can any body think it?

SOC. We cannot speak properly of Eternity: We cannot speak of it but by words of time; for we have none other.

CHR. Then take your own answer; And what word of time is before the beginning? But all Phrases of Speech must be taken in the common acceptance. And I have shew'd you from your beloved *Grotius*, that *in the beginning* was a common *Hebraism* for Eternity; and that it was so us'd in this text. Do we not say, that God was *in the beginning* before all things? And *Origen* has just now told you the meaning of the Word being said to be *in the beginning*, that is, That *the Word was always in God*, and therefore must be *in the beginning* with God: And I have shew'd you that the *Cerinthians* deny'd the Word to have been *in the beginning* with God, but produc'd many Ages, or *Æones* after. Therefore the Apostle asserts, that he was *in the beginning* with God. And *St. Ignatius* calls him *Λόγος Ἀίδιος*, the *Eternal Word*. And *from the beginning* is a Scripture Phrase whereby to express Eternity, as the same *Logos* or Word speaks of himself by the name of Wisdom, (whereby he is commonly express'd in holy Scripture) *Prov. viii. 23. I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was.* God the Father wou'd not say, That he was *set up*: Did any other *set him up*? Yet he that was *set up* is said to be *from everlasting*: And *from the beginning* is made synonymous with *from everlasting*.

SOC. But my *Historian* says p. 80. That *In the beginning* must refer to some time and thing, it must be *in the beginning of the World, or of the Gospel, or of the Word*. He says, it must be so; but gives no other proof: Therefore I go on to the next.

CHR. To which of these times does the beginning of Wisdom refer? And And the Wisdom of God is call'd his Word; as your *Historian* confesses, p. 82. Was not Wisdom then *in the beginning* with God? Or was there any time when God had not Wisdom? Now go on to your next.

SOC. He says, p. 81. *The Word was with God*. That is, says he, *The Son was with the Father: But was not the Son also with the Holy Ghost? And is not he too (according to the Trinitarians) God, or a God? If he is, why does St. John say, the Son was with the Father? And how comes the Father to engross here the title of God, to the exclusion of the Holy Ghost?* Then he goes on and says in the next words, *The Word was God*. Upon which he argues in the same way, and says, *What shall we do here? Was the Word the Father? For so they interpreted God in the foregoing clause.*

CHR. That the word God includes the Father is true. But who told him it was to the exclusion of the Holy Ghost? Your *Historian* knows well enough that is not the Doctrine of the Trinitarians: Why then did he object it? I have told you before, that the word God does generally mean the Godhead, which includes all the three Persons. And sometimes it means

the Father, as the fountain of the other Persons: And that sometimes the Godhead is express'd without the word God at all, where the three Persons are enumerated, as in the form of our Baptism.

I illustrated this to you, by way of parallel, that the Understanding, being the Father or Fountain Faculty, is often us'd to express the Soul; but that this was not to the exclusion of the other two Faculties. It is said *Luk. xxiv. 45.* That Christ *open'd their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures.* Your Historian might come in here as well, and say, *what shall we do now?* Was this to the exclusion of the Memory, and of the Will?

It is not said in the text we are upon, that the word was the Father, but that the *Word was God*; that is, did partake of the divine Nature; which is not to the exclusion of either of the other Persons. But it does demonstrate the Word was one of these Persons, as partaking of the same Nature with them. Let us hear if your Historian has any more to say.

Soc. Upon these words, *The same was in the beginning with God*, he says, p. 82. *How comes this to be again repeated? For John had said once before, that the Word was with God. They care not, 'tis said, and that's enough.*

CHR. He gives a pretty account of our answers: Does he name any Trinitarian that gave that blunt answer?

Soc. No, but he goes on and says, *The truth is, according to their sense of this context, no account can be given of this repetition, and they must allow it to be a mere Tautology.*

CHR. What is the Socinian sense he puts upon it?

Soc. He says, That *in the beginning* (that is, the beginning of the Creation of Heaven and Earth) *was the Word*; and that *by the Word the Power and Wisdom of God is meant.*

CHR. Well: But how does this solve the Tautology? For St. John had said once before, that *the Word was with God*; and whatever is meant by the Word, the Tautology is the same: Thus then the text goes, in his sense, *in the beginning*, that is, of the Creation, *was the Word*, that is, the Power and Wisdom of God. And the Power and Wisdom was with God: And the Power and Wisdom was God: And the same Power and Wisdom was *in the beginning with God*. Let him now solve the Tautology he objects, even in his own sense. Men are very willing to make objections, when they cannot see how easily they are retorted.

But this will bring us to a better understanding of this text: For in the Socinian sense, it is not only a Tautology, but the whole is to no purpose. For who deny'd that God had Power and Wisdom, *from the beginning*, not only of the Creation, but from all Eternity? Against whom did St. John dispute, in this sense? But I have shew'd you against whom he did dispute, that is, the *Cerinthians*, who deny'd this Wisdom of God, call'd the Word, to be a Person; or if a Person, not to have been *from the beginning*, but created by God many Ages or *Æones* afterwards, and so not to have been *in the beginning with God*: Against these the Apostle's words are full and cogent; but in the Socinian sense they are nothing but what all the World knew and allow'd; and so were meant against no body, to prove nothing, or to dis-prove nothing.

5.
Of the word
by Nature
and by Crea-
tion.

These Hereticks made two Words of God: One by Nature, which is the essential Wisdom inherent in God by his Nature, and this must have been always in God, and ever inseparable from him. This must have been *in the beginning with God*, and must be God. And by this *God made all things*, and *without this was not any thing made, that was made*. But they deny'd Christ to be this Word: They said he was metaphorically call'd the

the Word and the Wisdom of God, from the great Wisdom bestow'd upon him: And that he was created by the true and natural Word of God. Thus the *Arians* (after the *Cerinthians*) held as you may see in the *Synodical Epistle* of *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, upon the Condemnation of *Arius*; *Socrat. Hist.* l. i. c. 5.

Now see how direct and pungent the words of *St. John* are against these Heresies, where he sets about to prove that *Christ* was the Word of God; not a made or created Word which was not *from the beginning*, but the very Word which was *in the beginning*, and which was God; by whom *God made all things*, and *without whom nothing was made that was made*, that is, he was the essential Wisdom of God, and therefore always in God: Which is the reason *Origen* gives, as I have before quoted him, why *Christ* is said to be *in the beginning*, because he was always in the Father. And it was this same Word, *St. John* tells us, that was *made flesh*.

Soc. But you have forgot to solve the Tautology objected by your Historian: You have indeed retorted it upon him: But you have not answer'd it as to your self.

CHR. Every repetition is not a Tautology; but to enforce what you say the more: And your Historian is sensible of this, for he says, p. 87. upon the 11th verse of this Chapter, *His own received him not.* 'Tis again repeated (says your Historian) *to brand the ingratitude and stupidity of the Jews.* And, p. 91. upon *John* III. 13. he says, *It is repeated, majoris asseverationis causa, for its greater Confirmation.* Thus the same Apostle having asserted the Word to have been *in the beginning*, and to have been *with God*, now joins both together, and says, *He was in the beginning with God*: To shew what *beginning* he meant, *viz.* the same *beginning with God*, since we must so speak. And it was likewise for the stronger Confirmation of this most important truth.

But says your Author to the next words that follow *ŷ. 3.* *All things were made by him: And without him was not any thing made; that was made.*

Soc. He says, p. 84. *That the Word begins here to be spoken of as a Person, by the same figure of speech that Solomon saith, Wisdom hath builded her House, &c.* This is the same as I told you before, that by the Word he means the eternal Power and Wisdom of God.

CHR. What does he say to the next words immediately following? *In him was life, &c.*

Soc. He says, p. 85. *In him, i. e. In him when he was in the World, and was made flesh.*

CHR. But had the eternal Power and Wisdom of God no life, till *Jesus* was born? Indeed a Quality or Attribute has no life in it: Therefore if the Word have life, it must be a Person: For which reason, you will not let it be a Person, till it inspir'd or dwelt in *Jesus*. But all that will not make it a Person, more than it was a Person in all the holy Men it has inspir'd. Nothing less than Incarnation can do that, whereby the Natures united become one Person, and cannot be separated again, without the death of the Person.

But see how you are caught in your own snare: In answer to *ŷ. 3.* you make the Word the eternal Power and Wisdom of God, and to be God. But in answer to *ŷ. 4.* you make the same Word to be a Creature, and to have had no life, till the birth of *Jesus*. Nay you make it no more than the Doctrine of *Christ*, which here (says your Author) *is call'd light, as before it was call'd life.* So that here was no life, but in a metaphorical sense, as contributing to give life to others, which a dead thing may do, as the Book of the Scriptures when read.

But

6.
Inspiration
must come
from a Person.

But how does the Word or Wisdom of God inspire, if it have no life in it? Or does it borrow life from the Person whom it inspires? As your Author seems to say, that the Word had no life, till it was *made Flesh*: For then he supposes, and consequently not till then, that text verify'd, *In him was life*: But if life was in him before, then he was a Person before, and consequently from all Eternity, he being the eternal Wisdom of God, as your Author has asserted. And he having life in himself, might give life to another, or inspire another: For a Quality does not inspire, but is that which is inspired. But your Author says, that he (the Word) was *made Flesh*. This is something more than inspiring.

7.
What the Socinians mean
by Incarnation.

Soc. We can use the term of being *made flesh*, and of incarnation too, and yet mean no more by it than bare inspiration. Thus our Historian p. 86. says, *The Word became incarnate, that is, abode on the Person of Jesus Christ. For God communicated to him an effusion of his Power and Wisdom.* And p. 87. in answer to N. 14. *The Word was made Flesh*, that is, says my Author, *did abide on and inhabit an human Person, the Person of Jesus Christ, and so was, in appearance, made flesh or Man.*

CHR. The text says, *was made flesh*. That was only in appearance, say you. This is a pretty latitude in interpreting of texts! And looks like a downright denial of the text; for if it was only in appearance, then it was not *made flesh*: This is adding to the text, not interpreting: And let me have the like privilege of adding only these two words, in appearance to what text I think fit, I wou'd fain know if you cou'd prove any one thing upon me out of the whole Bible.

But where was the appearance? If God endows a Man with extraordinary Gifts and Graces, and Power of working Miracles, is this any appearance of God's being *made flesh*? Then there was an appearance of it in Moses, and many of the Prophets and Apostles. Christ said to them, *John XIV. 12. Verily, Verily I say unto you, he that believeth in me, the works that I do, shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do, because I go unto the Father.* Was God therefore incarnate? Or will he be incarnate in any who have, or may hereafter do these greater works? Or will there be any appearance of his being *made flesh*, in any of these his Saints? Where then was the appearance of Gods being *made flesh* in Christ, because of the mighty works which he did? For that was all which cou'd appear to our view.

XIV.
The other
texts in holy
Scripture in-
quir'd into.

Soc. We have dwelt a long time upon this first of St. John; as if it were the only text in all the Bible you had to depend upon.

CHR. You shall see the whole current of the holy Scriptures run all in the same strain: But there being several things needful to be known, in order to the explaining of several texts, I have chose to set them down in this place, to avoid repetition; therefore it will shorten our work in what remains. And now I am ready to look over with you the answers which your Historian gives to the texts of Scripture in the order he has rang'd them.

Soc. He begins upon this in his *Second Letter*, p. 42. And the first text he names is *Gen. I. 26. Let us make Man in our Image.* Whence you draw arguments from the manner of the Phrase of God being spoken of in the plural Number.

I. CHR. He shou'd have begun at the first Verse, *In the beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth.* Where the word *Elohim* which we translate God, is in the plural Number, and *Bara, did create*, is in the singular Number, which literally render'd is thus, *Dii creavit*, that is, *He the Gods did create.* And there are three Persons here visibly spoke of; first he that spoke, *Let there be light, let there be a firmament, &c.*

second,

second, The Word spoken by him; of which we have discours'd largely before: Third, The Spirit of God, which (ŷ. 2.) is said to have *moved upon the face of the waters*: And these Gods are here said to be the God that did create. And we know how exact the *Hebrew* is as to every letter of a word, and the import they draw from thence: As in that little alteration which God made in the names of *Abram* and *Sarai*, into *Abraham* and *Sarah*. *Gen. xvii. 5, 15*. Upon which God there laid great stress, and gave it as a token of his Covenant then made with them. I will not trouble you with the niceties and improvements which the *Cabalists*, or mystical Writers of the *Jews*, make upon every word and letter, and manner of expression in the sacred text: Tho' it shews their meaning, and how they understood things. But since your Author has slipt this text, let us go on with him to that which you have named.

2. Soc. To that text, *Gen. i. 26. Let us make Man in our Image*, he says, p. 42. that Us there spoke of was God and Angels; that God spoke this to the Angels; that Man was made in the Image of God and Angels: But that God spoke to the Angels not as adjutants, but as spectators of his work. He says some *Rabbies* do thus understand it: He says he has spoke to this text in his *first Letter*.

CHR. I can find nothing of it there: So this was a put-off. But here he takes part with the *Jews* against us: The *Jews* since *Christ* have obscur'd what they can the doctrine of the Trinity, because it leads so directly to the Divinity of *Christ*: But they have not been able to do it so as not to leave full proof of it out of their writings, as I have shewed you. And much more might be produc'd to the same purpose.

However in answer to the *Socinians*, and these some *Rabbies*, (your Author does not name nor quote) I say that this answer is wholly precarious: And they produce no authority whatever for it. Besides, it is not certain that the Angels were then created. *St. Barnabas* thinks that this text was spoke before the foundation of the World: Which I will shew you presently. Besides that the expression *Let us make* is not applicable to bare spectators, but to fellow-workers. Come see me work, would be an invitation to spectators: As *Jehu* said to *Jehonadab*, *2 Kings x. 16. Come with me, and see my zeal for the Lord*.

Soc. My Author quotes *Job xxxviii. 4, 7*. to prove that the Angels were then created. The 4th verse is, *Where wast thou when I laid the foundation of the Earth? Declare if thou hast Understanding*. But I see no proof in this. Therefore it must be ŷ. 7. which is, *The morning Stars sang together, and all the Sons of God shouted for joy*: By these *Sons of God* I suppose he means the Angels, and because they shouted.

CHR. That is a strange proof out of the same verse where Stars are said to sing! This is such an expression as *Psal. xcvi. 8. Let the floods clap their hands, let the hills be joyful, &c.* And *Psal. lxxv. 13. The vallies are covered with corn, they shout for Joy, they also sing*. And by the like figure all the Host of Heaven might be call'd the *Sons of God*.

But to leave these forc'd and foreign proofs, I will now, according to my promise, give you some of the *ante-Nicene* Fathers interpretation of this text.

*St. Barnabas** in his *Catholick Epistle*, c. 5. p. 21. speaking of the Lord *Christ*, says, *To whom God spoke in the day before the foundation of the World, let us make Man in our Image, after our likeness*.

And again†, c. 6. p. 31. *For the Scripture saith of us, as he (the Father) said to the Son, Let us make Man after our Image*.

Justin Martyr in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, p. 265. calls it a heresy to

* Προς δι κα εἶπεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸ καταβολῆς αἰῶνων, ποιῶμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέρου, καὶ καθ' οὐσίαν.
† Λίγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή περὶ ἡμῶν, ὡς λίγει τὸ ὕψ, ποιῶμεν κατ' εἰκόνα, καὶ καθ' οὐσίαν ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπον.

say that this was spoken to the Angels, or that the Body of Man was the workmanship of Angels. But he says the Father here speaks to his Son, who came from the Father before all creatures. He confutes those *Rabbies* who, depraving the Scripture, says he, pretend that God spoke to himself when he said, *Let us make Man*, or to the Elements, or the Earth, or any the like. He says that expression shews there was a number, at least two, that were together, and those he makes to be the Father and the Son: And that without all doubt, says he, the Father there speaks to one numerically different from himself, and to an intelligent Person.

Irenæus says*, God spoke these words to the Son and the Holy Ghost, and he calls them metaphorically, the Hands of God by which he made Man. And he says that the Son, who from the beginning made *Adam*, and with whom the Father spoke, saying, *Let us make Man*, did manifest himself to Men in the latter days.

Your Historian says, that our Image in the text, is the Image of God and Angels. But *Irenæus* says, l. 4. c. 37. the Angels did not make us, and that they could not make the Image of God. nor any other but the Word of God. *Tertullian* (*advers. Praxeam*. §. 11, 12.) says†, that God, in this text, did not speak to the Angels as the *Jews* interpret, who do not acknowledge the Son, but that he spoke to the Son and the Holy Ghost, and from hence he proves the Trinity in Unity, in express words, and as positive as *Athanasius* himself: He says, *Scripturæ omnes & demonstrationem, & distinctionem Trinitatis ostendunt*: That is, *All the Scriptures shew both a demonstration and distinction of the Trinity*.

After he quotes several texts where the Father speaks of and to the Son, and the Son of and to the Father, and the Holy Ghost, as a third Person, of the Father, and of the Son: As, *The Lord said to my Lord*, &c. And thence he proves the distinction of Persons in the Trinity.

* Homo secundum similitudinem Dei formatus est, & per manus ejus plasmatus est, hoc est, per Filium & Spiritum; quibus & dixit, *Faciamus hominem*. Iren. advers. Hæres. Præfat. in lib. 4.

Idem ipse qui ab initio plasmavit Adam, cum quo & loquebatur Pater, *Faciamus hominem secundum imaginem & similitudinem nostram*, in novissimis temporibus se ipsum manifestans hominibus. —16. l. 5. c. 15.

† His itaque paucis, tamen manifestè, distinctio Trinitatis exponitur; est enim ipse qui pronunciat, Spiritus, & Pater ad quem pronunciat, & Filius de quo pronunciat. Sic & cætera quæ nunc ad Patrem de Filio, vel ad Filium, nunc ad Filium de Patre, vel ad Patrem, nunc ad Spiritum pronunciantur, unamquamque Personam in suâ proprietate constituunt. Si te adhuc numerus scandalizat Trinitatis, quasi non connexæ in unitate simplici, interrogo quomodo unicus & singularis pluraliter loquitur, *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem & similitudinem nostram*? cum debuerit dixisse, *Faciam hominem ad imaginem & similitudinem meam*; utpote unicus & singularis: Sed & in sequentibus, *Ecce Adam factus est tanquam unus ex Nobis*. Fallit, aut ludit, ut cum unus & solus esset, numerasse loqueretur: Aut numquid Angelis loquebatur, ut *Judei* interpretantur, quia nec ipsi Filium agnoscunt; an quia ipse erat Pater, Filius, Spiritus, ideo pluralem se præstans, pluraliter sibi loquebatur? Immo quia jam adhærebat illi Filius, secunda Persona, Sermo ipsius; & tertia, Spiritus in Sermone, ideo pluraliter pronunciat, *Faciamus & nostram & nobis*: Cum quibus enim faciebat hominem, & quibus faciebat similem? Cum Filio quidem, qui erat induturus hominem; Spiritu verò, qui erat sanctificaturus hominem, quasi cum ministris & arbitris, ex unitate Trinitatis loquebatur. Denique sequens Scriptura distinguit inter Personas; *Et fecit Deus hominem, ad imaginem Dei fecit illum*. Cur non suam, si unus qui faciebat, & non erat ad cujus faciebat? Erat autem ad cujus imaginem faciebat; ad Filii scilicet, qui homo futurus certior & verior, imaginem suam fecerat dici hominem qui tunc de limo formari habebat, imago veri & similitudo. Sed & in antecedentibus operibus mundi quomodo scriptum est? Primum quidem, nondum Filio apparente, *Et dixit Deus, fiat lux & facta est*: ipse statim Sermo lux vera, qui illuminat hominem venientem in hunc mundum, & per illum mundialis quoque lux. Exinde autem in Sermone Christo adistente & administrante Deus voluerit fieri, & Deus fecit. *Et dixit Deus fiat Firmamentum, & fecit Deus Firmamentum; & dixit Deus fiant Luminaria, & fecit Deus luminare majus & minus*; sed & cætera utique idem fecit qui & priora, id est, Sermo Dei, per quem omnia facta sunt, & sine quo factum est nihil. Qui si ipse Deus est secundum Johannem, Deus erat Sermo, habes duos, alium dicentem ut fiat, alium facientem. Alium autem quomodo accipere debeas, jam professus suum; Personæ, non Substantiæ nomine, ad distinctionem, non ad divisionem. Cæterum, etsi ubique teneo unam Substantiam in tribus coherentibus, tamen alium dicam oportet ex necessitate sensûs, eum qui jubet, & eum qui facit: Nam nec juberet, si ipse faceret, dum juberet fieri per eum; tamen jubebat, haud sibi jussurus, si unus esset; aut sine jussu facturum, quia non expectasset ut sibi juberet.

Origen (in *Mat.* p. 266.) says, none could raise the dead but he who had heard from the Father, *Let us make Man in our Image*; and none could command the Wind and Seas but he by whom they and all things else were made.

Soc. My Author notes that the *Socinian* translation agrees with the style used all along in this chapter, *ψ. 5. Let there be light ψ. 6. Let there be a Firmament, &c.*

CHR. He must note again, for I cannot find in those words one syllable of invitation to the Angels, or to any else, either to assist him or be spectators: But rather on the contrary, it is a sole command from an absolute authority.

3. Soc. The next text he quotes is, *Gen. III. 22. God said, the Man is become as one of us, to know good and evil.* To which he gives two answers. 1. That God spoke this to the Angels. 2. That others translate the *Hebrew* words thus, *the Man is become one of himself, knowing good and evil.* And he says, that it is thus express'd in the *Chaldee* translation by *Onkelos*.

CHR. To his first answer about the Angels we have spoke already: As to the translation of *Onkelos*, it is thus,

Behold Adam is only or alone in the age from himself. (Ecce Adam unicus est in seculo ex se.) The sense of which I confess is difficult; but your Author prefers an obscure Paraphrase before the literal reading of the *Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, Arabic, and Latin*, which are all *verbatim*, according to our *English* translation, and indeed which only can make sense of the words. For pray tell me, what is that to be *one of himself*? What purchase was this? What crime? That God banish'd him Paradise for this? Doubtless it was the clearness and fulness of this interpretation which persuaded your Author from the common and familiar reading of this text.

4. I will not trouble you with his exposition upon *Gen. XI. 6, 7. The Lord said, let us go down and there confound their language.* It is the like as to these before. But I would see his answer to *Gen. XIX. 24.*

Soc. He repeats it thus, p. 44. *the Lord (Heb. Jehovah) rained Fire from the Lord (Heb. Jehovah) out of Heaven.* And says that the meaning is, *Jehovah* rain'd Fire from himself: And refers to what he is to say on *Zech. III. 2.*

CHR. And I will expect him at that place. In the mean time I will give you the sense of some of the *ante-Nicene* Fathers upon this text.

Iust. Mart. (Dial. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 277, 279, 357.) interprets this of the Son, as a different Person from the Father. *Irenæus (advers. Hæres. l. 3. c. 6.)* says the same, and proves *Christ* to be *definitive & absolute Deum.* And that he is *verus Deus & ex sua Persona; True God absolutely, and in his own Person;* and that *the Lord rained Fire from the Lord,* was meant of him. *Tertullian (advers. Prax. §. 13.)* says the same, and proves the Trinity and Unity. *Deos duos non proferrimus, We do not profess two Gods;* and then he explains himself—*Non quasi non & Pater Deus, & Filius Deus, & Spiritus Sanctus Deus, & Deus unusquisque; Not that the Father is not God, and the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God, and each of them God, &c.*

Cyprian likewise (*Testimon. l. 3. c. 33.*) understands this text, *The Lord rained fire from the Lord,* to be meant of *Christ*.

But I go on, from p. 45. to 51. and again from p. 53. your History names several texts which are spoke of God in the Old Testament, and in the same words are apply'd to *Christ* in the New Testament.

5. Let us examine some of them. It is said, *Psal. XLV. 6. Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever.* This is apply'd to *Christ* *Heb. i. 8.*

Soc. *In the *Hebrew* and in the *Greek* it is, *God is thy Throne* (i. e. thy Seat, Resting-place, or Establishment) for ever.

CHR. This I do deny; and if the words could be both ways in the original, that is, to bear the construction of *God is thy Throne for ever*, or *Thy Throne, O God, is for ever*; (because the nominative and vocative are the same in the word *Theos*) then the question will be which of the ways we ought to take it? And I say the latter, for these reasons. *First*, Heb. i. 8. is a comparison betwixt *Christ* and the Angels. And this text, in your sense, gives him no preference, because God is the Establishment of the Angels, and so this text may belong to an Angel as well as unto *Christ*. *Secondly*, The subsequent part of the verse will not bear your interpretation, viz. *The Scepter of thy Kingdom*. This is certainly *Christ's* Scepter and Kingdom that is spoke of: And it is absolutely incongruous that the Throne should not go along with the Scepter and Kingdom, for they always belong to the same Person: Therefore the Throne in this text is *Christ's* as well as the Kingdom. *Lastly*, These Fathers who wrote before the Council of *Nice*, read this text as we do, and apply it to *Christ* as a proof of his Godhead. *Cyprian advers. Jud.* l. 2. c. 6. *Tertul. advers. Jud.* c. 14. *Tert. advers. Prax.* c. 13. *Iren. advers. Heres.* l. 3. c. 6. *Origen in John*, p. 29. and upon this Psalm, in *Catena Corderii*, he says that *Christ is manifestly God*.

Soc. The *Defence of the History*, c. 7. p. 33. says this text may be apply'd to *Solomon*.

CHR. The Apostle has apply'd it to *Christ*, and the primitive Fathers, even before *Nice*, understood it, as we have seen, in a sense which cannot be applicable to *Solomon*: In what other sense that Author would apply it to *Solomon*, let him see to it.

Soc. He says that he who is call'd God in this place is said to have a God by whom he is anointed, which cannot belong to the supreme God.

CHR. This is spoke of God's exalting the human Nature of *Christ*, in respect of which (as well as of his eternal Generation) *Christ* calls God his Father and his God: Against this your Author offers nothing. But to proceed.

6. In that most elegant and wondrous rapture in the exaltation of God, *Psal. LXVIII*. *Christ our Lord* was meant: As is evident from *Y. 18. Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive, thou hast received gifts for men*. Which *St. Paul* does expressly interpret and apply to *Christ*. *Eph. iv. 8.*

Soc. Our Author says to this†, That this was *literally meant of God; and of Christ only by way of Prophecy, or rather of Emblem, or Accommodation*.

CHR. But still here is the same style, and appellations which are given to none but to God and *Christ*. And God foreseeing that *Christ* wou'd be taken for real God by these appellations, it is unaccountable that the Scripture shou'd every where assert this style, speaking of God and *Christ* so promiscuously, as that what is said of the one belongs to the other, and to none else. Whereby if we are not forc'd to acknowledge them to be one, yet it is such a colour and tentation as cannot possibly be suppos'd God wou'd lay before us, without a design in him to lead us into so gross and capital an error: Which it wou'd be the highest blasphemy but to imagine.

But suppose this text to be no otherwise true of God, or not so literally, but as God is *Christ*; and so was a Prophecy of God in *Christ*.

* *Hist. Unitar.* p. 46.

† p. 47.

SOC. That indeed wou'd end the business, and come the length of a demonstration.

CHR. St. Paul says, that he who ascended, in this text, *descended first into the lower parts of the earth*— And is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens. He infers this text as a consequence from the gift of Christ to us, *To us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ. Wherefore, he saith, when he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men.*— And he gave some Apostles, some Prophets, and some Evangelists, &c. These were the gifts given, and this gift of Christ was the wherefore, why David wrote that text. And no otherwise can God be said to have *descended into the lower parts of the earth, and thence to ascend up again on high.* Which St. Paul tells us is the true meaning of that text, and infers it from the text.

SOC. That Psalm was sung upon the removing of the Ark.

CHR. That Psalm indeed begins with that form which you find Num. x. 35. But it goes on from thence to many other exaltations and triumphs of God, among which, to that of Christ's Ascension in the 18th verse of which the lifting up of the Ark was but a type. And tho' there is an allusion between them, and they may be compos'd in many things, yet the full import of this text cannot be fill'd but in Christ, as I have already shewn from St. Paul. And I might have given more instances, but that these were sufficient. For example, it is said in the text, that *he receiv'd gifts for men*; From whom did God receive gifts to give to Men?

SOC. St. Paul renders it— *Gave gifts to men.*

CHR. Therefore both are true. Christ received from the Father, and gave unto Men. And this cannot be verified in any other manner.

Again it is said in the same verse, that he received these gifts for Men, *yea, for the rebellious also, that the Lord God might dwell among them.*

Now see what sense this will be, if it be not intended of Christ: That God shou'd receive gifts from some other, which would imply some other to be greater than God. And then the end of God's receiving these gifts, *that God might dwell among men.*

God purchas'd or procur'd from another, That himself *might dwell among men, or be gracious to men.*

But take notice of the Hebrew reading of this verse, as it is mark'd in the Margent of our English Bibles; where what we render [*for Men*] is according to the letter of the Hebrew [*in the Man*] and then the verse goes thus. *Thou (Christ) hast received gifts in the man.* i. e. in thy Manhood or human Nature; for it was in this respect, that he cou'd be said to receive these gifts which he bestow'd. And this cannot belong to God any otherwise than as Christ is God*.

SOC. These gifts not being given till about a thousand years after David's time, Paul cou'd not possibly intend a literal interpretation of David's words, but only to accommodate them to Christ, because Christ also did ascend on high, and gave gifts to Men. To this effect Grotius, Dr. Patrick, and other famous interpreters on this text.

CHR. Dr. Patrick says no such thing upon this Psalm, nor Grotius either upon this Psalm, or the parallel place, Eph. iv. He speaks nothing of this bare way of accommodating only, which it may be to a hundred things, that is, I may apply or fanfy several things, like it. On the contrary, he says, this text was fulfill'd in Christ, and that more eminently, than in God's descent upon Mount Sinai, and ascending thence again. *Quanto autem hac eminentius per Christum sunt*

* Hist. Unitar. v. 84.

impleta nemo non videt. Thus *Grotius* in his notes upon *Psal.* LXVIII. 18. and upon *Eph.* iv. 8. The difference he makes 'twixt these two texts, is, that the one was spoken to God, the other of God. So that he makes *Christ* apparently to be God, because the Apostle certainly speaks this text of *Christ*. Then he takes notice of St. *Paul's* putting the word *give*, for *receive*, viz. that *Christ* gave gifts, instead of, received gifts, as it is in the *Psal.*, and he says, this is excellently apply'd to *Christ* who received gifts from his Father, that he might give to Men. Dr. *Patrick* says, that this is far more magnificently fulfill'd in *Christ's* Ascension, than in God's Ascension from *Sinai*. And you may suppose he deals with his other famous interpreters, whom he does not name, as he has done with *Grotius* and Dr. *Patrick*.

And for *David's* speaking this a thousand years before it came to pass, I suppose you will make no greater difficulty of it, than of *Psal.* II. Where it is prophesied of *Christ* in the present Tense: *This day I have begotten thee*, which your Author interprets of this resurrection. All the ancient, even *Anti-Nicene* Fathers, speaking of this text, *Psal.* LXVIII. 18. with one consent do apply it to *Christ*; and not only by way of accommodation, as your Historian speaks, but that it was an express Prophecy of *Christ*, and fulfilled in him, which you may see in *Just. Mart.* Dial. con. *Tryph.* p. 258. 315. *Iren.* advers. Hæres. l. 2. c. 36. l. 4. c. 39. l. 5. c. 31. *Tertullian* advers. *Marcion.* l. 5. c. 8. de *Anima* c. 55. And *Just. Mart.* in the abovesaid Dialogue. p. 255, to 258. applies to *Christ*, *Psal.* XXIV. *The earth is the Lord's,—He hath founded it, &c.* And that of *Psal.* XLVII. *God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet,—God is the King of all the earth—The princes of the People are join'd to the God of Abraham, &c.* And *Psal.* XCIX. *The Lord reigneth, let the people tremble—Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worship at his footstool—Moses and Aaron among his priests, &c.* And *Psal.* XLV. *Thy throne O God is for ever and ever, &c.*

So c. But the *Def. of the History.* c. 7. p. 34. finds out that several places of the Old Testament are accommodated to other things in the New Testament as these words, *Their sound went out into all the earth, and their words into the ends of the world.* By which the Heavens are meant *Psal.* XIX. 4. and other works of God, which (as it were) preach his wisdom, and power and goodness to all nations. And *Rom.* x. 18. The Apostle applies this to the preaching of the Gospel all over the World.

CHR. What wou'd your Author infer from hence?

So c. That there is no harm in accommodating that to *Christ* in the New Testament what was spoken of God in the Old Testament, and he says such is the place in question.

CHR. That is to say, because one Creature may be compar'd, or accommodated to another, therefore it is lawful to accommodate to a Creature the incommunicable attributes of God; and to apply to *Christ* (supposing him but a Man) whatever we find written of God in the Old Testament.

But besides, I have shewn, that this place in question is not only accommodated, but fulfilled in *Christ*, and consequently was originally meant of him, nay more eminently than of God, or as God otherwise than as he is in *Christ*. And this from your beloved *Grotius*, whom you wou'd have to be a *Socinian*, and whom you quote upon this very place. But let us go on.

7. * *Psal.* XCVII. The Majesty of God is gloriously set forth, in which the 7th Verse is remarkable, which obviates the objection of inferior Gods, who are there call'd Idols, that is, when Men pay divine honour to them;

for that it is which makes any Creature to become an Idol: And tho' God communicates his name to Creatures, and calls some of them Gods, yet he will not share his worship nor give his honour to another: Of this he expresses himself to be jealous, we must not come near it: And whoever arrogate it to themselves are Idols and False-Gods, and those that pay it to them are Idolaters, and styl'd the generation of those who hate God. God reckons this a hating or forsaking of him, and calls it *the abominable thing that he hates*. And in detestation of these Idols, and to shew how far they were from having worship paid to them, they are here commanded themselves to worship God. *Confounded be all they that delight in vain Gods*, (as our Common-Prayer-Book translates it) or *that boast themselves of Idols* (as the Bible translation;) *Worship him all ye Gods*, or Angels, as St. Paul renders it. For Angels are Gods more than Men, they are the greatest Gods of the Creation: But when they claim worship to themselves, they become Devils; and if we worship them, we make them Idols to us; for no created excellency can advance any being so far, as not still to be at an infinite distance from God; and therefore no Creature can partake of his worship: And therefore either the Son must not be adorable, or he must not be a Creature.

Exod. xx. 5.

Jer. xlv. 4.

Mat. iv. 9, 10.

And now what Invention cou'd contrive a more positive and uncontroversible manner of calling the Son, God; than to say, *Let all the Angels of God, or let all other Gods worship him*. What is this but to call him the Supreme God? And manifestly to make the distinction 'twixt God by Nature, and by Office: All these Gods by Office are to worship the God by Nature. *Worship him all ye Gods*, and this the Apostle applies to Christ, and says, that *it was spoke of him*; and how to call him God more directly and palpably, cannot be suppos'd.

Heb. i. 6.

SOC. My Author says, that Heb. i. 6. is not rendred right in our English translation, which says, *Again when he bringeth the first-begotten into the world he saith, and let all the Angels of God worship him*.

But my Author says*, that in the Greek 'tis, *when he bringeth again the first begotten into the World*, that is, when he raised Christ from the dead.

CHR. He mistakes; for the Greek is not as he quotes it; indeed the Greek puts *when*, before *again*, *ὅταν δὲ πάλιν*, and literally runs thus, *when again he bringeth*, but it is not *when he bringeth again*, as your Author slyly insinuates, that he might get it apply'd to Christ's resurrection. But what the meaning of *again* is in that verse is put past any doubt, by repeating the words immediately preceding; for the Apostle is giving several instances, and so repeats the words again and again, which is a most common and familiar way of speaking, and I believe never misunderstood but in this place. Read the 5th verse, *Unto which of the Angels said he, Thou art my Son? And again, I will be to him a Father—and again, when he bringeth the first begotten into the World*—what ordinary wit could have found out a new meaning for the last *again*, different from those going before it?

SOC. But why did not the English translation keep the very order of the words, as it is in the Greek, and as you have now last repeated it?

CHR. Because it is not so good English; *when again*, is not the English style so much as, *again when*, tho' they both mean the same thing: And this rule was never observ'd in any translation; for the placing of the words is different in most languages, and in this very text the Greek words are in this order; *when but again he bringeth*, *ὅταν δὲ πάλιν εἰσαγάγῃ*, which is

* Hist. p. 49.

not so good *English*, as, *but again when he bringeth*: And I suppose you will say is not a worse translation.

But, as I said before, all this art is lost, for unless the word *again* come after the word *bringeth*, it will not serve his turn, and in the *Greek* it is put before the word *bringeth*, which quite spoils his Criticism. But he is resolved this shall not spoil it; and therefore he ventures boldly, and says, that in the *Greek* 'tis *when he bringeth again*.

SOC. But he has another answer; he says*, 'Tis uncertain whether St. Paul had any respect to the Psalm.

CHR. But he tells no ground he had for that uncertainty: All the difference 'twixt these texts is this, the *Psalm* says *Gods* (*worship him all ye Gods*) which St. Paul renders *Angels* (*let all the Angels of God worship him*) which he knew to be included in the meaning and import of the word, *Gods*; and the reason of his doing it is because he is there making a comparison 'twixt *Christ* and the *Angels*: So that the putting in the word *Angels* for *Gods* is only applying the text of the *Psalm* to his present subject. Then the one says, *worship him*, the other, *let them worship him*. Which is no alteration at all, unless you would insist, that the texts ought to be quoted syllabically; which is not observ'd, nor ought to be in any translation, because of the different idioms of tongues, which must be observ'd to translate it into sense. But the inspired Pen-men of the New Testament take greater latitude, and in their quotations of the Old Testament stick only to the sense, and often vary the expression, of which there are many examples. *Exod. xxii. 28.* it is written, *thou shalt not revile the Gods, nor curse the ruler of thy people*: St. Paul repeating this text, quotes it thus, *thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people*; By the word *Gods* here was meant the Judges and Governours of the Land, and therefore St. Paul applying it to them, puts in the word *Ruler*, as in the former case, the word *Angels* instead of the word *Gods*. This I grant we have not authority to do, we are bound up to the words: But St. Paul speaking by the same inspiration that did dictate the text he quotes, his quotation is at the same time, a most authentick exposition of the text.

Acts xxiii. 5.

Many more examples may be given of the like liberty taken in the New Testament in their quotation, out of the Old; which shall be produced if it be deny'd; for now I would be as brief as possible.

But now it is no ways material whether St. Paul quoted this from this *Psalm*, or from the *Septuagint* translation of *Deut. xxxii. 42.* as *Origen* thinks, *ὡς Ἐυχῆς*. For still it was God spoke these words, and they were spoke of *Christ*.

SOC. He does not insist much upon this, it was but to divert you, he has another answer: He says†, *That if St. Paul had respect to this Psalm, yet he does not quote the words of the Psalmist, as if they were spoken of Christ; but only declareth the decree of God (known to him by the Spirit) for subjecting the Angels to Christ, in the same words that the Psalmist had used on another occasion, because they are words most proper to express that decree; for the Writers of the New Testament generally affect to speak in Scripture Language.*

CHR. You allow that by the words *first begotten* in the text *Heb. i. 6.* *Christ* is meant.

SOC. Yes certainly. Our Author acknowledges it in this same place.

CHR. And St. Paul says positively, that this was said of the *first begotten*, for after several other texts which St. Paul quotes as spoken of him, he brings in this as one. *He (God) said thou art my Son*—and again; *I*

will be to him a Father——and again, when he bringeth the first begotten into the World, he saith and let all the Angels of God worship him. All this was visibly spoken of the same Person, and altogether, yet your Author says, these last words were not spoken of *Christ*: To say that one of these texts was not spoken of him, tho' the rest were, and to give no reason, nor so much as a presumption for this, but to think to put it upon his *ipse dixit*, this is beyond example: It shews a resolved Man struggling even to death under the weight of truth.

SOC. He says this was only a Prophecy of *Christ*.

CHR. *Ergo* it was true, and *Ergo* it was spoken of *Christ*, which your Author denies, and yet cannot deny it.

SOC. He says these were the fittest words to express it.

CHR. They were indeed: But what is the reason?

SOC. Because the writers of the New Testament affect to speak in Scripture Language.

CHR. But do they affect to ascribe to Creatures, the glorious Attributes of God? Is it lawful to apply to a Man whatever I find said of God, because I affect to speak in Scripture Language; and because I find all the Angels of God, commanded to worship God, must I therefore bid them worship one who is not God? And notwithstanding that in the same place I find all them curs'd and confounded who worship any other but God.

If our side should produce such a reason as this, what mercy would you have on us? It would require more implicit Faith to swallow such reasoning, than even the notion of the Trinity.

But this I must confess, that there never was a cause more obstinately defended; he fights to the last Man, and leaves nothing unsaid, whether it be true or false, whatever may amuse, or put off——

But this, with considering Men, plucks up his cause by the very roots, and tho' they may admire the variety of his shifts and turnings, it is but to see with how much pains and skill he quits his hold.

SOC. The *Def. of the History*, Chap. the 7th p. 35. says, that *this Answer of the Historian is a very sound and judicious Answer*.

CHR. This is the best argument he brings to prove it, and yet he wonders People will not be satisfied with it.

SOC. He has found out a text *Deut.* xxxii. 43. where instead of *Rejoice ye nations, with his people*; which is the *English* translation, he says, the *Seventy* renders it thus, *καὶ προσκυνήσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεῷ*, i. e. *Let all Angels of God worship him*. And he would rather have the Apostles quotation to be from this place, because he says, these words in *Deut.* are not spoken of God, but of God's People the *Israelites*, and if this can be said of God's People, he hopes it may be said of *Christ* too, without concluding from thence, that he is the supreme God.

CHR. These words in the *English* are indeed spoken of God's People: *Rejoice with his people*. But the *Greek* reading he quotes, cannot be meant of the People, but of God; and yet their meaning is the same; they are both a result from the consideration of God's vengeance upon his Enemies, and mercy to his People. The one invites the Nations to rejoice for this with his People, the other for this introduces the Angels adoration, not of the People (that is an absurd thought) but of God; for his mercy to his People, which is plain from the very words. Thus then according to the *Greek*: *Let the Angels of God worship him, for he will avenge the blood of his Servants, &c.* But your Author would have it; *Let the Angels of God worship the people, because God will avenge, &c.*

Is not the *him* there (*Worship him*) the same *him*, with *he* who will avenge, &c? But you would have the first *him*, mean the People (*Wor-*

ship him) and the second to mean God (*he will avenge*) to call the People *him* in this place, is a sort of *Welsh*, or *Highland English*. But this is done by that authority and strength of reason which interpreted the (*And*) and the (*Thou*) *Heb. i. 10.* which you shall see presently, and is a masterpiece of the *Socinian* subtilty and integrity. In the mean time we must lose our pretty conceipt from the *Greek* version of *Deut. xxxii. 43.* and the idolatrous inference we would have brought from it, of commanding Angels to worship Men. If Mens worshipping Angels be idolatry, for Angels to worship Men must be a preposterous and monstrous idolatry, and makes Angels more foolish than Men: Besides, I suppose that your Author believes that it was the good Angels were here spoke of, and he makes them idolaters too: No matter! Any thing to avoid the Divinity of *Christ*.

But after all it is most probable that by Angels in this text no more is meant than the Nations mention'd in the *English* translation: and so there will not be that discrepancy betwixt the *Greek* and *English* translations which we imagine. We know the *Jews* reckon'd all the *Gentile* Nations to be seventy, and that every of these Nations had a president Angel to govern it: But that God took the government of *Israel* to himself. And these president Angels are often put for the Nations whom they govern'd: Thus it is in the 8th verse of this chapter: Where *Moses* is repeating God's great regard to *Israel*, even in the days of old, before they were a People; in that, after the Flood, when he divided the World into Nations he did it with respect to the seventy Sons of *Israel* (*Ex. i. 5.*) for he divided it just into seventy Nations, which are all particularly nam'd in the 10th of *Genesis*: The sons of the three sons of *Noah* there reckoned being just seventy. The seventy Nations, say the *Jews*, God committed to the care of seventy Angels, but he reserved *Israel* for his own government. Here was the theocracy, and indeed there is a leading to this, or great part of it, in the words of the text. *Remember the days of old*, says *Moses*, *Deut. xxxii. 7. Consider the years of many generations,—When the most High divided to the Nations their inheritance: When he separated the sons of Adam he set the bounds of the People, according to the number of the Children of Israel* (the seventy read it) *according to the number of the Angels*, which is the same number according to the *Jewish* computation, (i. e. seventy) *For, or but the Lord's portion is his People: Jacob is the Lot*, (or *Cord. i. e.* the extent) *of his inheritance*, of his theocratical government, leaving to his Angels the immediate government of the seventy Nations of the *Gentiles*.

Here then Angels being put for the Nations by the seventy interpreters in the 8th verse, why may we not reasonably conclude that it is taken in the same sense in the 43^d verse of the same chapter, where the seventy Nations are call'd upon to praise God with his People *Israel*?

But whether it be so, or be not so, it can never make your Author's sense to have the Angels worship the People.

Soc. But my Defender has another salvo for this text, *Heb. i. 6. When he bringeth the first Begotten into the World he saith and let all the Angels of God worship him.* My Author says that was the heavenly World; i. e. when God brought *Christ* into Heaven after his Resurrection, it was then the Angels were to worship him.

CHR. Why? Were they not to worship him before? But does that Defence-maker name any authority, any various reading of the text, or the interpretation of any Father, or any sort of reason for his addition to the text, and putting the word *heavenly* to *World*.

Soc. No: Only says, it is, as if the Apostle should have said so and so.

CHR. For the future I desire you would advise him to let the Apostle speak his own words, and not to run the hazard *Revel. xxii. 18.* of having all the plagues written in the Book added to him, for adding to any part of the word of God; or to think to impose upon unwary readers, by corrupting instead of explaining the texts of Holy Scripture: But we have been too long with this, let us go on to the next.

8. *Plal. cii. 25.* "Of old hast thou laid the foundation of the Earth, and the Heavens are the Works of thy Hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure, yea all of them shall wax old like a garment, as a vesture shalt thou change them and they shall be changed, but thou art the same, and thy years shall have no end." This is apply'd to Christ, *Heb. i. 10.*

SOC. My Author will not have this spoke of Christ in that place of *Heb.* but of God only*.

CHR. Does he tell to what end these words are brought there by the Apostle?

SOC. No, but he endeavours to make out the coherence thus. *And thou Lord hast laid the foundation of the Earth—But to which of the Angels said he, sit thou on my right hand? As he saith to Christ, Psal. cx. 1.*

CHR. This is such a way of shewing a coherence! Even imagination cannot find any thing like a coherence in it.

SOC. It was the founder of the Earth said, *Sit on my right hand.*

CHR. And did the Apostle repeat over so distinctly three whole verses out of the *Psal. cii.* to shew that it was the *Founder of the Earth*, that is, God, who said, *Sit on my right hand* in *Psal. cx?* Which no body even doubted; and is sufficiently declar'd in the words themselves, *Psal. cx. 1.* *The Lord said unto my Lord*, and is not at all proved by these words *Psal. cii.* where the Psalmist is treating of another subject.

But pray tell me, to what purpose was the word *And, Heb. i. 40?* *And Thou Lord in the beginning—* From the 3^d verse there is a comparison carried on betwixt Christ and the *Angels*, and several particulars are reckoned wherein he had the preheminance above the *Angels*, all join'd together with the copulative *And*, viz. *Christ* had the preheminance in this, *And this, And this—unto which of the Angels said he, thou art my Son. And again, I will be to him a Father—And again, to the Son he saith, let all the Angels of God worship him—And, Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever—And, Thou Lord in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the Earth—* Now our Historian excepts this last *And*, and says it must not belong to the same Person to whom all the rest do belong that go before it, and that follow it thro' the whole chapter: And gives no other reason for it than for the sake of that fine coherence you have seen above; that is indeed, to destroy the whole coherence of that chapter, and make it not only nonsense, but a downright fallacy and prevarication in the Apostle. To slip in a text which belonged only to God, among those texts which were meant of Christ, and to reckon it as one of the number by the copulative *And*; whereas it should have been expressly excepted with a *But*. This was said of Christ, *And this, And this, But* this was said of God only. Thus it must have been expressed in the Historian's sense: In which there is no reason in the world for bringing in these texts of *Psal. cii.* there is no connexion between them and the rest, they disturb and confound the whole meaning and drift of the place, and cannot be reconciled to fair meaning nor honesty in the writer.

* Hist. p. 50.

Soc. The *Defence of the History* says, c. 7. p. 34. that the 10th verse of Heb. i. viz. *Thou Lord in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the Earth*—is not cited by the Apostle as spoken of Christ, or with intention to accommodate it to him; but because it was necessary for explaining the word *They*, [*they shall perish*] in the following words, which he had occasion to use for expressing the duration of Christ's Kingdom.

To make you understand this, you must know, that my Author applies expressly to Christ the 11th and 12th verses of Heb. i. viz. *They* (the Heavens and the Earth) *shall perish, but thou remainest; and they all shall wax old as doth a garment, and as a vesture shall thou fold them up, and they shall be changed; but thou art the same, and thy years fail not.*

These words, he saith, are a description of the duration of Christ's Kingdom, which is immutable, and will last for ever, and are a confirmation of what went before, *Psal. xlv. Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever.* These two Scriptures, *Psal. xlv. 6, 7.* and *Psal. cii. 25, 26, 27.* he says the Apostle quotes for the same purpose, viz. to shew the duration of Christ's Kingdom, which are separated from one another only by the word *And*.

CHR. I thought *And* had been a copulative, that did not separate, but join things together: And so I suppose your Author will allow it in all places that ever were read, except the first *And* in the 10th verse of the 1st to the Hebrews, which is the *And* he here speaks of: For if *And* be *And* there, then these words, *And Thou Lord in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the Earth, &c.* must belong to Christ, as well as all the other *And*s which are mentioned in the same place.

But here is another piece of arbitrary interpretation, which exceeds making copulatives, disjunctives, or any thing else that ever I read, except in your Author: It will not need a confutation, shewing it to you will be sufficient.

Read these words, Heb. i. 10, 11, 12. *Thou Lord in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the Earth; and the Heavens are the works of thine hands, they shall perish, but thou remainest; and they all shall wax old as doth a garment, and as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed, but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail.*

Now who would imagine but all this was spoken of the same Person?

I suppose it will not be deny'd, but the Prophet meant them all of the same Person, when he first wrote them, *Psal. cii.* And how the Apostle came to alter it in the quotation is somewhat difficult to apprehend.

Thou didst this, and *Thou* didst this, and *Thou* didst this, says the Apostle, of Christ, repeating the words which the Prophet had spoken of God.

Says our new Author the first *Thou* shall not belong to Christ, nor so much as be accommodated to him; but all the rest of the *Thou*'s shall belong to him, and to no body else. This is to solve the difficulty of the *And*s which we have spoke of before.

But what was the first *Thou* brought in for, if it was not intended to mean the same Person with all the rest of the *Thou*'s which did follow? Or why was it not told us that one *Thou* was meant of one Person, and another of another, to prevent mistakes, especially in so material a point as that of mistaking a Creature for God? And when the expression was so necessary to be mistaken, that there was no possibility of avoiding it, without taking words and expressions in such a sense as there is not one precedent for in any language, or any writing that ever was upon the face of the Earth: Nor would any Man in the world be understood that spoke or wrote in that manner.

And then to give it as a reason for all this, that it was necessary to understand the first *Thou*, *Y. 20.* of a different Person from all the others, for explaining

explaining the following words; whereas it is that which confounds them, and puts them out of all rules of speaking intelligibly among Mankind: And then to exult in this and cry out, *And now I appeal to any Reader, whether this be an absurd sense? Is not this explication clear? But is not the sense which the Trinitarians would put upon this place both absurd and inconsistent?* This was modest! But have you any more upon this text?

Soc. He proves that suppose *Christ* had indeed created the World, yet the Creation cannot be ascrib'd to him in this place, *Heb. i. 10.*

CHR. * That will make some amends for his *Thou's* and his *And's*. Pray let us hear his proof.

Soc. Because the Apostle in this chapter does not speak of what is natural or essential to *Christ*, but of what he has received from God.

CHR. How does he prove this?

Soc. He says this appears by *ŷ. 4.* the words are these, *being made so much better than the Angels.* Therefore the Apostle's scope is to shew the excellency that *Christ* obtain'd, not by nature, or of himself, but that which he had by donation.

CHR. Why might not the Apostle shew it both ways? Both from the excellency *Christ* had by nature, and by donation?

Soc. My Author does not meddle with that: But he is very angry at the word *inheritance*, *ŷ. 4. viz.* That *Christ* shou'd have *by inheritance* a more excellent name than Angels. He says the words *by inheritance* are false; for the name *Christ* has obtain'd, came to him by free donation, and not by inheritance.

CHR. To ask my former question, why may it not be both? Both by donation and inheritance? It is said *ŷ. 2.* That *God appointed Christ heir of all things. I will give thee the Heathen for thine inheritance*, *Pf. ii. 8.* So that your Author shew'd too much rage, *per inadvertence*, at the word *inheritance*, to say that it was false, and that *Christ* had it not by inheritance.

Soc. Having thus shewn, says my Author, that *Christ* is not said to have created the World—

CHR. Ay! Having shewn it indeed, as he has shewn all the rest. By such arbitrary supposes and consequences, which sometimes are past all human Understanding, of which we have had a taste: But we must have more.

Soc. I pass here several texts nam'd in this History, because I would come to the most material; and not to swell this to too great a bulk. And now I come to the Prophets.

9. CHR. Your Historian † names *Isai vi. 1, 8, 9. I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne—I heard the voice of the Lord—Go tell this People, hear ye indeed, but understand not—Shut their eyes, &c.* This appearance of God is ascrib'd to *Christ*, *John xxii. 41. These things said Isaias when he saw his glory.*

Soc. The words in *St. John* are to be understood not of *Christ*, but of God; for God only is intended in the foregoing verse, as all confess.

CHR. I wonder he did not light upon this answer before.

Soc. How cou'd that be, till he came to this text?

CHR. Yes, it will serve all the texts which the New Testament brings out of the Old. We argue, that what is said of God in the Old Testament, is apply'd to *Christ* in the New; and that therefore *Christ* must be God. He answers, such a text was spoken of God, *Ergo*, says he, not of *Christ*. Which is not only begging the question, but if it were not spoke of God,

* Def. Hist. p. 34.

† Hist. p. 53, 54.

it would be no argument in this cause: But he cunningly slips in the word *only*; that God only is intended in the foregoing verse: That God is intended, we say; but that it is to the exclusion of *Christ*, he must prove.

All the question will be, who is meant by the [*his*] in the text; *These things said Isaias when he saw his glory*. The next words are material, which our Author has left out in his quotation, and which make out the remainder of that short verse: *These things said Isaias, when he saw his glory, and spake of him*.

Soc. How then shall we know who is this [*him*]?]

CHR. Read before and after, and you will plainly see, whom the Apostle is there speaking of. *These things spake Jesus, and hid himself. But tho' he had done so many miracles—yet they believed not on him. That the saying of Isaias might be fulfilled—These things said Isaias, when he saw his glory, and spake of him. Nevertheless among the chief rulers many also believed on him—but they did not confess him*.

John xii. 36,
37, 38, 41,
42.

Now to say that every one of these *his* and *him*, must refer to the *Jesus* who is there mention'd, except one *his* in the middle, and that must be meant of another, is a confounding the sense and all propriety of speaking; it is like the *and's* and *thou's* before mentioned.

But it is wrote, that *Isaias said these things when he saw his glory, and spake, or prophesied of him*: As *Abraham rejoiced to see his day*; so says *Grotius* (in Loc.) *Isaias saw the glory of Christ*.

Was it God that *Isaias* prophesied of, or *Christ*?

But these words, *go unto this people*, in the abovesaid text of *Isaiab*, are ascrib'd to the holy Ghost *Acts* xxviii. 25, 26. *Well spake the Holy Ghost by Isaias, saying, go unto this people, &c.*

Soc. Our Author answers*, That was because the *Vision* and all the words there mentioned were a scene wrought in the *Prophet's* mind (not exhibited to his outward senses) by the Spirit or Power of God.

CHR. Do you apprehend the meaning of this answer?

Soc. It is somewhat difficult.

CHR. I confess, it exceeds my Understanding: I cannot see the consequence of it. *Because the Vision was a scene wrought in the Prophet's mind*: Therefore, what? Therefore that which the Prophet ascribes to God, the Apostle does not ascribe to the Holy Ghost: Will this follow? Nay the Holy Ghost speaks here as a Person, *that I should heal them*.

ŷ. 27.

Soc. Our Author says nothing of that.

But in Mr. *Bidle's Exposition* of *Is. vi. 9, 10.* publish'd (with other of our tracts) *An. 1691.* call'd [*The Faith of one God, &c.*] p. 12. disputing against this topick of yours, of drawing arguments from texts of the Old Testament spoken of God, which seem to be apply'd to *Christ* in the New, gives one instance for all, to confound you for ever; for he proves that, by this method, *Isaias* as well as *Christ* must be God; because that text *Is. LXV. 1.* [*I am sought of them that asked not for me; I am found of them that sought me not, I said, behold me, behold me unto a nation that was not call'd by my name*] is, in the 10th of the *Rom. ŷ. 20.* ascribed to *Isaiab*. [*But Isaias is very bold, and saith, I was found of them that sought me not, &c.*] therefore (says Mr. *Bidle*) *Isaiab is the Lord*. And thus he ridicules the arguments drawn from this head.

CHR. I thank you very kindly for this, whereby to expose that pragmatical Heretick and ignorant Pedant School-Master *John Bidle*, your great and admir'd Apostle. I cannot think he had a Boy of ten years of age in his School, who reading that text *Rom. x. 20.* cou'd understand it as if

Isaiah had spoke those words *Is. lxx. i.* of himself, or that the Apostle cou'd so possibly misunderstand him; and not rather that he quoted this out of *Isaiah*, as what *Isaiah* repeated from the mouth of God, and spoke in the name of God, and not of *Isaiah*: The whole context shews it. Whoever will believe *Bidle* to have had Sense or Reason, after this, has a pitch of Reason fit to be a *Socinian*. But let's go on.

10. *Isa. vii. 14.* *A Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, and shall call his name Immanuel.* * 'Tis added, *Mat. i. 23.* *which being interpreted is, God with us.*

Soc. St. *Matthew* wrote in *Hebrew*, and therefore did not interpret the *Hebrew* name.

CHR. But if he wrote in *Hebrew*, for the sake of the *Jews*, as some think, 'tis generally believ'd that he wrote the same Gospel in *Greek* too; or translated his own *Hebrew* into *Greek*, or some other of the inspir'd Pen-Men of the Scripture, and therefore the *Greek* of St. *Matthew's* Gospel, is acknowledg'd for Scripture by all the christian Church.

Soc. But our Author says, *That we are not bound to submit to the interpretation of the Greek translator, being an unknown and obscure Person.*

CHR. Does he offer any proof for this?

Soc. No, he says no more of this.

CHR. Then he makes good his Character, that he never wants something to say, be it true or false. But we go on,

11. *Is. viii. 14.* *He shall be a stone of stumbling, &c.* † This is spoken of God in the Prophet, and apply'd to *Christ*, *Rom. ix. 33.* 1 *Pet. ii. 8.*

Soc. This is only as *Christ* was also a stone of stumbling, not that he was the same stumbling-stone which the Prophet spoke of.

CHR. But the Apostle calls him that same stumbling-stone. *They stumbled at that stumbling-stone; as is written, Behold I lay in Sion a stumbling-stone, &c.* Rom. ix. 32.

The next is a great text, *Isa. ix. 6, 7.* *Unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given, he shall be call'd wonderful Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his Government and Peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, to order and establish it with judgment and justice from henceforth and for ever. The zeal of the Lord of Hosts shall perform this.*

Soc. This cannot be a Prophecy of *Christ*, because it speaks of a Prince actually born at that time, unto us a Child is born ‡.

CHR. It is the language of Prophecy to speak of things to come, as present: Nay sometimes as of things done and past; *The Lord said unto my Lord, which your Author acknowledges to be a Prophecy of Christ. Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee,* which your Author says is meant of *Christ's* Resurrection. *Thou art a Priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec:* Spoken of *Christ* so long before. But this is too obvious to be insisted on, your Author himself acknowledges it, tho' now he has a bad memory; he insists upon it, and proves it p. 104. and gives several instances. Psal. cx. i.
ii. 7.

Soc. Then there is no way to escape the force of this Text, but what our Author has taken, which is to deny the translation. He says in the *Hebrew* it is thus, *Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given—the wonderful Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father shall name him the peaceable Prince, his Government shall be multiply'd (i. e. He shall reign long, even twenty nine years) and he shall have very great*

* Hist. p. 55.

† Ibid.

‡ p. 57.

Peace—from henceforth to the end of his life. The zeal of the Lord of Hosts shall perform this. i. e. God's love to his chosen People shall make good this Prophecy. For, he says, all this was spoken of *Hezekiah*, because he reign'd twenty nine years, and in that time there was only one expedition against him, and that also unsuccessful.

CHR. It belong'd more literally to Queen *Elizabeth*, who reign'd almost twice as long, and in great Peace, except the one expedition of the *Spanish Armado*, and that also unsuccessful.

It is a great degree of obstinacy to interpret such wonderful, lofty, and mysterious words, each of which commands admiration, only to mean that a King reign'd twenty nine years. Can that go down with any Man of common sense?

But this it self must not do, for his reading of the text is wholly out of his own head.

SOC. He says it is so in the *Hebrew*.

CHR. He says so, but he does not offer to prove it. And because this is so mighty and unanswerable an authority proving the Divinity of *Christ*, and that our Author is driven to his last shifts upon it, I will take pains to set down out of the *Polyglot Bible* the several translations of this text. And I will not alter the words, tho' it will make them bad *English*, that you may see what ground our Author had for his bold alteration of this text.

The *Hebrew* then is thus, *A Child is born to us, a Son is given to us, and the principality shall be upon his Shoulder, and his name shall be called admirable Councillor, God, Strong, Father of Eternity, Prince of Peace, to multiply principality, and to Peace no end.*

The *Chaldee Paraphrase*, *A Man Child is born to us, a Son is given to us, and he shall take the Law upon him, that he may keep it, and his name shall be call'd from the face of the admirable Council, God, a Man enduring to Eternity, Christ, whose Peace shall be multiply'd upon us in his days.*

Syriac. *A Man Child is born to us, a Son is given to us, and his Empire is made upon his Shoulder, and his name is called Admiration, and Councillor, the most mighty God of Ages, the Prince of Peace, of whose principality to Plenty and Peace, there shall be no bound.*

Arabic. *A Man Child is born to us, a Son is given to us, whose Dominion is upon his Shoulders, and his name shall be called, the Angel of great Council, the admirable Councillor, the strong God, the Emperor, the Lord of Peace, the Father of the age to come: For I am to bring Peace to Princes, Peace and safety to themselves. His Dominion shall be most great, and of his Peace there shall be no end.*

Greek. *A young Child is born to us, and a Son is given to us, whose Government is upon his Shoulder, and his name shall be called the Angel of great Council, wonderful Councillor, mighty Lord, Prince of Peace, Father of the age to come. For I will bring Peace to Princes, and Health to him. MS. A. I will bring Peace and Health. His principality is great, and of his Peace there is no bound.*

Add to this, that these Epithets which your Author would not in this text have apply'd to *Christ*, but turns the words, that they may belong only to God, as *wonderful Councillor*, or *Angel of Council*, the *mighty God*, &c. are even by the *Anti-Nicene Fathers* apply'd to *Christ*, *Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. Jud. p. 301, 355. Iren. advers. Hær. l. 4. c. 66. Tertull. De Carne Christi c. 14. Origen in Joh. p. 32, 42. Cyprian advers. Jud. c. 21. Clement. Alexandr. Pædagog. l. 1. c. 5.*

Isa. XLIV. 6. Thus saith the Lord, I am the first and the last. This is apply'd to *Christ*, *Rev. 1. 8, 17. and XXI. 6, &c.*

SOC. My Author says*, That *Christ* was *the first* (that is, the most honourable) *and last*, (that is, the most despised of Men) the first with good Men, and the last with evil Men.

CHR. That is, something may be said of every thing: But the *first* and the *last* are in this same Chapter of the *Rev.* synonymous with *Alpha* and *Omega*, the beginning and the ending. And God is describ'd *ŷ. 4.* thus, *He, who is, and was, and is to come.* Tertullian (*advers. Prax. c. 17, 18. p. 510.*) proves the Attributes of God to belong to *Christ.* *Omnia inquit Patris mei sunt, cur non et nomina? All that the Father hath are mine, says Christ, and why not his names too? Sed et nomina Patris—* The Attributes of the Father, as, *God omnipotent, most High, the God of Hosts, the King of Israel, and Who is, Hæc dicimus et in Filium competisse—* These belong likewise to the Son, who is, *Suo Jure Deus omnipotens, quæ sermo Dei omnipotentis—* i. e. *God Almighty in his own Right, as being the Word of the Almighty God.* And he proves this text we are upon *Rev. 1. 8.* to belong to *Christ.* *I am the Lord, who is, and was, and is to come, the Almighty. Cum et Filius Omnipotentis tam Omnipotens sit quàm Deus Dei Filius. i. e. Seeing the Son of the Almighty is Almighty, as the Son of God is God.*

Origen (in *Joh. p. 5. of 2. Tom.*) observes that none of the *Evangelists* did so manifestly declare the Divinity of *Christ*, *αὐτὸς ὁ Θεός*, as *John* did. And among other texts of *St. John* which he there reckons up, as proving the Divinity of *Christ*, he quotes *Rev. 1. 8.* and *xxii. 13.* *I am Alpha, and Omega; the beginning, and the ending; the first and the last.*

And *St. Cyprian* does the same, *advers. Jud. c. 1. p. 32. and c. 6. p. 35.* I will not pretend but you may interpret this too; for there are several beginnings, and several endings: And I am to day, was yesterday, and will be to morrow: And I may take to my self God's name, *I am*, and many other things said of God, I may accommodate to my self: But this appellation is peculiar to God: You will not find in all the Scripture any Creature call'd in this style; which is the argument insisted on, *viz.* That the most peculiar appellations of God are given to *Christ.* But we shall have occasion to speak more of this upon another text by and by.

14. † *Isa. XLVIII. 16.* *I have not spoken in secret from the beginning, from the time that it was, there am I. And now the Lord God hath sent me, and his Spirit hath sent me.*

SOC. The *I*, in this text, is not *Christ*, but the Prophet; for *Christ* was not sent at that time.

CHR. This has been answer'd already, *viz.* That the style of the Prophets is to speak of things to come, as present, or even as past. Nay our Author pleads guilty, and says ‡, notwithstanding his objection, that this was spoke of a great Prince to come.

Origen in *Joh. Tom. 2. p. 57.* says, this text was meant of *Christ*; and thence proves that he was sent both by the Father and the Holy Ghost. And (in *Matt. p. 323.*) that both were sent by the Father for the Salvation of Man.

SOC. *There am I*, that is, I declare it as clearly as if I were present on the place.

CHR. Can you find in any language one example of this way of speaking? Suppose I were to tell you that such a Child was born, and that I was there, and I should say to you, *from the time that it was, there am I*: Wou'd you understand me? Wou'd you not bid me speak some other sort of language?

* Hist. p. 59.

† p. 60.

‡ p. 61.

Observe I pray you, this whole Chapter *Isaiah* XLVIII. is spoken in the Person of God, and not of the Prophet. There God calls upon them, *Hearken unto me, O Jacob, I am he, I am the first and the last, mine hand hath laid the foundation of the earth, &c.*—*I, even I have spoken—I have called him, I have brought him, come ye near unto me, I have not spoken in secret from the beginning, &c.* as in this text. It was not *Isaiah* who spoke from the beginning. There is not an *I* in all this Chapter, either before or after this verse, but what is expressly meant of God, and incommunicable to any Creature. But this single *I* must be excepted, as before the *and's* and the *thou's*, tho' it is set down continuedly, and undistinguished from any of the rest. Nor could this one *I* in the 16th verse be a transition to another Person from all the other *I's* thro' the whole Chapter, without a design to deceive the Reader, there being not the least hint, or intimation, or possibility of it, by any rule or usage of language in the whole World: Nor can *Y. 16.* be explain'd of any other Person but of *Christ*, whom the Lord God, and his Spirit sent.

SOC. But this is a proof, says my Author, That *Christ* was not God, because he was sent by God.

CHR. Do not we say, that *Christ* was sent by God?

SOC. Yes.

CHR. Why then do you bring that as an objection against our opinion, which is in the very words wherein we express our opinion? Does not the Apostles Creed say, that *Christ* was conceived of the Holy Ghost? Much more may he be sent by him.

But observe that in this text it is said of *Christ*, that the Lord sent him. Here is a plain distinction put betwixt God and his Spirit: God sent, and his Spirit sent; which if they be both the same Person, bears this sense. *I sent, and I sent*; that is, it expresses the difference betwixt *I* and my self; Therefore you must allow God and his Spirit to be Persons; and that *Christ* being *made flesh*, was sent into the World by them both.

15. There is a most plain text which he quotes next to this *Jer. XXIII. 5, 6. I will raise unto David a righteous branch, in his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely: And this is the name whereby he shall be called, the Lord (Heb. Jehovah) our righteousness**.

SOC. In the Hebrew it is, *This is the name which they shall call the Lord our Justifier*; that is, in the happy days of the Branch, the Nation shall call God their *Justifier* or *Deliverer*†.

CHR. The very reading the context shews the absurdity of this translation; for it is God who is speaking, and speaking only of the *righteous Branch*, describing him, and telling how he shall be called, *The day is come saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a King shall reign—In his days Judah shall be saved—And this is his name, whereby he shall be called, the Lord, Jehovah, our righteousness.*

Hebrew: *And this is his name which they shall call him, the Lord our righteousness.*

Paraph. Chald. *This is his name by which they shall call him. Righteousness shall be to us from the face of the Lord in his days.*

Syriac: *And this is his name by which they shall call him, the Lord our righteousness.*

Arabic: *And this is his name, by which they shall call him, the Lord Joledec, which signifies the just Lord, or the justice of the Lord.*

Greek: *This is the name which the Lord shall call him, Joledec.*

* Hist. p. 61.

† p. 62.

Here you see it is the Lord who calls the Branch by this name, instead of the Lord's being call'd so by others.

16. CHR. *Mich. v. 2. Thou Bethlehem, out of thee shall come unto me that is to be ruler in Israel: whose goings forth have been of old, from everlasting, or as it is in the margin, from the days of Eternity.*

SOC. By *goings forth* is meant only pedigree; that is, whose pedigree was ancient.

CHR. This is pretty arbitrary, and your Author gives no reason for it; but I suppose that this is the first time that *going forth* has been taken for a Man's pedigree, and I believe he will not do it again. But how do you get over the words *from everlasting*?

SOC. In the *Hebrew* it is *from ancient days*, viz. that *Christ* descended from the ancient stock of *David*.

CHR. The *Hebrew* phrase is, *from the days of the age*, which, in their idiom, signifies Eternity, as also in the *Greek*, *εις τας αιωνας*, *to ages*, is *English'd* for *ever and ever* at the end of the *Lord's Prayer*; and you find no fault with it: For it is the idiom of the language: And it is in the *Latin*, *in Secula Seculorum*. The *Chaldee Paraphrase* has both expressions together: *Whose Name was said from Eternity, from the days of the age*. The *Syriac*, whose *going forth* is *from the beginning, from the eternal days*. The *Arabic*, whose *out-goings in Israel*, are *from everlasting days*.

And in the *English* it is plainly told what is there meant by *ancient days*, or *of old*, as our translation is; not *yesterday*, or since *David*, but *from everlasting: Whose goings forth have been of old, from everlasting*.

Here I might retort upon our Author, for his interpretation of *Isa. ix. 6. Unto us a Child is born*. That, says our Author, is spoke of in the present tense; therefore it could not be *Christ*, who was not then born. By the same rule, *Christ* did exist, before the Prophet *Micah* wrote; for he speaks of *Christ* here in the preterperfect tense: *Whose goings forth have been of old*—

17. *Zech. ii. 8, 9. Thus saith the Lord of Hosts—Ye shall know that the Lord of Hosts hath sent me.*

SOC. *These words, *Thus saith the Lord of Hosts*, are not the words of the Lord of Hosts himself, but of the second *Angel*, who at *Y. 3. and 4.* spoke to the first *Angel*, and to *Zechariah*.

CHR. Indeed the *Angel* does declare the word of the Lord, and what the Lord spoke, but therefore it was the Lord who spoke it: And this is plain from *Y. 5. I, saith the Lord, will be unto her a wall of fire—flee from the North, saith the Lord, for I have spread them abroad as the four winds—Thus saith the Lord—I will shake my hand upon them—and ye shall know that the Lord of Hosts hath sent me.*

But *Y. 10. and 11.* makes this plain past contradiction. *Lo, I come, and I will dwell in the midst of thee, saith the Lord: And many nations shall be joined to the Lord in that day, and shall be my People: And I will dwell in the midst of thee; and thou shalt know that the Lord of Hosts hath sent me unto thee.*

This cannot be apply'd to the *Angel*: It was the *Angel* indeed who told us this, who told us that God said all this, but you cannot apply it to the *Angel*, any more than you can say that all that is spoken in the Prophets was meant of the Prophets.

SOC. Our Author has said nothing of this last text.

* Hist. p. 63.

18. CHR. It was not for his purpose: The next * text he quotes out of *Zechariah* is chap. III. 2. *The Lord* (Heb. *Jehovah*) *said unto Satan, the Lord* (Heb. *Jehovah*) *rebuke thee.*

SOC. Our Author says, that the Lord in the first clause is the Angel of the Lord, as appears by *Y. 1.* for there *Satan* stands before the Angel.

CHR. How do you prove the consequence? That because *Satan* stood before the Angels; therefore the Lord in the first clause is the Angel?

SOC. I confess the consequence is not very plain: But he proves it was the Angel, because he prays to another Person to rebuke.

CHR. Do not we say that *Christ* is another Person from the Father? And that he pray'd to the Father? And we bring this text as a proof; which you say is no proof, because there is one Person praying to another: Whereas, if it were not so, it could be no proof for us. But your Author confesses, that by *the Lord* in the first clause, *Jehovah* is meant according to the *Hebrew*, which, he says, does so read it as well as in the second clause.

SOC. The name *Jehovah* is given to Angels, as *Exod. III. 2, 4, 6.* *The Angel of the Lord appeared—And when the Lord* (Heb. *Jehovah*) *saw that he turned aside—God called to him—and said, I am the God of thy Father—*

CHR. We say that *Christ* oft appear'd before his Incarnation, as Angels do, who put on Bodies as Men do Clothes, without assuming them into their nature: And when he so appear'd, he took to himself the style of God, which we deny that ever any Angel did. We say that he was one of the three which appear'd to *Abraham*, *Gen. XVIII.* who stay'd behind, when the other two went on to *Sodom*, who is called there by the Name of *the Lord.* * *Constantine* built a Church at *Mamre*, where the Lord did thus appear to *Abraham*, in commemoration of *Christ* appearing there, who is called, *the Lord*, and manifested his Divinity there, accompanied with two Angels. And we say it was he who appeared like an Angel in the Bush, and therefore is rightly there call'd by the Name *Jehovah*, and he said *I am the God.* Thus that text is plain and easy in our sense, but in yours it is intricate and crabbed, and you know not which way to turn it.

19. But I come to the last † quotation out of *Zech. XII. 10.* *They shall look upon me whom they have pierced.* The same thing is of *Christ*, *Rev. I. 7.* and *John XXIX. 37.*

SOC. As the *Jews* in the times of the Prophets did (as it were) pierce God with their sins of several kinds; so they pierced him again when they put to death the Lord *Christ.*

CHR. Both these texts in *St. John* refer plainly to *Christ*; and say, that it was he who was pierced; you say it was not he, but God that was pierced. This is point blank denying these texts, instead of answering them. Again, consider the manner of their mourning for him, *as one that mourneth for his only Son*, as the text speaks; *They shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only Son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one is in bitterness for his First-born.*

This is a sorrow for one that is dead, and lost from us. This is literally fulfilled in the death of *Christ*, and his side pierced with the spear. This sorrow has pity and compassion in it, and trouble and grief for another, which cannot be said of our repenting towards God, wherein we are not griev'd for God, but for our selves. Can we be said to mourn for God as for an only Son?

* Hist. p. 64.

† Euseb. de vit. Const. b. 3. c. 15. 3.

‡ Hist. p. 65.

SOC. But the words in the Prophet are not by St. *John* interpreted of *Christ*, but accommodated to *Christ* and his Sufferings.

CHR. This is the old distinction of accommodated, by which I suppose you mean, that the text was not spoke of *Christ*, but only that *Christ's* case was like that case which the text speaks of: And so one of these cases is only compar'd or accommodated to the other.

SOC. Yes; that is the meaning of it.

CHR. But what if both these texts mean the same case?

SOC. If you can make that appear, you have done the Business.

CHR. What is the meaning of any saying being fulfilled?

SOC. That is, when that is come to pass which was meant or intended in such a saying.

CHR. Is the saying itself, and the meaning of that saying, two different things?

SOC. No sure. For what is a saying but the meaning of it? But what do you mean by all these questions?

CHR. If this text of *Zech.* was fulfilled in *Christ*, then it was meant of *Christ*; and they are not two cases whereof one may be accommodated to the other; but all is one and the self same case. Fulfilling is a compleating of a thing, carrying it to its utmost meaning and perfection. That which is foretold is not fulfilled, if it be not the same thing which was foretold: One thing is not compleated by the fulfilling of another thing.

SOC. This is self-evident. What do you infer?

CHR. St. *John* says the Scripture in *Zech.* was fulfilled in the Passion of *Christ*; therefore it is more than accommodated, compar'd, or made like to it: The Prophet and Evangelist both spoke of the same thing.

These things were done, says St. *John*, *that the Scripture might be fulfilled*—*They shall look on him whom they pierced.* And you having said in your first answer to this text, that the [*Me*] in *Zech.* (*They shall look upon Me*) was meant of God, it follows from St. *John's* interpreting this as fulfilled (and not only accommodated) in *Christ*, that *Christ* was that *Me* which is in *Zech.* and consequently is God. Pray read *ŷ. 36.* of the 19th chap. of St. *John*, *These things were done* (*viz.* piercing *Christ* with the spear, and not breaking of his Legs, as was done to the others who were crucify'd with him) *that the Scripture should be fulfilled, a bone of him shall not be broken.* And again, another Scripture says, *They shall look on him whom they pierced.* Here are two Prophecies quoted by the Apostle of this piercing of *Christ*. One of them I believe this Author will not say was only accommodated to *Christ*, *viz.* the not breaking of his Legs; unless he thinks they could break God's Legs; and then you may contrive an accommodated sense even in this too: For grieving of God may be call'd breaking of his Bones, as well as piercing him: And you must either accommodate both, or none of these texts; the Apostle puts them together, and accommodates them both alike: And therefore *Zech. xii. 10.* must belong as much to *Christ*, as *Exod. xii. 46.* *Numb. ix. 12.* or *Psal. xxxiv. 20.* And it was understood all along in this sense, even before the Council of Nice.

St. *Barnabas*, in his * *Cath. Epist. c. 7. p. 43.* speaking of *Christ's* coming to Judgment, says, that when the *Jews* shall see him, they will say, *Is not this he whom we heretofore did crucify?*

Now tho' St. *Barnabas* does not here quote this text of *Zech. xii. 10.* yet it is plain that he refers to it; and means, the *looking upon him whom they pierced*, to be understood of *Christ*.

* Καὶ ἰδόντες, ὃς ὁ ἰσχυρὸς ὅν ποτε ἡμεῖς ἐσταυρώσαμεν;

Irenæus quotes this same text of *Zech. xii. 10.* as spoke of *Christ*, (*advers. Heres. l. 4. c. 66.*) and *Cyprian* (*advers. Jud. l. 2. c. 20.*) *Tertullian* (*advers. Jud. c. 14. de Resurrect. Carnis c. 22. and advers. Marcion. l. 3. c. 7.*) and generally all the Fathers.

Soc. The more learned and judicious *Trinitarians* confess that the * *Trinity*, and Divinity of *Christ*, and of the Holy Spirit, are not indeed taught in the Scriptures of the Old Testament; but are a Revelation made to us in the New: So saith *Tertullian*, *advers. prax. c. 3.*

CHR. *Tertullian* says not a word like it in that place. It is but seldom this Historian quotes book or chapter of any Author: And you may see here a good reason for it. But it was an unlucky or rather happy *Erratum* of the Author or Printer, (if you make the right use of it) to lead the Reader to this place of *Tertullian*, for he discourses there of the Trinity so very learnedly as might have instructed your Author and cur'd him of his mistakes about the Trinity, if he had minded it.

Testimony
of *Tertullian*
that the Tri-
nity is collect-
ed out of the
Unity.

Tertullian is there disputing against these Hereticks who think that the
† *Number and Disposition of the Trinity is a Division of its Unity; when the Unity deriving the Trinity out of itself, is not destroyed by it, but is supported. Therefore they brag that we preach two or three, but that they worship one God. As if the Unity, being unreasonably collected, did not make Heresy; and the Trinity being rationally weigh'd did not establish the truth.*

These are the words of *Tertullian*, and I would desire you to consider two things in them. *First*, That he says the Unity does deduce the Trinity out of itself. This shews the Trinity to be even natural to the Unity; and therefore that there could not be an Unity unless there were a Trinity. And to explain this, he says after, that the Unity is to be collected: *Unitas collecta*. This is a great confirmation to what we have already discours'd of the natural Unity of the Persons of God. That in every Unity there must be several things to be united: Thus the Unity of a Body is an union of parts; the union of a Soul is the Union of faculties; and the union of God is the Union of Persons. The very word Union implies diversity; for a thing cannot be united to its self: Even in self-reflexion, the same Soul must be considered as agent and patient, as when I love my self: And what is but a shadow, a diversity of Faculties in Man, (without which there could be no self-reflexion) must be personal in God, (without which God could not know or love himself; and so could not be God:) Therefore, as *Tertullian* says, the Unity not being reasonably collected, makes an Heresy in the christian Faith. Indeed your Unity is not collected at all, or put together; it is made up of nothing, or (which is the same) it is the Union of a thing with itself, a Unity without any Union, or an Union where nothing is united: On the contrary, our doctrine of the Trinity being rationally weigh'd and consider'd, does establish the truth, that is, gives the only true and rational account of the Unity of God: And it will follow from hence, that we deserve the name of *Unitarians* much more truly than you do. Your Unity is a Heresy, according to *Tertullian*, ours is the truth.

Soc. I fancy our Author must have misquoted that place of *Tertullian*.

CHR. Yet it has not been wholly improper to our subject as you have seen.

Soc I am sure, that is not what he intended. But what say you to two or three other Authors he quotes in the same place?

* Hist. p. 67. † Numerum & Dispositionem Trinitatis, Divisionem præsumunt Unitatis; quando Unitas ex ipsamet derivans Trinitatem, non destruat ab illa, sed administratur. Itaque duos & tres jam jactitant a nobis prædicari, se vero unius Dei cultores præsumunt. Quasi non & Unitas irrationabiliter collecta, Heresin faciat; & Trinitas, rationaliter expensa, veritatem constituat.

CHR. I have them not at hand: And I think it not worth the while to search for them; because if *Tertullian* and twenty others said what he alledges, it would make nothing for his cause. And, *Secondly*, you may reasonably suppose that he deals with the others as he has done with *Tertullian* in this quotation.

SOC. Why do you say it would make nothing for his cause, if *Tertullian* or others said what he alledges?

CHR. Because I will allow, in one sense, that the Trinity and Divinity of *Christ* are not taught in the Old Testament; that is so clearly, as that, if the New Testament had not apply'd to *Christ* the texts which the Old Testament makes incommunicable to any but to God, we had not of our own heads, thought them communicable to *Christ*. But it is a demonstration that the Fathers did think the Trinity and Divinity of *Christ* to be contain'd in the Old Testament; because one of their arguments for the Divinity of *Christ* is by comparing the Prophecies of him in the Old Testament, with the completion of them in the New: And from the New Testament applying to him the incommunicable Attributes of God, which the Old Testament did appropriate to *Christ*. And you have seen the Fathers, even before *Nice* insist all along upon the Old Testament proofs, both for the Trinity and Divinity of *Christ*: So that this is a false and malicious aspersion your Author casts upon them, where he weakly insinuates, that they give up the Old Testament Phrases, because these of the Gospel are more full: Or even that the Old Testament proofs had not been clearly understood but for the New, which as I said, if granted, makes nothing at all to his cause; but he has not prov'd even that: That he may make out his Character, to have prov'd no one thing that he has attempted.

An answer to the objection why the Trinity is not more clearly reveal'd in the Old Testament.

SOC. But he asks p. 68. if the Trinity were taught in the Old Testament, how came the *Jewish* Church in all ages to be so wholly ignorant of it, that (as all confess) they had not the least suspicion, that God is more than one Person? And if in this they had err'd, 'tis not to be doubted our Saviour would have reprov'd their heresy, and carefully set them right, as he did in the matter of the resurrection.

CHR. His confident asserting is the best part of his arguments. He says, that (as all confess) the *Jews* had not the least suspicion of the Trinity. The contrary to which you have plainly seen.

SOC. But then why did not *Christ* explain the Trinity more fully to them, and set them right in this, as well as in the resurrection?

CHR. He did so, as is evident from the clear Revelation of the Trinity in the New Testament; but they remain'd ignorant in this, as in other things which were as clearly reveal'd; as in the true Office of the *Messiah*, his passion, resurrection, &c. *Luk. xviii. 31, ad 35*. Nay the very Apostles remain'd all *Christ's* life time ignorant of the true meaning of his coming into the World, of his death, resurrection, &c. *Acts i. 6*. notwithstanding all the clear Revelations he made to them of it before his death.

SOC. The chief of your proofs for the Trinity are in the New Testament. Therefore in our next Discourse let us consider these, at least the principal of them.



T H E THIRD DIALOGUE.

Texts out of the New Testament.

CHRISTIAN.



Am now come to my proofs out of the New Testament: And I desire you to consider,

I. Matt. xii. 31. *Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven.*

Soc. The Holy Ghost is not, in this text, a Person, or a God, but merely the Power of God*.

CHR. Not in this text; but in other texts it must be something distinct from God; which you assert, p. 17, and p. 125. upon 2 Cor. xiii. 14. and in several other places: So that you alter the notion of the Holy Ghost according to the texts: Which is wisely done, for every text will not fit your way.

Soc. But now we must take it only for the Power of God which is the same with God, as 'tis said of *Moses, they provoked his Spirit*; the undoubted meaning is, they provoked him. So also *Grieve not the holy Spirit of God*, is an Hebraism for *Grieve not God*; as our Author explains it, p. 52. upon *Psal. cxxxix. 7.*

CHR. Then this is the meaning you have put upon this text, that *sins against God are to be forgiven, but sins against his Spirit are not to be forgiven.* Now apply this to the parallel you have brought; and say that *a sin against Moses is to be forgiven, but against the Spirit of Moses is not to be forgiven*: Or, which is the same, that *a sin against Moses is to be forgiven, but a sin against Moses is not to be forgiven*: For you know *Moses* and his Spirit are the same.

Soc. You have propos'd the difficulty, pray answer it.

CHR. The Spirit of *Moses* is not a Person, viz. it is not subsisting by it self: Therefore we cannot predicate, or affirm any thing of it otherwise than of *Moses*, and it would be the same absurdity to say any thing of the Spirit of God otherwise than of God, if the Spirit were not a Person, that is, subsisting by it self.

Soc. I will consider of this: Go to another text.

2. CHR. Mat. xxviii. 19. *Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*

Soc. Baptizing unto such a one, is sometimes meant of baptizing in his name†, as *Rom. vi. 3. As many of you as have been baptized into Jesus*

* Brief Hist. p. 75.

† p. 77.

Christ—by which is meant, being baptized *in his name*. And we find it said, *That our Fathers were baptized unto Moses*, 1 Cor. x. 2. *and unto John's Baptism*, Acts xix. 3. and therefore we may suppose they were baptiz'd *in their names*. And so being baptiz'd *in the name* of such a one, is not a proof that he is God.

CHR. This is Mr. *Bidle's* exposition of this text reprinted, 1691. in that Volume of *Socinian Tracts* intituled, *The Faith of one God*, &c. p. 8. And not to insist upon the difference of being baptiz'd *unto*, and *into* such a one, which is considerable; I answer, that being baptiz'd *in the name* of such a one, does include, being baptiz'd *unto him*: But not on the contrary; for being baptiz'd *unto such a one*, does not include, being baptiz'd *in his name*. *Unto such a one*, may mean, no more than being baptiz'd by his Ministry: But being baptiz'd, *in ones name*, is owning him the Author of my Religion; and, as such, a dedicating and devoting my self to him: Which is not lawful to do to any Creature, because it is the highest sort of worship that can be. *I thank God I baptized none of you*, says St. 1 Cor. i. 25. *Paul, but Crispus and Gaius, lest any should say that I had baptized in my own name*. And again he argues with them: *Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucify'd for you? Or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?* These are things which no Apostle must arrogate to himself, and there is not an instance in all the Scripture of any that were baptiz'd *in the name* of any Creature; for that would be to be baptiz'd into the Faith and Worship of Creatures, which is Idolatry: And asserted, *in terminis* in *Bidle's Confession of Faith*, printed in the abovesaid Volume of *Socinian Tracts*, p. 4. where Artic. 2. and p. 8. Artic. 3. he asserts *Christ* to have *no other than an human Nature*, and yet, *in this very Nature* to be *not only a Person—but also our Lord, yea our God*—and the *object of our Faith and Worship*. Which is as gross Idolatry as ever was own'd by the Heathen; and a greater contradiction than any that is charg'd upon the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity. St. Gregory *Thaumaturgus* in his *Expositio Fidei*, p. 100. says, that from the words of this text, *non potest contradici*—there can be no dispute, but the *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost* have Communion and Unity, according to which, they are not three Divinities, nor three Dominations, nor three Holy's, but their three Persons remaining, the Union of all the three is most firmly to be confess'd: As the Father sends the Son, and the Son sends the Holy Ghost: But one Person never sends it self, for none will say that the Father is incarnate, &c. Our Author's interpretation of this text is the same which *Cyprian* so severely reprehends in *Lucian*, who, when our Lord commanded all Nations to be baptized in the *name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, and remission of sins to be given in Baptism, he being ignorant of the Command and the Law, commands Peace to be given, and sins to be remitted in the name of *Paul*—wherein he did not consider at all, that it is not the Martyrs who made the Gospel, but they are made Martyrs by the Gospel. *Cyprian Epist.* 18. p. 53. and *Epist.* 73. *Jubaiano* p. 200. he says this form of Baptism in the *name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, *insinuat Trinitatem, cujus Sacramento gentes baptizantur*; *It does insinuate the Trinity into the Sacrament of which the Nations are baptized*. And afterward in the same *Epist.* p. 206. he says, that *Christ* commands all Nations to be baptized in *plena & adunata Trinitate*, *in the full and united Trinity*.

Soc. The *Def. of the Hist.* c. 7. p. 38. says, that the *Jews were baptized in the name of Moses*, and that it is plain, the *Apostle* tells the *Corinthians*, that as they were baptized in the name of *Jesus*—So the *Fathers had been baptized in the name of Moses*.

CHR. If we had said any thing like this, I should have expected some of his usual complements, impudent, want of common sense, &c. to bring no argument but to cry magisterially, *It is plain*, when it is plainly otherwise: However we will give him to the next Edition, to find the place where St. Paul tells the *Corinthians*, that the Fathers were baptized *in the name of Moses*.

SOC. But he finds some places of Scripture where Creatures are join'd with God as *Exod. xiv. 31. The people fear'd the Lord—and believ'd the Lord and his Servant Moses. 2 Tim. v. 21. I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect Angels, that thou observe these things, &c.*

CHR. What does he make of this?

SOC. If *Moses* and Angels be join'd with God in acts of Faith and Obtestation, &c. Why not the Son and Spirit in Baptism, tho' neither of them is God himself?

CHR. Sure he did not ask this question to be inform'd; for who is it does not see the difference? To be baptized in the name of a Person, is, giving up my name to him, dedicating my self to him, making my self his, giving him the title to me, to dispose of me at his pleasure: It is a form of initiating me into his Religion, owning him as the Father and Author of the Religion I profess. And this it is not lawful to do to any Creature: There's none whom we must thus call *our Father* upon *Earth*, whom we must join with God, in this solemn act of dedicating our selves unto God; for we are wholly God's, and he must have no sharer in the possession of us: In this we must join none with him. But there are many things wherein it is no harm to join Creatures with God, as in acts of obtestation, as your Author calls it, invoking God and Man to witness: To believe what God says, and what Man says, &c. This is so obvious, I will insist no more upon it.

SOC. My Author quotes *1 Cor. i. 14, 15. I thank God, says St. Paul, I baptized none of you but Crispus and Gaius; lest any should say that I baptized in my own name.* He plainly insinuates, says my Author, that *a mere Man may baptize in his own name.*

This is such an insinuation, as, I believe, none but your Author could see: If any Man might do it, I know none had better pretence than St. Paul: But how his renouncing it, should be a plain insinuation that he might do it, is left to the Author to explain; till when, I must still believe, and most Men in the World with me, that these words of St. Paul rather imply that he had not power to baptize *in his own name*; and if not he, then I think, no body else had that power.

SOC. My Author still insists, that to be baptized *unto Moses*, is the same with being baptized *in the name of Moses*, because being baptiz'd *unto Christ*, and *in the name of Christ*, are the same.

CHR. That has been answer'd already, *viz.* The greater (which is, being baptiz'd *in the name of a Person*) includes the lesser (which is, being baptiz'd *unto one*, which may mean no more than by his Ministry:) But on the contrary, the lesser cannot include the greater. Therefore tho' being baptiz'd *unto Christ*, and *in the name of Christ*, mean the same thing, because the greater includes the lesser; yet being baptiz'd *unto Moses*, and *in the name of Moses*, are not the same, because the lesser does not include the greater.

SOC. He still insists, that if to be baptiz'd *into Christ's Baptism*, is all one with being baptiz'd *in the name of Christ*, then he says, that to be baptiz'd *into John's Baptism*, must also signify to be baptiz'd *in the name of John*. And that whoever profess'd in his Baptism, to follow the Do-

ctrine

ctrine which *John* taught, might be said to be baptiz'd in the Name of *John*.

CHR. To be baptiz'd into *Christ's* Baptism is all one with being baptiz'd in the Name of *Christ*; because the form of his Baptism was in his own Name, together with that of the Father, and the Holy Ghost. But to be baptiz'd into *John's* Baptism, was not to be baptiz'd in the Name of *John*, unless *John* did baptize in his own name. Which it is evident he did not; for his Baptism had relation and referred to *Christ* who was to come after him: As it is said, *Acts* xix. 4. *John verily baptized with the Baptism of repentance, saying unto the People, that they should believe in him who should come after him; that is, in Christ Jesus.*

But what does he say to the objection of being baptiz'd into the name of an Inspiration, which is not a Person?

SOC. He says (ending of p. 39. and beginning of p. 40.) that he sees no absurdity in being baptiz'd into the profession of a doctrine which came originally from God the Father, is reveal'd by his Son, and is confirm'd by the Power or Spirit of God.

CHR. That is to say, he is resolved not to answer, ask him as often as you will: For the question is not of being baptiz'd into the profession of a doctrine, for all are oblig'd by their Baptism to profess the doctrine of that Person in whose name they are baptiz'd. Thus Christians are oblig'd by their Baptism to profess the doctrine taught by *Christ*; but they are not baptiz'd in the name of that doctrine, or of any article of it; that would be nonsense: For every Baptism is in the name of some Person. As no Man is enlisted in the name of a cause, but in the name of some Person for whose cause he fights: And the cause is proclaim'd in the name of the Person. Thus we read, *Luke* xxiv. 47. *That repentance and remission of Sins should be preach'd in Christ's Name.* This was never said of any Prophet, Apostle, or other Minister of the Gospel: That is more than belongs to the office of a bare Servant, Minister, or Herald: They must not proclaim in their own Names.

The like reason will explain *Luke* xxii. 5. *The Apostles said unto the Lord increase our Faith:* Which your Author would have to mean no more than to pray for them. But he will not find in Scripture an example of requesting any Man's prayers in such a form, as to desire them to bestow upon us any spiritual Grace.

3. The next text we should consider is *Joh. i. 1. In the beginning was the Word, &c.* Of which we have before discours'd at large: I only here mark it in its order: And so go to the next.

4. *John* ii. 19, 21. *Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will raise it up—He spake of the Temple of his Body.*

SOC. * *Christ* raised his Body by a power communicated to him by the Father.

CHR. But had he that power when he was dead? How can a dead Man act? Which way shall he be set about the raising of himself?

SOC. Indeed I think we must have him alive before he can raise himself: Let us go on to *v. 25.*

5. CHR. We will let that alone till we come to *Rom. ii. 16.* for the same answer will serve both. But now to prove that *Christ* had a Being before he was born of the Virgin †, Read *Joh. iii. 13. No Man hath ascended up to Heaven, but he that came down from Heaven; even the Son of Man that is in Heaven.*

* Hist. p. 89.

† p. 90.

Soc. * *He that came down from Heaven.* That is, says my Author, he that is sent to you as the Messenger of Heaven, or of God: And even the *Son of Man that is in Heaven*; that is, whose mediation or conversation is in Heaven. But our Author quits this answer, and says that the *Socinians* do (generally) understand this text literally, and say, that 'tis here intimated, that before our Lord enter'd upon his office of *Messias* he was taken up to Heaven to be instructed in the Mind and Will of God, (as *Moses* was into the *Mount*, *Exod.* xxiv. 1, 2, 12.) and from thence descended to execute this office and declare the said Will of God: The same thing, they say, is also hinted *John* vi. 38, 46, 51. 62. *John* viii. 40.

CHR. Does any of these places say that *Christ* was taken up to Heaven?

Soc. No: But that he came down from Heaven, and was in Heaven.

CHR. Will this prove that he was taken up to be instructed after his incarnation? We say he was there before, and came down: You, without any authority in the world, will have this to be a taking of him up after his Birth, of which there is not the least hint in all the Bible, no, nor any where else. Your Author does not so much as pretend to any sort of proof; so that we must take it for a revelation of his own: That is, for an absolute sign of a baffled cause, and the utmost obstinacy to resist all conviction. If he had found us build any thing upon such a bottom as this, I am sure he would persecute us sufficiently: They may as well take upon them to invent a new Bible, as invent stories on purpose to ground upon them strange interpretations of the texts of the Bible.

But let me ask you, upon his own principles, what need was there for *Christ's* being taken up to Heaven to be instructed in the Will of God? He confesses that the Word of God, which is his whole Wisdom and Power, abode on *Christ*, and inspir'd him, even † *without measure*, so as that it was even incarnate and made flesh in him, and spoken of as one Person with him, and he with him. And was not this sufficient to shew him the Will of God? What could Heaven add to this? He could have but the same in Heaven. But if *Christ's* Ascension into Heaven may be solv'd by my fancying that he might be taken up at this or that time, and let down again, I may deny what all Christians mean by his Ascension; and every other article of the Creed by the same liberty: But let us go on.

6. How do you answer *John* viii. 58. ‡ *Before Abraham was, I am?*

Soc. That is, before *Abraham* was it was decreed that *Christ* should come.

CHR. Why was not that express'd in the text? You will grant the words will not bear it. Never Man expressed himself at this rate: And the Scripture is to be understood, like other writings, by the common use of words; else it was not meant to be understood.

Soc. He produces other texts to countenance his interpretation of this, *1 Pet.* i. 20. — *Who was fore-ordain'd from the foundation of the World.*

CHR. That is clearly express'd, that he was fore-ordain'd.

Soc. *Rev.* xiii. 8. *The Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.*

CHR. These are the words of the *Revelation*, which speaks in the highest strain of Prophecy, and that as we have observ'd, speaks of things to come, as present, or past.

And this could not be misunderstood, for none ever said that *Christ* was slain before the time that he was slain: And therefore this could not be meant but only of the decree, or in relation to God, to whom all things are present, in which respect the Lamb was slain from all Eternity.

* Hist. p. 91.

† p. 89.

‡ p. 94.

And besides you cannot reconcile this answer of *Christ's* to common truth as you explain it.

The question was, whether *Jesus* or *Abraham* were first. *The Jews said unto him, thou art not fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?*

Jesus answered, that he was before *Abraham*: if he meant in decree only, it was no answer to their question; for so I am before *Abraham*, that is, before *Abraham* was born it was decreed that I should be: And you would not make our Saviour answer sophistically.

Iren. advers. Her. l. 4. c. 27. p. 346. understands this text [*before Abraham was, I am*] of *Christ's* really existing before *Abraham*.

But the next place, why should the *Jews* go to stone him for this answer? There was no sort of difficulty in it, as you explain it.

Soc. The *Jews* misunderstood it.

CHR. Then you must suppose *Christ* spoke with a mental reservation, on purpose that they might mistake.

Soc. Yes, as *Luke viii. 10.* He spake in Parables, *that seeing they might not see, &c.*

CHR. This is not to be understood as if *Christ* spoke in Parables, on purpose to hinder them from believing: On the contrary, Parables do naturally prompt Men to enquire and learn the meaning of them, and therefore are the most effectual method of instructing: That is, to Men apt and forward to learn. But otherwise they are indeed insipid, and very ineffectual. But that is from the fault of the hearer, who will not be at pains to enquire. Therefore our Saviour so often repeats, *He that hath ears to ear let him hear—and take heed how ye hear: For he that hath, to him shall be given, and he that hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he hath.* That is, a docible temper will learn still more: On the contrary, Men who are careless and stupid, grow backward, and loose what Reason they had.

And what our Saviour says of *seeing they might not see, &c.* it was only as applying to them the Prophecy which was of their hardened and indocible temper, which is evident from the parallel place, *Mat. xiii. 14.* *In them is fulfilled the Prophecy of Isaias, which saith, by hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand, and seeing ye shall see and shall not perceive: for this People's heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes are closed, lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and should understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them.*

You will not say that it was the Prophecy which hardened these Men. But God foresaw their hardness, and foretold it by the Prophet; *St. Matthew, c. i. 22.* speaking of the Birth of *Christ*, says, *all this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Prophet, saying, behold a Virgin shall be with Child, &c.* Do you think that the end of *Christ's* coming into the World was only that he might not make *Isaias* a liar, who wrote this Prophecy? Or that this Prophecy was the cause of *Christ's* Birth, so that it had not otherwise come to pass if this Prophecy had not been made? There is the same reason for the same manner of expression in the same Evangelist, *c. xiii. 14.* and quoting another Prophecy of the same Prophet *Isaias*.

But how different a case is this from our Saviour's answering a plain and direct question of the *Jews*? Are you older than such a Man, or not? To make him deceive them on purpose is a hard interpretation; and when he saw them in an error, and brought into it by his improper and unknown way of speaking, that he should leave them in that error, into which he had visibly led them, and not vouchsafe one word to undeceive them; not only

at that time, but never after in his whole life: On the contrary, that all he said should be constantly in this strain, speaking such strange things of himself, and in words applicable to no other Person in the World: I say this would give him more the character of an impostor and a deceiver, as they call'd him, than of a teacher come from God to tell us the truth.

7. *Joh. x. 30. Christ says, I and the Father are one.*

Soc. Not one God, but as friends are said to be one*.

CHR. Tertullian (*de Oratione* c. 2. p. 130.) proves that we pray to the Son when we pray to the Father, because *Christ says, I and the Father are one. In Patre Filius invocatur; Ego enim inquit, & Pater unum sumus.* And (*advers. Prax.* c. 8. p. 504.) *Sermo in Patre semper—The Word, says he, was always in the Father, as Christ says, I am in the Father, and always with God, as it is written, And the Word was with God: And never separated from the Father, or other from the Father, because I and the Father are one. (Ibid. c. 22. p. 513.)* And by this saying he shews them to be two, *quos aequat & jungit, whom he joins and makes equal.* But all this is to be understood, *Ut duo tamen crederentur in unâ Virtute. That they be believed to be two in one and the same Power; because otherwise the Son cannot be believ'd, unless two be believ'd: These are the words of Tertullian.*

St. Cyprian (*de Unit. Eccl.* p. 109.) quotes this text as proving the natural Union of the Father and the Son: For he joins it in the same proof with *1 John v. 7.* which is the most express for proving the Unity of the Trinity. *Dicit Dominus, Ego & Pater unum sumus, & iterum, de Patre & Filio & Spiritu Sancto scriptum est; & hi tres unum sunt. The Lord said, I and the Father are one; and again, it is written of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: And these three are one.*

8. The next text I offer you is *John x. 33. Thou being a Man makest thy self God.* What says your Author to this?

Soc. He says, they ly'd.

CHR. That is not the question. But what notion had the *Jews* of that term, *the Son of God*? They knew that God had many Sons by Adoption, and that Kings were called Gods in their Law, which you instance p. 76. in answer to *Mat. xxvi. 63. Tell us whether thou be the Christ the Son of God.* But a natural Son partakes of the true nature of his Father; in which sense to call any the Son of God, is to call him true and real God: As the *Jews* here you see understood it; and in this sense it is that *Christ* is called the *First Begotten.* The production of God's Nature is essential to him; and therefore the first production of God, before any of his outward acts of Creation, and in this sense *Christ* is God's *only Begotten*: These are his epithets in holy Scripture. Now the question is, whether the *Jews* understood him in this sense, or only in the common sense of *Christ's* being a God, or a Son of God, as Kings or Judges are?

You remember what we have said of Gods by Nature, and Gods by Office: And that there was a necessity that our Saviour must use the terms of the *Logos*, or the *Word*, and likewise of the Son of God, and all other terms, in the same sense in which they understood them to whom he spoke; else he had not spoke in sincerity and truth.

Soc. I remember this very well: And it is necessary that he should use these terms in the same sense the *Jews* did: Therefore I desire you to prove, that the *Jews* had any notion at all of a natural Son of God, or a Son of God, which is God: For our Author thinks that they had not the least suspicion of any such thing, as I quoted him to you before, p. 68.

* Hist. p. 95.

CHR. And I have quoted to you before the *Jews* notion of the Trinity, and likewise of the *Messias*, *Shechinah*, which they distinguished from the Holy Spirit: If they had no such notion, why then did they charge *Christ* with Blasphemy for saying he was the *Son of God*? And that this did make him God.

SOC. I cannot see a good reason for it. The expression is very strange.

CHR. But they explain their own meaning past dispute. *Thou being a Man, say they, makest thy self God.* They could not say this, if they had meant by God, only a Man. *And they sought to kill him, because he said that God was his Father, making himself equal to God.* Being God's natural Son does indeed make him equal to God, as every Son is equal to his Father in Nature; and therefore they must mean it in this sense, for otherwise to be God's adopted Son, or only upon the account of Creation, is so far from making us equal to God, that, on the contrary, it demonstrates that we are not equal to him. And in this sense it is not only no fault, but it is our duty to call him *our Father*; for so he is. And therefore it is impossible that the *Jews* should seek to kill him, or be angry with him for this, which themselves did every day; much less to infer from hence, that he made himself equal to God.

SOC. But our Author says*, that *had our Lord been more than the Son of God, he would have own'd his dignity, when they charg'd him with Blasphemy, for saying those things from which it might (by their strain'd consequences) be inferr'd that he made himself a God.*

CHR. He did own his dignity plainly, because he knew what they meant by the *Son of God*: But on the other hand, if he had not been *such a Son of God* as they meant, which was to be equal to God, or to be God; without doubt he would have renounc'd the Blasphemy with the utmost abhorrence and detestation (as *St. Paul* and *Barnabas* did, when the People took them for Gods, *Acts. xiv. 14.*) and never suffer'd the *Jews* to have gone away in so mortal an error, and just prejudice to him and his Doctrine; especially not to lose his life for it, for when the High-priest rent his clothes, and the *Sanhedrim* condemn'd him to death for the Blasphemy of calling himself the *Son of God*, he should stand mute (which was owning of the fact) and refuse to save his life (which was being accessory to his own death) or to undeceive these so fatally mistaken in such a blasphemous and mortal error, when he might have done it so easily as naming this distinction of his not being the natural (which only in their sense was blasphemous) but a created Son of God, with which none could find any fault, much less charge it with Blasphemy. But I go on.

9. John 14. 1. *Ye believe in God, believe also in me.*

SOC. Our Lord has himself interpreted this John xii. 44. *He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on him that sent me.*

CHR. That is, they are both one. And you will not find any Prophet, or Apostle, no nor Angel, compare himself thus with God; or that durst say, *Honour me, as you honour God; and ye believe in God, believe also in me.*

SOC. That is a different style I must confess, from what is us'd of Angels, or of Men.

10. CHR. John xiv. 9.—*He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father.*

SOC. It is also said of the Disciples, *Luk. x. 16. He that heareth you, heareth me—and he that despiseth you despiseth me.*

* Hist. p. 96.

† P. 97.

‡ Ibid. 111 *

CHR. So he that despiseth, or will not hearken to an Herald, despiseth the King that sent him. But you will not say, that he who seeth the Herald, seeth the King.

SOC. That indeed bears a different meaning, especially in one who pretends to be the King himself, and is accus'd for so doing.

II. CHR. John XIV. *If ye ask any thing in my name I will do it.*

SOC. That is, by intercession with the Father, as it is said *Heb. vii. 25. He is able to save them—that come to God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them*.*

CHR. The Apostle is there describing his Priestly Office (which was intercession for the People) and comparing it with that of *Aaron*: And this is, as he is Man. But *I will do what you ask*; is of another strain, never spoke by a bare Intercessor, it arrogates to my self to grant your petition, and therefore no Man or Angel ever spoke after this manner.

12. John XVI. 14. *He [the Holy Ghost] shall receive of mine, and shall shew it unto you.* Here the Spirit is plainly spoken of as a Person. This we have discours'd already.

But what does he say to these words, that the *Holy Ghost shall receive of Christ's*.

SOC. That is, *He shall receive of God, the remainder of Christ's Doctrine, and teach it to the Apostles†.*

CHR. This is beyond a strain'd interpretation; it is adding to the text, and your Author might have made it signify what he pleas'd. But our Saviour gives another reason, why the Holy Ghost did receive of his: Because, says he in the next words, *All things that the Father hath are mine: Therefore said I, that he shall receive of mine.* And *vs. 7.* He attributes to himself the sending of the Holy Ghost; *I will send him unto you.*

Will you now give unto a Creature the power of sending the Holy Spirit, which you say, *is not any thing different from God, but is God?* A Creature to send God, and to give him something of a Creature's to carry: A Creature to call God his Messenger, and to say, *He shall receive of mine and give to you*: And for a Creature to say that *all things that are Gods are his*: These things are unintelligible, irreconcilable upon your scheme; but in the Doctrine of the Trinity of Persons, in the Unity of Nature, they are obvious and easie: For there is a Natural Order and Superiority of the Persons, in an Equality of Nature; which we see even among Men, as has been explain'd.

Object. of the Holy Ghost appearing in the shape of a Dove.

SOC. My Author objects that the Holy Ghost appear'd in the form of a Dove on *Christ*, and of Cloven Tongues on the Apostles‡. And he asks what sense the *Trinitarians* can make of these things? They say the Spirit is a Person, and God: Did God receive and assume the shape of a Dove, that is, of a Brute? What hinders but that they may believe all the transformations in the *Metamorphosis* of *Ovid*.

CHR. He rests mightily assur'd in this Objection, and expresses it very modestly: But let us see what is in it.

First, For the Holy Ghost appearing in the form of Cloven Tongues, he himself confesses, that this was to express the gift then bestow'd, which may be the gift of Tongues. And consequently it was not to express the form or shape of the giver: So this part of the Objection is over.

He says, That for the like reason the Holy Ghost appear'd in the shape of a Dove at our Saviour's Baptism, to signify the mild and peaceable Spirit of *Christ*.

* Hist. p. 98.

† p. 101.

‡ p. 102.

If so, then this Apparition too was as an emblem of the gift, and not of the giver: So that he has answer'd himself.

But in the next place it does not appear that there was any shape of a Dove at our Saviour's Baptism; tho' it is (I think) a vulgar error. For which reason I will speak a little of it here.

There was a bodily shape appear'd; else the People could not have seen it: But what was this shape, or appearance? It was a fire of glory that descended from Heaven, and lighted upon the head of our Saviour. But how did it light? Was it like a flash of Lightning, quick and transient? No, for then, in so great a multitude, the People cou'd not have discern'd for what particular Person it was meant. Did it come down swift, as a Bird of prey stoops to its game, like an Arrow out of a Bow? No, it descended leisurely and hovering, as a Dove does, when it lights upon the ground, that the People might take the more notice, and to express the over-shadowing of the Holy Spirit: And it not only lighted upon the head of our Saviour, but it abode and remained upon him. As it is said *John* 1. 32, 33.

Now that the expression in the text, *Like a Dove*, does refer to this manner of the descent of that glory upon our blessed Saviour, and not to the shape of it, appears from the grammatical construction of the words in the text, which is better distinguished in the *Greek* and *Latin*, than in the *English*, where the cases of Nouns are express'd by Particles, and not by their Termination. Now if these words, *Like a Dove*, had refer'd to the shape, then the word *Dove* must have been in the Genitive Case, the shape of a Dove. But it is not so, either in the *Greek* or *Latin*. It is said in the *Greek*, that the Holy Ghost descended *σωματικῶς εἶδεν*, in a *bodily appearance*, *ὡσεὶ* (or *ὡς* as the *Cambridge Copy* of *Beza* reads it) *πεπεσσομένη*, but if it had refer'd to the shape, it must have been, *ὡσεὶ πεπεσσομένης*, of a Dove. Thus the *Latin*, *Descendit corporali specie, sicut Columba*: That is, *Sicut Columba descendit, as a Dove descends*. It can bear no other construction: But if it had refer'd to the shape, it must have been, *Descendit corporali specie, sicut Columbæ; the shape of a Dove*: Which is not in our *English*: It is not said in our *English*, *the shape of a Dove*; but that the Holy Ghost descended (in a bodily shape) *like a Dove*, that is as a Dove descends. If it had refer'd to the shape, it shou'd have said, *In a bodily shape, as of a Dove*: Or, *like as of a Dove*.

Besides, if that glory which appear'd had been no bigger than a Dove, (which is not to be imagin'd, when it is said the Heaven was opened: And the People had not taken so much notice, if the appearance had been no bigger than a Dove, it might have escap'd the sight of many; but suppose it) how shou'd they know it to be a Dove, more than any other Bird, or thing of the like bigness? Especially considering that it utter'd no voice, for it is expressly said, that the voice came from Heaven; then not from that which abode or remain'd upon our Saviour.

I have said thus much of it, because of the too common practice of painting the Holy Ghost like a Dove; which gives countenance to the usage in the Church of *Rome* of painting God the Father like an old Man, from his being call'd the *Ancient of Days*, and represented to *Daniel* in a dream (so it is expressly said, *Dan.* vii. 1.) *as sitting upon a throne, &c.*

But in that glorious appearance at *Horeb* (which was more than a dream) it is particularly caution'd, *Deut.* iv. 12. *The Lord spake unto you out of the midst of the fire, ye heard the voice of the words, but saw no similitude*. That is, of God who spake, for they saw many other similitudes, as fire, smoke, &c. But they were to make no resemblance of God from any thing that they saw. And the Fowls of the Air are particularly nam'd,

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But how do you *Socinians* get over this text? You, who by the Holy Ghost mean only an Inspiration, or an Attribute of God, as his Wisdom or Power. Now for an Inspiration, or a Quality, or Attribute to take a bodily shape, has an absurdity in it beyond any you can charge upon our Interpretation of this text.

Soc. Our Author gives an answer to the text before quoted, *John* xvi. 15. *All things that the Father hath are mine*, he says* *St. Paul* said as much of every Christian, *1 Cor.* iii. 21, 22. *All things are yours—things present, things to come are yours.*

CHR. *All things*, is often us'd to express all the things which we are then speaking of: And what these things were, and what he meant by *all things* in this text, *St. Paul* sufficiently declares, while he repeats that expression in the same breath, *Whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the World, or Life, or Death, or things present, or things to come, all are yours*; that is, all these things are intended for your benefit: Not only the present ministration of the Gospel in the hands of *Paul, or Apollos, or other Men*; and the grace with God bestows upon them in this life; but even Heaven hereafter will be the portion of Saints; but all these things are not, *all things that the Father hath*: This which *St. Paul* speaks to Christians, has no proportion to what *Christ* says of himself.

Soc. He gives a second answer. He says that saying of *Christ* is thus to be rendered: *All things, relating to the Doctrine and Discipline of the christian Church, which the Father hath in his mind and design, are mine.*

CHR. Bless me! That Men should pretend to Reason, and to appeal to Scripture; and yet take upon them not only to interpret them to all the perverseness that words are capable of, but where that will not do, to add, what they please to the text, and turn it to whatever they have a mind to! I'll undertake give me this latitude, and you shall not prove from Scripture, that there is a God, or a World, or ever such a Man as *Christ*. There is an ingenious Book written, exposing their method of argument, by which the Author proves from Scripture, after their manner of interpretation, that Women have no Souls, and answers all texts against it in the *Socinian* way; and as plausibly as they oppose these texts which prove the Trinity, or the Incarnation, and Satisfaction of *Christ*. And another maintains the Eternity of the World, and answers the first of *Genesis* as the *Socinians* do, *Col.* i. 16. *viz.* That by creating was only meant modelling, or new ordering. Which you will see more of when we come to that text. Others set up *Præ-Adamites*, without any stop from the story of *Genesis*: And indeed there is no stop to invention, at this rate, nor any certainty in words: No temporal Law can guard itself without this maxim, that *ubi lex non distinguit, ibi non est distinguendum*; you must not distinguish, but where the Law does distinguish, for that is to set your self above all Laws, and alter them at your pleasure.

But adding is yet more arbitrary: And your Author adds more than two thirds to this text: Therefore I recommend to our Author's serious meditation, that admonition, *Prov.* xxx. 6. *Add not then unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar.* For every word of God is pure. *Rev.* xxii. 18. *His word is perfect and entire; and he that addeth to it, God will add to him the plagues written in that Book.*

But that you may not lean wholly upon what I say in defence of this text we are upon, *Job.* xvi. 15. you may consult *Tertullian advers. Prax.* c. 17. p. 510. where he proves, from this text, that *Christ* is God.

* Hist. p. 103.

13. Christ says to the Father, *John xvii. 5. Glorify me with thine own self, with the glory I had with thee, before the World was.* Does not this prove Christ to be before the World?

SOC. This he answers*, that is, the glory I had with thee, in thy decree and design, before the World was.

CHR. Does he give any Reason why it is otherwise express'd in the text?

SOC. No, but he brings other texts where what was only in decree, was said actually to be.

CHR. Without something in the text to shew that it speaks of such a decree?

SOC. Yes sure, else they cannot be parallel cases to this text.

CHR. Let us hear them.

SOC. 1 Pet. i. 11. *Searching what, and what manner of time the Spirit—did signify, when it testified before hand the Sufferings of Christ, and what was to follow.*

CHR. Is there nothing in this text, which tells you that it testify'd before hand, of what was to follow?

SOC. He might have spar'd this instance. The next is better, 2 Cor. v. 1. *We have a building of God, an house not made with hands.* Here we have, is, we have it in God's decree or intention.

CHR. And is there nothing of that express'd in the text? If you had repeated two words more, it would have told you, that this house *was reserv'd for us in Heaven:* And that it was not to be till after *our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolv'd:* And therefore, that we *groan earnestly after it, expecting it;* and therefore that we have it but in reversion, not in present possession: So that what is meant by *we have* in that text is very plainly told.

SOC. His next text will do it. 2 Tim. i. 9. *Grace was given us in Christ before the World was.* Where again, *was given to us,* is, was given in God's decree and intention.

CHR. And is there nothing in this text to shew us, that this was only in God's purpose or decree? If you had repeated but one word before, it had hindred you from producing of this text. For there it expressly tells us, that this grace given us before the World, was in God's purpose—*According to his own purpose, and grace which was given us, before the World was.* And this is the Apostle's style in other places where he speaks of the same, Tit. i. 2. *in hope of eternal life, which God promised before the World began.* Eph. i. 4.—*He hath chosen us in him, before the foundation of the World.* (c. iii. 11.) *According to the eternal purpose, which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord.*

Now if you can shew such an explanation in that text *Joh. xvii 5.* then these may be parallel cases.

But I have another thing to ask in this matter. Do not decrees always look forward, and respect things to come?

SOC. Yes certainly, one is not said to decree what is past.

CHR. But our Saviour in this text speaks of what is past—the glory which I had with thee before the World was. Common Speech allows to say, I have a reversion: But to say, that I had, what I have not yet, nor ever had; is a new way of speaking.

But there is more than this yet: You say that *Christ had no being before the world.*

SOC. Yes, that is our Tenet.

* Hist. p. 104.

CHR. How had he glory then *before the world*, when he had no Being? Was this by way of decree too? *Irenæus* (*advers. Hæres.* l. 4. c. 28. p. 347.) quotes this text to prove *Christ's* Existence before the World. And *Origen* (*in Mat.* p. 326.) says, it was not meant of this World.

SOC. Pray, let us go to some other text.

CHR. John xx. 28. *Thomas answered, and said unto him, my Lord and my God.*

SOC. *O my Lord* are words of congratulation to our Saviour, and *O my God* words of admiration and praise to God*.

CHR. This is very ingenious! But if I should ask, who told you this? There is nothing of this discovery in the text. But I wonder he would let either of these belong to *Christ*, because they seem both to be spoken of the same Person as much as words can bear.

SOC. The reason is, because they were spoke to *Christ*; and as a consequence of *Thomas's* conviction after his having so long remained doubtful of our Saviour's Resurrection; of which being now satisfied, he makes this confession to *Christ*, and therefore at least one of them must belong to *Christ*.

CHR. Then there will be hazard of the others going along with it, for they are link'd very close together.

The truth of it is, our Author leans that way: And says *Nestorius Patriarch of Constantinople* thought so: But he will not trust to that; because it seems a very harsh interpretation to make *Thomas* answer a question of our Saviour's to him, only by an exclamation, which might serve any question in the world, by saying, *O God!* Which a Man will do when you pinch his finger: Whereas otherwise it was a direct and full answer to our Saviour. His Resurrection was a great proof of his Divinity: Of this *Thomas* remain'd a while doubtful; but being convinc'd by our Saviour, he then acknowledges *Christ* to be his *Lord* and his *God*; and this by way of answer to our Saviour. *Be not faithless but believing* says *Christ*: Then *Thomas* answers and owns his belief, by acknowledging *Christ* to be Lord and God. *St. Cyprian* quotes this text as proving the Divinity of *Christ*: (*advers. Jud.* l. 2. c. 6. p. 35.) But we go on.

15. *Acts* v. 3, 4. *Why hath Satan filled thine heart, to lye to the Holy Ghost?—Thou hast not lied unto Men, but unto God.*

SOC. Thou hast lied to the Holy Ghost; *i. e.* † to us Apostles who have the Holy Spirit, or inspiration of God in us.

CHR. To lye to an Inspiration is a strange expression. In the next place, tho' you allow the Spirit of God, sometimes, to be put for God himself; yet it is a little over bold, methinks, to put it for an Apostle. There should be very good authority for that, something stronger than one of our Author's supposes. When was *St. Peter* called the Holy Ghost before? Or the Holy Ghost called by the names of any of the Apostles? Because the Holy Ghost inspires me, am I therefore the Holy Ghost? So that if you tell me a lie, it is to be called telling a lie to God? But more especially when the text says, *he did not lye to Men.*

SOC. That is, not to Men only, or chiefly.

CHR. No: There is another reason. Men could not know that he lied; but only God, who knew his heart. And therefore it is called a lying to God, and not to Men; for there was no evidence produced against him, they knew not but he spoke truth, in telling them the price of his land, which was the matter then in debate.

* Hist. p. 106.

† p. 107.

SOC. Our Author brings a text to support him, 1 *Thes.* iv. 8. *He therefore that despiseth, despiseth not Man, but God. * Who hath also given to us his Holy Spirit.* Here 'tis manifest that those who despised the Apostles, are said to despise *because God was in them by his Spirit.*

CHR. I utterly deny that to be the reason, for that would transfer the honour of God to every good Man, which is, to every stranger I meet, for ought I know to the contrary; that if I despise him, I despise God: Which is extravagant even to blasphemy.

But the meaning is, he that despiseth that message which God sent by the Apostles, which was the Gospel of *Christ*, he despiseth not Man, for it is not the Gospel of Man, but he despiseth God, the Author and Sender of it. As if any should return a King an opprobrious answer by his Ambassador, the affront could not be understood to the Ambassador, but to the King who sent him: But this has nothing in the world to do with our present case, wherein our Author would have the honour of God to belong to every Man, to whom God gave the assistance of his blessed Spirit.

This is a sufficient answer to the Historian's interpretation of this text: But I cannot forbear to shew the ridiculous madness of your Evangelist *Biddle* in his exposition of this text, in the above-quoted volume of *Socinian* tracts, entituled *The Faith of one God*, &c. p. 9, 10. where, instead of *Ananias* lying to the Holy Ghost, he would very fain (but without any ground) have it understood that *Ananias* did tell a lye of the Holy Ghost, *viz.* that the Holy Ghost had put it into his heart *to sell his farm, and lay down the price at the Apostles feet*; and so was guilty of *Blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, in fathering upon the Holy Spirit that which was ejected into his heart by the unclean Spirit, i. e.* to sell his lands. Whereby you must first observe, that it was by the inspiration of the unclean Spirit that *Ananias*, and consequently other Christians of that time did sell their possessions to distribute to the necessities of others, which the Scripture, and I believe all mankind else before Mr. *Biddle*, have always ascrib'd to the great Grace, with which we are told, *Acts* iv. 33. God did bless those early converts to the Christian Faith.

Secondly, he says, that these words in this text, *why hath Satan filled thy heart to deceive God?* seem to be Blasphemy, [that is, supposing the Holy Ghost to be God] *for it importeth [says he] either that God may be deceived, or else that Satan, or at least Ananias thought so, otherwise he would not have propos'd in his heart to do it:* Thus delicate Mr. *Biddle*! I would recommend to his annotations 1 *John* v. 20. *He that believeth not the Son hath made him (God) a liar, because he believeth not the testimony which God gave of his Son.* Will Mr. *Biddle* hence infer that any Man had such a notion of the supreme Being as that he is a liar? Or not rather that, as we are said to crucify *Christ* afresh by our sins, to grieve the Spirit of God, &c. so, by consequence, we make God a liar when we do not believe the testimony he has given? tho', at the same time, none can be suppos'd so grossly ignorant of the Nature of God, as to think him capable of deceiving, or being deceived: No, neither *Satan* nor *Ananias* were such speculative Atheists, tho' practically every sinner is such, in some degree. But, if you will have it, according to Mr. *Biddle's* exposition, that not to believe the testimony which God hath given of his Son, is to be a downright speculative Atheist, or to think him a liar, which is the same, or worse; then I desire you to look to it, for it will stand you as much upon to clear your selves from Atheism, for not believing the many

testimonies which God has given of the Divinity of his Son; as from idolatry, in worshipping him whom you do not think to be true God.

16. *Acts* vii. 59. *They stoned Stephen, calling upon God, and saying Lord Jesus receive my Spirit.* Here praying to *Jesus* is called praying to God.

Soc. The Greek is, *Lord of Jesus receive my Spirit* *.

CHR. This is only because the word *Jesus* is indeclinable; that makes it no more of *Jesu*, then *in*, *by*, *with*, or *from Jesu*: And this text is as much *Lord Jesu*—as it is possible for either Greek or Latin to express it.

Soc. Well, we will give you another answer: That is, *Stephen* called upon God, and he also said, *Lord Jesu receive my Spirit* *.

CHR. Does your Author alledge any authority for this?

Soc. No: Not a word. But only that he supposes St. *Stephen's* vision of *Christ* at the right hand of God, which he had before the Council, to continue still with him.

CHR. What is all this to the business? I cannot see how it concerns this text, or favours his addition, and interruption of the sense, which speaks of *Stephen calling upon God and saying*—instead of which our Author adds, of his own head, and he also said, leaving out the word in the text, for both words cannot be in; it cannot be both *saying*, and *he also said*: And he does not so much as pretend that the word *saying* was not right translated, or any thing amiss in it: So that here, by his own confession, is both subtraction and addition to the word of God; nay more, a putting in his own invention instead of the word of God: I am weary of this.

17. *Acts* ix. 14, 21. *To bind all that call upon thy name.* (The words are spoken of the Lord *Christ*, as is made undeniable by *x. 21.*) *Is not this he that destroy'd them which called on this Name* (*Christ's Name*) *in Jerusalem?*

Soc. The Socinians generally not only grant, but earnestly contend, that *Christ* is to be worshipped and pray'd to; that he is to be worshipped with divine worship †.

CHR. This is their opinion; and it is the fore place of the Socinians; herein they divide, and herein they contradict themselves: And instead of answering this text, your Author brings several arguments from elsewhere against the Divinity of *Christ*, and to avoid answering, he turns an objector: His arguments are all answer'd in what is said before, therefore I will not trouble you with them: For we are now upon his reply to the texts that are brought against him.

Soc. When he is against the invocation of *Christ* (which is not always) he answers these texts thus. *To bind all that call upon his Name*; and again, *Them that called on this Name in Jerusalem*: He says the original Greek may be translated several ways. First, *To bind all that are called by thy Name.* Secondly, *To bind all that name this Name* †.

CHR. We know his gift in interpretations; and for answer, we insist, that the Greek does not bear his sense, but is rightly translated in our Bibles; and for him to offer nothing against it, but his own saying so, and thus and thus it may be, is no indifferent measure of assurance, which oft passes with him instead of argument.

But in this same chapter, *x. 10.* it's said, *That the Lord appeared to Ananias, And the Lord said unto him, &c.* what Lord was this?

Soc. It was the true God certainly: For this is the common style of God thro' all the Scriptures.

* Hist. p. 108.

† p. 109.

‡ p. 112.

CHR. And it is certain, that this was *Jesus* who spoke to *Ananias*, and to whom *Ananias* spoke, and who sent *Ananias* to *Saul*, *x. 17.* The Lord even *Jesus* hath sent me, says *Ananias*. Hear another text:

Acts xv. 28. *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us*.*

18. Soc. That is, to God's Inspiration in us; and therefore to us also.

CHR. To seem good to an Inspiration! Or to us and to our Inspiration! This has been spoke to before.

19. Acts xx. 28. *Feed the Church of God which he had purchased with his own Blood.*

Soc. My Author here again disputes the true reading of this text; and says, that some read it *Feed the Church of Christ*.

CHR. And we still insist upon the truth of our translation, against his bare saying; which we say, is an evident sign of his lost cause, when he has nothing to say but to assert, without proof.

Soc. His second answer is, that some Masters of the Greek Tongue do render the word thus, *Feed the Church of God, which he has purchased with his own Son's Blood.*

CHR. However skilfull in the Greek they may be: The word (*Son's*) is a plain addition, which is beyond the power of interpretation.

Soc. His third answer is, That the Blood of God is no more, than the Blood which God gave. As the Lamb of God, is no more than the Lamb which God gave.

CHR. The common Law of discourse allows me to call any thing mine that belongs to me, as my Horse, my Cow, &c. But no language ever call'd another Man's Blood, my Blood, unless my Son's, or near Relations, whose Blood is really mine: As we call'd our Children, our Flesh and Blood, in which sense you will not allow *Christ* to be the *Son of God*.

I come now to your Author's fourth Letter which contains the texts out of the Epistles and Revelation; and there first take notice of his Motto-text, *Rom. i. 25.* *Of these who change the truth of God into a lye, and worship the creature.* And desire your Author to reconcile it to their worship of *Christ*, supposing him a Creature, as they do; and their arbitrary changing the texts of Scripture, as we have seen; but now to the texts. The first I name is,

20. *Rom. ix. 5.* *Of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all God, blessed for ever, Amen.*

Soc. I'll undertake he will have something to say against this text; for it is too positive to be endur'd.

CHR. Yet he is more merciful then he us'd to be; for here he says only that it is *probable*, by some passages in the Fathers (which he does not tell us) that the word *God* was not originally in this text†.

Soc. But because this will not do, he answers, Secondly, that these words ought to be translated thus, *Of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, God, who is over all be blessed for ever. Amen.*

CHR. This is adding again to the text: For the *English* is rendered even literally from the *Greek*, and there is no such word in the *Greek* as *be*, *God be blessed*, but it is, *God blessed for ever*.

And the very natural running of the words comes into our sense, *Christ who is—* is what? *God blessed—* there is nothing else for him to be in that text; for these words, *over all*, are but an epithet of the Person there describ'd, like *Blessed for ever*. The Person there spoke of is *over all*, and *blessed for ever*, and is *God*. For this text is not telling what *God* is, but

* Hist. p. 113.

† p. 117.

what *Christ* is, of whom only the Apostle is speaking from the beginning of this chapter, without the word *God* us'd at all before that mention'd in this text. And in this case the only remedy left to the Author, is, to cut one sentence into two, and apply one of them to a Person who is not mention'd at all in the whole discourse. But this it self will not do, for there will want a word, to turn the sense to another than the Person there spoke of; for read the text, *Christ* who *is*, this word *is* refers to all the particulars which follow in the same sentence, *Is over all, is God blessed for ever*. Now to make a new sentence in the middle of this, there will want another *is*, for it must be either that *something is God*, or, *God is something*. *God blessed for ever*, without any more, is no sentence at all; there is nothing affirm'd or deny'd. But to end all these disputes, our Author adds the word *be*, after the word *God*, *God be blessed*; and even then it is but possible to become a distinct sentence; for it breaks and tears the sense, and shocks any reader, to stop in the middle of the description of one Person, and, without any why or wherefore, to apply two or three of the epithets to another Person not mention'd before, and to force in a new word on purpose to bring it in.

But a good cause will struggle thro' many of these hardships.

But then to call this plain and easy, and most rational, that indeed is a little imposing and hard to be born, but for so necessary a work as to take away the Divinity of *Christ*, or any argument for the Trinity.

Tertullian (*advers. Prax.* §. 13. and 15. p. 507, 508, 509.) quotes this text as proving *Christ* to be God. *St. Cyprian* does the same, *Advers. Jud.* l. 2. §. 6. p. 35. and *Irenæus* l. 3. c. 18.

That other expression in this text [*as concerning the flesh*] that *Christ* came of the Father only as to what concern'd his flesh, or human Nature, shews plainly that he had another Nature which did not come from the Father, or that was deriv'd to him from his birth of the blessed Virgin; the same caution of expression is us'd *Acts* 11. 30. where *Christ* is call'd the seed of *David*, only according to the flesh.

21. I would desire among other his congruous and easy interpretations to look into the 1st verse of this 9th Chapter to the *Romans*. *I say the truth in Christ, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost*. What is the meaning in speaking the truth in *Christ*? Supposing him only to be a Man, and absent in Heaven. And then *my conscience bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost*: Sure to make any thing a judge or discernor of conscience, is to make it God; for that is an incommunicable Attribute, by the confession of all: But taking the Holy Ghost in your Author's interpretation, only for the inspiration which God sends into our hearts; then you must read the text thus, *My conscience bearing me witness, in my inspiration*, which no body can say but is very familiar and intelligible.

But the Apostle here appealing to *Christ* and the Holy Ghost, as judges of his conscience, I think is a demonstration, that they are Persons; and that they are God.

Soc. Our Author says nothing of this text. And now let us follow him.

22. CHR. There is something of this in his next quotation, *Rom.* 11. 16. *God shall judge the secrets of Men by Jesus Christ*. *1 Cor.* 14. 5. *Who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the councils of hearts* *.

Soc. *Christ's* knowledge of the secrets of Hearts is by the divine Word communicated to him, and by Revelation from God.

* Hist. p. 120.

CHR. If God reveal to me that another Man does now think so or so, does that make me a Knower of Hearts? I know that particular that is reveal'd to me, but no more; Neither do I know it by knowing the Man's Heart, I know it only by Revelation.

But to have a Power within my self to know the Hearts of all Men, to look into a Man's Heart, and see his Thoughts, is not communicable to a Creature. *God only knows the Hearts of Men.* 1 Kings VIII. 39.

And that *Christ* has that Attribute of God of knowing Hearts, not when it is reveal'd to him by another; but that he knows them *in his Spirit*, as it is said of him, *Mark* II. 8. and *in himself*, *Mark* V. 30. is plain from many Scriptures besides these now quoted; see *John* II. 24, 25. *Jesus—Knew all Men; and needed not that any should testify of Man; for he knew what was in Man.*

SOC. The *Defence of the Hist.* p. 53. proves that this was no inherent personal Knowledge in *Christ*; in opposition to Revelation.

CHR. How does he prove it?

SOC. He says, what is known by Revelation is an inherent personal Knowledge.

CHR. That is, such Knowledge is inherent, because it is in a Man; and it is personal, because it is the Man's own Person that knows. This indeed is a noble discovery, and by this he would quite take away the distinction 'twixt personal inherent Knowledge, and Revelation; because, says he, Revelation it self is a personal inherent Knowledge.

But after all this *Socinian* Subtilty, is it possible, or would he have us believe, that he cannot see the difference 'twixt what a Man knows of his own natural inherent Knowledge, and what he knows by Revelation; and that for no better reason, but because he knows both; and that it is he himself, his own Person which knows both? A Man's natural inherent Knowledge is stinted and cannot go beyond its sphere: And therefore one Man's natural Knowledge is greater than another's. But there are none so great as to discover some things, particularly the present instance we are upon, the Thoughts of the Heart; which none but God can know by his natural inherent Knowledge. But suppose God reveals to me a particular Thought of a Man's Heart, does it therefore follow that I know it by my own natural inherent Knowledge? If I did, I needed not that any should tell it me: And that is the reason given in the text to shew that this Knowledge of *Christ's* was his natural inherent Knowledge, because it is said, *He needed not that any should testify of Man, for he knew what was in Man.* If his knowing what was in Man, was by Revelation, he not only needed, but it was absolutely necessary that some should testify to him of Man. I hope there is some difference 'twixt this and *Elisha's* knowing what the King of *Syria* spoke in his Bed-chamber (2 *Kings* VI. 12.) which this Author makes a parallel place, to this of *John* II. 24, 25. For first *Elisha* might have had intelligence from some about the King; which was the thing that the King apprehended, and thought nothing miraculous in it: But suppose God told *Elisha*; therefore *Elisha* needed that some should testify of what the King said: And therefore it can be no parallel to that of our Saviour, who did not need that any should testify to him, even of the Thoughts of Men's Hearts; for he not only knew this or that Thought, and that when it was told him, but he knew all Men's Thoughts, *whatever was in Man*; without need of any to declare this to him: That is, without Revelation, which cannot be said of any Prophet, or any Creature. And therefore this personal inherent Knowledge of *Christ's*, is put in opposition to Revelation, contrary to this vain Defence of our Historian.

SOC. But our Author quotes * *Rev. i. i. The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave to him, to shew unto his Servants.* And what need God reveal any thing to *Christ*, if he knew all things?

CHR. This is spoken of *Christ* as Man. Secondly it is not said that God did reveal it to *Christ*, but gave it to *Christ* to reveal to others; that is, gave Commission to *Christ* to reveal it to *John*, &c. which does not imply that *Christ* did not know it before.

SOC. But the *Defence* of this *History* says, who can give to God?

CHR. *Christ* as Man receives all from God: Which this Author could not but know to be the Christian Doctrine, and therefore it was frivolous in him to urge it, without farther reasons, as an argument against the Christian Doctrine.

23. The third text he quotes out of the *Romans* is, chap. x. 12. *The same Lord over all, is rich unto all that call upon him.*

SOC. This and what follows is spoken of God and not of *Christ*.

Rom. x. 6, 7,
8, 9, 11, 12,
13, 14.

CHR. The contrary is most evident; from the 4th verse. The Apostle is treating wholly of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and making him the object of our Faith, as he was under the Law, for he applies *Deut. xxx. 12.* expressly to *Christ*; and says, *That is the word of Faith which we preach, that if thou confests with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe that God raised him—whosoever believeth on him—the same Lord over all, is rich unto all that call upon him—for whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. How then shall they call on him—How shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a Preacher?*

Here you see the same *him* is carry'd through all these verses. And the Apostle expressly applies to this *him*, *Joel ii. 32. Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord, &c.* which is applicable to none but God. And therefore it is certain that *Christ* is the Lord here spoke of. The *Jews* had heard of God before; and therefore the Apostle could not say—*Of whom they have not heard*, but in relation to *Christ*; who was not rightly understood by the *Jews*, who did not apprehend what *Moses* and the Prophets had wrote of him, and therefore they needed a Preacher to explain him to them.

Your Author cannot deny all the *him's* in this chapter before your text, to belong to *Christ*. But in his old short way, he excepts the *him* in the 12th verse, and so forward, and the business is done; tho' the discourse goes as continu'dly on as before, and speaks of the same *him*, without any discrimination, or least mark that he is bringing in any other *him*: Which would not only be wrong sense, but it would be an express deceit to use such an unseen shifting of Persons in an argument, as has been said before. But we go on.

24. *I Cor. vi. 9. Your Body is the Temple of the Holy Ghost. 2 Cor. vi. 16. Ye are the Temples of the living God.*

SOC. The Holy Ghost or Spirit being the inspiration and power of God, the same Bodies that are Temples of the one, must needs be Temples also of the other†.

CHR. First it is absurd and illogical to say, the Temples of an inspiration, Temples belong to Persons: But in the next place, you make a difference 'twixt the Spirit and God, they are the one and the other. And in other places you make them the self-same thing, and no difference 'twixt them at all, as I have often observ'd before.

* Hist. p. 120. † Ibid. ‡ p. 121.

25. 1 Cor. x. 9. *Neither let us tempt Christ, as some of them also tempted.*

Soc. It should be *neither let us tempt God*. But since the former is the receiv'd reading of the Church, our Author has not authority sufficient to counterbalance that, therefore he gives you another answer. He says that ** admitting the reading in the English Bibles, yet the sense will be, let us not tempt Christ, as the Israelites tempted God in the Wilderiness.*

CHR. But he must confess that this is plain adding to the Word of God; for we must not add words to the text, upon pretence of keeping to the sense. But does he not bring some very extraordinary reason to support this opinion of his?

Soc. Not one word, but that murmuring against God, or *Christ*, is tempting them.

CHR. Then he gives us leave to proceed.

26. 2 Cor. 8, 9. It is said, that *Christ, tho' he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor*. When was it that *Christ was rich*, and became poor? If he had no Being before he was born of the Virgin?

Soc. † The sense is, *tho' he might have lived rich*.

CHR. But the text says, that *he was rich*. And we must take your Author's word, as formerly, that the meaning is, *not that he was rich*, but only he *might have been so, if he would*.

Soc. The *Defence of the History*, c. 9. p. 51. gives another answer, *viz.* that *πτωχὸν* does not signify to *become poor*, but to *be poor*.

CHR. He only says so: Which he would have to over-balance the learning of all the translators of our Bible. But in the next place, the stress does not lie upon the word *poor*, but upon the word *rich*: We all know *Christ was poor*, but the question is when it was that he was rich.

Soc. He says, *the sense of the place is this: Tho' Christ was rich and glorious, by reason of the authority and power conferred on him; yet he was willing to lead a poor life, &c.*

CHR. In this sense *Christ* was never poor, for he was always rich in authority: And a Man that has authority can never be poor in this sense. Poverty and Riches may be taken in many senses: There is rich and poor in eloquence, in beauty, in courage, in sense, in authority, and in money. And if when you speak of any of these, you make not your discourse proceed of the same, you argue sophistically, and no Man can understand you. This is the defence of your History, and has helped him much: This play is not worth the candle: Let us dispatch.

27. ‡ His answer to 2 Cor. xii. 8, 9. is this, that the *Power of Christ resting on the Apostle* was only that *Christ* interceded for that Power to rest on him: That is to say, if I beg an estate from the King for you, it is therefore my estate which you possess! And this shall be the way of speaking in *** this text*.

28. And in the next too. 2. Cor. xiii. 14. where *The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ*, is not his Grace, but another's Grace, which he only begs for us.

But there is another extraordinary thing in this text. For it plainly distinguishes, says our Author, *Christ and the Holy Ghost from God*. Now they are plainly distinguished; but in answer to *John i. 1.* they must not be distinguished at all.

29. Gal. i. 1, 12. *Paul an Apostle, not of Men, neither by Men, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father—I neither receiv'd it of Man, neither was I taught it, but by revelation of Jesus Christ.*

* Hist. p. 122.

† p. 123.

‡ p. 124.

** p. 125.

SOC. *Paul rightly denies he is made an Apostle by Man because he was made one by Jesus Christ, who in all things acted by the Spirit and Directions of God.

Acts i. 24,
xiii. 2.

CHR. Did not the Apostles act by the Spirit and Directions of God when they chose *Matthias* into the room of *Judas*; and separated *Barnabas* and *Saul* for the work whereunto God had called them?

SOC. Yes certainly; for it is expressly said, that the Holy Ghost bad them do it.

CHR. Did they therefore in that receive commission from Men?

γ. 3.

SOC. Yes, for it is said, that they laid their hands on them, and sent them.

CHR. Then Mens acting by the Spirit and Directions of God does not hinder that such actions are said to be done by such Men: For example, *Matthias* was elected by the eleven Apostles, and *Barnabas* and *Saul* were separated by the Church.

And therefore it would follow, in this sense, that St. *Paul* did not argue rightly, as our Author says he did, when he denied himself to be made an Apostle by Man, because he was made one by a Man who acted by the Spirit and Directions of God.

But his meaning is plainly this, that he did not receive his commission from, that is, by the mediation of Men, but immediately from God.

And if *Christ* were not more than Man, and consider'd as such in this text, the Apostle's words cannot be made consonant, especially as interpreted by our Author. *Tertullian* (*advers. Prax.* §. 27. and 28. p. 517.) proves *Christ* to be both God and Man: *Ex Carne Homo, ex Spiritu Deus*; and then proves the distinction betwixt him and the Father, and quotes this text, among others, to shew that tho' he was God, yet he was distinguish'd from the Father.

30. But let us see what art he will find to escape *Phil.* ii. 5, 6, 7, 8. where it is said, that *Christ* being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, &c.

SOC. †In the form of God, that is, being made like God, and namely by a communication to him of divine and miraculous Power over Diseases, Devils, the Grave, the Wind, the Seas, &c.

CHR. A communication of this divine and miraculous Power was given likewise to Prophets, Apostles, &c. were they therefore in the Form of God?

Every body that understands terms, knows what is meant by matter and form. The form of a thing is its essence, not its shadow or likeness: And therefore whatever is in the form of God, is of his essence, and consequently must be God.

And this is the inference the Apostle makes, that because *Christ* was in the form of God, therefore he was equal to God: And that this was not any arrogance or presumption in *Christ*, for being in the form of God, he was natural God.

But if *Christ* were originally a creature, as the *Socinians* would have him, and advanc'd to the divine honour, or a made God, as they word it, then indeed it could not be excused from a great robbery, presumption and blasphemy, for him to pretend to be equal to God.

And the Apostle in this text seems to have foreseen and obviated the *Socinian* heresy; for he does not only call *Christ*, God, but tells how he is God: Not by gift or donation, or that he was made God, that is a contradiction in the very terms; but that he was in the form and essence of

* Hist. p. 126.

† p. 128.

God, and so equal to God, which could not be pretended to, without robbery, any other way.

Irenæus (*advers. Hær.* l. 1. c. 2. p. 51.) quotes the 10th verse of this chapter, which immediately follows the words you have quoted, and is an inference from them, *viz. that at the Name of Jesus every knee should bow*; and describing what sort of adoration it was which was to be paid to *Christ*, he says*, that *every knee should bow to him as to our Lord, and God, and Saviour and King.*

Clemens Alexandrinus (*Admonit. ad Gent.* p. 7.) having said how God had persuaded Men many ways, by Prophets, by Miracles, &c. at last says, *he emptied himself; and if you will not believe the Prophets, behold the Lord himself shall speak to thee; Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: But the merciful God* ὁ φιλοκρίμων Θεός, *emptied himself, desiring to save Man: And now the Logos, the Word himself speaks to thee, being grieved for thy Infidelity: Thus Clemens.*

Tertullian (*advers. Prax.* c. 7. p. 504.) quotes this text *Phil.* ii. 6. as proving *Christ*, whom he there calls the *Word*, to be God. And (*advers. Marcion.* l. 2. c. 16. p. 389.) he says, *Qui credimus—We who believe that God dwelt on the Earth, and took upon him the form of a Servant, that he might save Man are far from their opinion who would have God take care of nothing.*

Origen (in *Matt.* p. 357. of *Tom.* 1.) pursuing his allegory betwixt *Christ* and the Church, says that *Christ being the Husband, for his Spouse the Church left his Father* ὃν ἐώρα, *whom he beheld, or enjoy'd his presence, when he was in the form of God*, *ibid.* p. 34. he says that *Christ when he was in the form of God, and thought it not robbery to be equal to God, was made a Child, &c.* and (in *Johan.* p. 413. of *Tom.* 2.) he says τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἔ' Ἰησοῦ, *the Humanity of Christ was made, ἐν μὲν ἔ' λόγῳ, one with the Word; he being exalted, who thought it no robbery to be equal with God; but the Word remaining, ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ὕψει, in its own altitude, or Christ in his Humanity being exalted to the dignity of the Word, which he had before with God, The Word being now both God and Man, Θεὸς λόγος ὢν ἄνθρωπος, God the Word being Man, &c.*

But pray, what says your Author to that part of the text, that *Christ thought it not robbery to be equal with God?*

Soc. He renders it thus, *Who committed not robbery by equalling himself to God, i. e. did not rob God of his Honour by arrogating to be God, or equal to God.*

CHR. That was answer'd like an Oracle! for it bears two meanings, either that *Christ* did not arrogate to himself to be God, or equal to God; and therefore did not rob God of his Honour; or otherwise, it may be understood, that tho' he did arrogate to himself to be God, or equal to God, yet this was not a robbing God of his Honour.

In the last sense, he must either mean, that *Christ* is God, or that it is no dishonour to God to have a creature made equal to him. In the first sense, no possible account can be given why *Christ* should say, that he *did not think it robbery to be equal with God*; when he intended to say, that he *did think it robbery*, and that he would not be guilty of such robbery, by equalling himself with God.

Soc. Therefore instead of *not thinking it robbery*, our Author puts in *committed not robbery*, by equalling himself with God.

CHR. But does he alledge that there is any fault in our translation? Or that these words *Thought it*, are not in the *Greek*? Or that the *Greek* word

* Ut Christo Jesu Domino nostro & Deo, & Salvatori, & Regi, secundum placitum Patris invisibilis omne genu curvetur.

does mean both *Thought* and *Committed*? Or that *Thought* and *Committed* are the same thing?

SOC. No: He alledges none of these things; only in the repeating the text, he puts in the word *Committed*, and leaves out the word *Thought*.

CHR. Hoping it would not be perceiv'd: And so he would get some sort of gloss put upon this text, which otherwise admitted of no subterfuge, nor room for wit; for the Greek word is, *ἡγήσατο*, which does not signify *Committed*, but *Thought*, *ἡγήσατο ἑαυτὸν ἰσὺς ἀεπαγμὸν*, *He did not esteem or think it any robbery to be equal with God*.

Again, if *Christ* was nothing but a *Servant*, and no more than a *Man*, how can it be said, That he *took upon him the form of a Servant, and was found in fashion as a Man*? Our Author* does not give any good account of this, he says only, that he was *like a Servant*, and *like other Men*. But that does in no wise fill the expression of the text: The *form of a Servant* which *Christ* is here said to take, was his taking upon him our flesh, which appears from the following words: *He took upon him the form of a Servant, and was made in the likeness of Men, and being found in fashion as a Man*—And this *Form of a Servant*, is compar'd with the *Form of God*, in which he was before he took upon him the *Form of a Servant*. The same word is used in both branches of the comparison, and therefore must be taken in the same sense, unless you would make the comparison fallacious, *ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων—μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν*, *Being in the form of God—He took upon him the form of a Servant*: Therefore he was as truly God as he was Man; as much in the *Form of God*, as in the *Form of a Servant*. And Secondly, He was God, before he was Man: For observe, it is not said that he *took upon him the form of God*, because he was always in that form, and so could not take it: For taking a thing supposes me to exist before I take it. Therefore the text is worded, *Being in the form of God*, that is, always existing in that, he afterwards took the *Form of a Servant*. Now if like other Men, he had no existence before his corporal Generation, it cou'd not be said, that he took flesh upon him, or that he was made flesh: We do not say so of any Man. If you ask a Man when did you take flesh upon you? When were you made flesh? He will answer, I never took flesh, for I was always flesh. Therefore that expression of *Christ's taking upon him the form of a Servant*, is not fill'd, by saying, he was *like a Servant*. No, being God, he was made Man: But in your sense, it must have been worded, *being Man*, he took upon him to become a *Servant*; that had been proper; for by that he must be suppos'd to be a Man, before he was a *Servant*: And till he was a Man, he could not take upon him to be a *Servant*: So he could not take upon him our flesh, unless he had been something before.

The *Defence of this History*, c. 9. p. 51. repeats this objection, *viz. How did he take this form upon him* (which signifies his own free and voluntary choice) *when he did not take it, but was made so?*

Now what answer can you imagine he gives to this? *What?* says he, *when the Apostle says, that Christ took upon him the form of a Servant; must we say that he did not? Is it not a plain contradiction to the Apostle?* This is every word of the answer he gives; had any of us given the like, he would have found something to have call'd us beyond his familiar and common style of want of common sense, impudent, brutal, &c. which he bestows upon us almost in every page; for pray tell me, did that objection deny that *Christ* took upon him *the form of a Servant*? So far from it, that it supposes it, and argues from it, that *Christ* must have an existence

* Hist. p. 129.

before: But it seems all the Stickler could find out in that objection, was, that it deny'd the text, *That Christ took upon him the form of a Servant*. Such a quick fight as this was necessary to expound the Scriptures contrary to the whole christian Church, and the common usage of words among Mankind, to bring down Mysteries, and make Profelytes for *Socinus*. I congratulate with you in your Champion. I should have thought it to have proceeded from his passion, or been the fault of the Printer, but that p. 52. he in other words repeats it again, and gives the like answer: He puts the objection, that the Apostle urging *Christ's* taking upon him the *form of a Servant*, as an argument of his love and humility, this must suppose a choice in *Christ* (for who calls it humility in any Man to be born poor? Does a Man chuse to be born?) therefore that the Apostle must speak of what *Christ* did before he came into the World, for then it must be that he made his choice of coming into the World. To this our Author replies, *That the Apostle did not speak of what Christ did before he came into the World*. And he neither answers one word to the argument, nor offers any reason for his own assertion. This is, *Bellarmin thou liest*; and *ipse dixit*, in an extraordinary manner: But like a wary disputant, who could see the weakness of his cause, instead of answering he falls to objecting. He says, "That if to be in the form of God signifies to be the true God, then the sense will be this, *Christ* being the true God, thought it not robbery to be equal with the true God: Which is just as if one should say, *Leopold* who is Emperor, does not think it robbery to be equal with the Emperor. Is it possible Men should put such a trifling sense on the words of an Apostle?" Thus he. And in return to his complement, I would ask whether it be possible, that he should be so trifling as to think his instance of *Leopold* is parallel to what the Christians teach of *Christ*? He makes *Leopold* and the Emperor to be the same Person, and cannot but know that the Christians make *Christ* to be a distinct Person from his Father. And then from a ridiculous comparison 'twixt the same Person and himself, he thinks he has concluded against those who make a comparison 'twixt two Persons. But now to bring his instance nearer to the truth: Suppose *Leopold* should take his Son into the partnership of the Empire (as was done several times among the *Roman* Emperors, and as *David* crown'd *Solomon* in his own life time) and suppose this Son out of love to a company of condemn'd wretches should take their guilt and condition upon him, and make himself one of them; might not this love and condescension of his be express'd in words like those in this text? That he who was of the same Nature with *Leopold*, being his natural Son, and therefore equal to him in Nature, and likewise join'd with him in the Government, in both which respects, of Nature and Authority, he thought it no robbery to be equal to the Emperor, that a Person of his Dignity should *take upon him the form of a Servant*, &c. I know this *simile* will not answer in all points: And I would not have chosen it, but that by following my Author, I have shewn the disparity of his parallel. Lastly, he cannot apprehend how God can be of no reputation. Ans. When several Natures are join'd in one Person, what is proper to any of the Natures may be ascrib'd to the Person; as has been said before; thus Man is said to dye, tho' the Soul cannot; to be cut or maimed, which only the Body can suffer: And thus it is, that God may be said to be of no reputation, to shed his blood, to dye, &c. Tho' that can befall *Christ's* human Nature only; the Godhead is impassible, but the Person, who is God, may suffer.

31. I will here subjoin other expressions like to that *Christ's* being in the form of God. Col. 1. 15. *The Image of the invisible God*. Heb. 1. 3. *The express Image of his Person*; Or of his Subsistence; *Hypostaseos*.

Soc.

* Soc. Man is called the Image of God.

CHR. True. But do you not perceive a remarkable difference betwixt these appellations given to *Christ*, and what is said of Man?

A picture or a Shadow is a Man's image, but not in the same respect as his Son, who is the express image of his person, because he partakes of his nature.

Soc. This is notorious: But our Author answers again, that this proves *Christ* not to be God, because the image cannot be that thing whose image it is.

CHR. This is objecting instead of answering to the text: And to this has been reply'd already, in the words of the above-quoted text, *Heb.* i. 3. that the Son is the *Image* of the Father's Person, or Subsistence, *Hypostaseos*; not of his Substance or Nature, of which the Son partakes equally with the Father: And by the word God, in this text, the Father is meant, as in many other places of Scripture, which has been observ'd before.

Just. Martyr (*Dial. cum Tryphon. Jud.* p. 285.) explains how *Christ* was the Image of God: *Viz.* Not on account of his corporal Generation, but of his eternal Generation from the Father, by which he was with the Father before all creatures.

Τὸ πρὸ τῶ ὄντι ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς προεληθὲν γέννημα, πρὸ πάντων τῶ ποιημάτων συνῆν τῶ πατρί.

32. But now to prove that *Christ* had a being before his incarnation, what words could you invent more full and positive than these. *Col.* i. 15, 16? *Christ*—the *First-born* of every creature, for by him were all things created that are in Heaven, and that are in Earth, visible and invisible, whether they be Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities, or Powers, all things were created by him and for him; and he is before all things, and by him all things consist.

Soc. † By *First-born* is meant the *First-born* from the Dead: That is, *Christ* was the first Creature that rose from the dead.

CHR. That is very well! But pray tell me, what do you think of this argument, by *Christ* all things were created; therefore *Christ* was the first who rose from the dead?

Soc. It is flat nonsense. But what do you bring it in for?

CHR. That is the sense your interpretation of this text puts upon the Apostle: For that is the proof he brings why *Christ* is the *First-born* of every Creature, because by him all things were created.

Soc. By him, there, should not be understood of *Christ*, but of God.

CHR. How will that mend the consequence? By God were all things created, therefore *Christ* was the first who rose from the dead?

Soc. That is full as great nonsense as the other. But why may not *First-born* mean *First-born* from the dead here as well as *ψ.* 18. where it is said that he is the *Firstborn* from the dead.

CHR. Because in *ψ.* 18. it is plainly said so: And *ψ.* 25. it is said quite otherwise. For *Firstborn* from the dead, and *First-born* of every Creature are two quite different things: And the Apostle in these two places speaks of things very different: For *ψ.* 18. he is speaking of *Christ* as *Head of the Church*, and (as the fulfilling of that character) of his Resurrection, in which sense he calls him the *Firstborn* from the dead. He is the *Head of the Body, the Church*, who is, — the *First-born* from the dead.

But *ψ.* 15. he is speaking of *Christ* in a quite different capacity, *viz.* as the Creator of all things, or that great instrument by which God created all things, the Word, by whom all things were made: In which sense he was

* Hist. p. 130.

† p. 131.

prior to all Creatures, as the cause is before its effect: And he was born of God—Was his true image in his natural and therefore eternal Generation, before any Creature was born in the course of Creation, who are images of God too, in their several degrees; and in this sense it is that he is said to be the Image of God, *per Eminentiam*: The *First-born of every Creature*: And this is the proof the Apostle brings why he is the Image of the invisible God, the *First-born of every Creature*; *For by him all things were created*—

Soc. But our Author says, that *by him* is meant of God, and not of Christ.

CHR. He says it, but he offers nothing to prove it, nor to reconcile the text even to common sense in his way of interpretation: He would have the Apostle prove that *Christ* was the first rose from the dead, because God made all things!

The word in the original is, *ἐν*: *In him all things were created*: Which yet is rightly rendered in the *English*, *by him*. God created all things *in Christ*, or *by Christ*: These terms are synonymous, and so used in the Scripture. But your Author would rather have it rendered *for*, *viz.* that all things were created *for Christ*; because he would have more latitude by that word to avoid *Christ's* pre-existence to all creatures, which is unavoidable by the word *by* or *in*; for if all things were created *by him* or *in him*, of necessity he must be *before* them. But our Author thinks they might be created *for him*, that is, *for his sake*, or *with respect to him*, and that this might be *before he was born*.

But in this text all these ways are apply'd to *Christ*, *viz.* that all things were created *in him*, and *by him*, and *for him*. Will you add to this (tho' I think it is not necessary, the text does so plainly shew its own meaning) that *Just. Mart.* (*Dial. cum Tryph. Jud.* p. 284.) expressly applies all this to *Christ*, as being the Wisdom, Power, Word, Son of the Father, by which he made all Creatures? *Tertullian* (*advers. Marcion.* l. 5. c. 19. p. 484. and 485.) says, *Si non Christus Primo-genitus*—*If Christ be not the First-born of every Creature, as the Word of the Creator by whom all things were made and without which nothing was made, if all things were not created by him that are in Heaven, and that are in the Earth, visible and invisible, whether they be Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities, or Powers; if all things were not created by him, and in him, the Apostle would not have said so plainly, that he is before, all things—And how is he before all, if he be not the First-born of Creatures? If not the Word of the Creator? How can he be prov'd to be before all, who appeared after all? Who could know him to be before who did not know him to be at all?* And *Origen* (in *Jerem. Hom.* i. p. 58. of *Tom* i.) quoting this text *Col.* i. 15. he proves from thence the antiquity of *Christ*, and from his being the *First-born of every Creature*, he infers that he is for that reason *Πρεσβύτερος*, the *Ancient*, which would have been no argument, if it had been meant of his Resurrection. And *St. Cyprian* (*advers. Jud.* c. i. p. 32.) quotes this text *Col.* i. 15. among many others, proving *Christ* to be the First-Begotten, and the Wisdom of God by which he made all things.

Soc. Will you hear more of my Author's answers to this text? The *First-born*, that is, *most beloved*—By him were all things created, that is, *model'd, not created**: He is before all things, that is, *in worth and excellency*. By him all things consist, that is, *by his wise government they fall into no disorder or confusion†*.

* Hist. p. 132.

† Ibid. p. 133.

And he says some of the Fathers said these things upon this text.

CHR. They might so: And these things are inferred from this text: For he that is before all things in Existence, is likewise so in Worth and Excellency; and he by whom all things do consist, that is, are preserv'd in their Beings, must needs govern so wisely as to keep them from falling into disorder and confusion: And the *First-born* of God must be *most beloved*: And therefore his *beloved Son* is the epithet of *Christ* in the Gospel as well as his *First-begotten* or *only Begotten*. I say all these things might be rightly inferred from this text, from the literal meaning of the text: And the Fathers might improve thus upon this text.

The Defender of our History * has a great deal upon this text: But so confus'd, and such wild arguments, as if he play'd booty, and meant to betray his cause. P. 16. he proves that *Christ* was the *first born* only because he had the preheminance, which, says he, is often expressed by the *First-born*, and therefore concludes, that *Christ* being called the *First-born*, only preheminance was thereby meant, and not that he was *First-born*. From p. 13. to 16. he proves, that by these words, *the First-born, by whom all things were created*, the Creation of the World cannot be meant, because, says he, this *First-born* was *Jesus*, who was a Man. When it is answered (p. 14.) that he was God too, he denies it, and that is all his proof, and asks where is he called God in Scripture? As if he had never heard of it before. His second proof is, that there is *no warrant from Scripture for it: I mean*, says he, *that the Scripture does not say in express words that Christ created Heaven and Earth*. He will have the Words *Heaven* or *Earth* in, as you have heard upon *John* 1. 3. yet that itself does not do against this text *Col.* 1. 16. for there they are expressly nam'd: *By him were all things created that are in Heaven, and that are in Earth*. Ay, but not Heaven and Earth itself, replies our Defender: And the *all things* of which he speaketh, *be limited to all Thrones and Dominions, Principalities and Powers, visible and invisible*. These are the heavenly powers spoke of, and I wish our Author would tell us which of these are visible. But these are so far from being a limitation, as this Author would have them, that it is plain they are but enumeration of a part; for *visible* is not put after these heavenly *Powers*, as this Gentleman slyly sets it, the better to serve his turn, but after the *Earth: He created all things in Heaven and Earth, visible and invisible*. And these heavenly Powers are reckon'd as some of the invisible things, and immediately after them it is added again, that *all things were created by him and for him*. His third reason is, that *Christ's* creating all things is not said in *Eph.* 1. 20, 21, 22. and therefore it cannot be meant in *Col.* 1. 16. nay he says, it would be nonsense in the Apostle to speak of it in the *Col.* having said in the *Eph.* that God set him (*Christ*) above the *Principalities, &c.* as if *Christ* in his human Nature might not be exalted above them, and yet as God be their Creator: Or as if this Author had never heard that the Christians said thus. But having called this absurd, ridiculous, and nonsense, he ends with no other reason. His dulness or perverseness is insuperable, for it being objected to him, p. 13. that if by the Creation here, only the *new Creation by the Gospel* be meant, how *Christ* should be the *First-born of every new Creature*, that is, of every good Man, seeing there were good Men before *Christ*, and so he was not the *First-born* in that sense: All that our Author says to this, is, that he was the *First-born* of every new evangelical Creature, which was not at all apprehending the difficulty, for it excludes all before *Christ*. But to return from the Defender to the Historian, none denies but all things were mo-

* Def. Hist. c. 3. p. 12. ad 17.

dell'd by *Christ*: And that it might be inferr'd even from this text: But that therefore, they were not created by him, remains yet for our Author to prove; or to shew us where *Athanasius* or any of the Fathers he quotes, says any such thing: He quotes not the places of these Fathers; he loves to fight in the dark. But to shew him that tho' this text may be apply'd to the reformation made by *Christ* in the Gospel, which our Author means by modelling; yet that it is not only truly, but chiefly and literally meant of *Christ's* creating all things: First, the literal meaning of the *κτίσειν* which is here used, is, *Creare*, to *Create*. Secondly, The Creatures which are here chiefly said to be created by *Christ*, are the powers of Heaven, which did not fall, and so came not under the redemption of the Gospel-model, of which our Author would have all this to be meant: *By him were all things created that are in Heaven—Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, Powers, &c.* Our Author says, that by all this is meant no more than that *Christ* became the head of the Angels: And this is a new modelling of the Angels, and modelling is creating, or creating is modelling, &c. But this Author might have observ'd, that the Apostle in this place speaks first of creating, and then of modelling. Of creating *ŷ. 16*, and *17*. And then of modelling *ŷ. 18. viz.* of *Christ's* becoming the head of the Church: *He (Christ) is the head of the Body, the Church.* There the Angels are not mentioned, he became not their head by his incarnation, he was so before: For he took not on him the Nature of Angels, but he took the Seed of *Abraham*, and so by his incarnation became the head of Mankind in a more special manner. And after this *ŷ. 18.* where the Apostle begins to speak of *Christ's* modelling the Church, there is not a word more of creating: He had done speaking of the one, of *Christ's* creating, wherein he mentions the Angels; and then he goes on to speak upon another point, *viz.* How *Christ* became the head of the Church, wherein he does not mention the Angels, nor speaks any more of creating: And yet this Author wou'd confound all these together, and make modelling and creating the same thing: I told you before upon *John xvi. 15.* that by this method those who hold that the World was from eternity might answer all the first of *Gen.* to be only a new modelling, and to mean no more than *Ovid's Metamorphosis*: Indeed it confounds all language in the World, and not only the Divinity of the Father, his creating the World, or indeed his being, that there is any God at all cannot be shewn from Scripture, if you will allow this latitude of turning and modelling words, from their common and customary meaning. But we go on.

33. Coll. II. 9. *In him dwelleth the fullness of the Godhead bodily: And ye are compleat in him, or ye are fill'd by him.*

* Thus he repeats that text, wherein he leaves out a very material word, *παν, all the fullness, or the whole fullness of the Godhead.*

Soc. He says that *the fullness of the Godhead*, is, *the fullness of the knowledge of the Godhead*: And that this was it which dwelt in *Christ*.

CHR. Both Addition and Substraction in one text is very hard; to leave out the word *all*, and put in the word *knowledge*. No text will be able to stand before this: And after all if it should not do his business—for the full knowledge of the Godhead can be in none but God; because, as said before, nothing can hold infinite, but infinite. And therefore if all the fullness of the knowledge of God dwells in *Christ*, it is as full a proof of his Godhead, as any can be desir'd. It must be some consciousness of this made the Author leave the word *all* out of this text: He thought it would break the force of it a little: For tho' the fullness of the Godhead be an extraordi-

nary expression, and does in consequence imply the whole fullness, yet the word *all* makes it obvious, and prevents all objections.

SOC. But our Author quotes *Eph. iii. 19.* where it is said, that the *Ephesians* might be filled *with all the fullness of God.*

CHR. The Apostle there makes it very plain, that he is not speaking literally, or according to the full extent of the words; the whole verse is this, *That ye might know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fullness of God.* Where it is even self-evident, that the Apostle means no more, than a very great degree of fullness, and knowledge: And it would be perverseness for any one to dispute how a Man can know past his knowledge, which is a contradiction. And in this manner of expression, it is plain that the Apostle saw the contradiction, and therefore intended it hyperbolically: And the whole sentence must be taken in the same sense: But it is not so where one expression of that sentence is join'd with plain words, and in an argument, as it is in *Col. ii. 9.*

Besides in *Eph. iii. 19.* the Greek word is *eis*, which signifies *in*; *that ye may be filled in all the fullness of God.* Which is the same expression with that in our present text, *Col. ii. 10.* And *ye are compleat, or filled in him*; that is, *in the fullness of God, we are filled.* But it is not said, that the whole fullness of God dwells in us: Or that it dwells in us bodily, or substantially (as our Author says others do translate it) to distinguish it from figuratively, as it is in *Eph. iii. 19.*

SOC. Our Author says*, that *bodily* or *substantially* means no more than what is oppos'd to the Philosopher's knowledge of God, which was not so perfect as the knowledge of *Christ.*

CHR. Did you ever hear of a bodily knowledge before? Or that that was ever us'd to signify a more perfect knowledge? In our way of speaking it would signify a more gross and imperfect knowledge; knowledge is always most perfect when it is most pure, and spiritual; and consequently it is most imperfect, the more it grows bodily.

SOC. Go on to the next.

34. CHR. *2 Thess. ii. 16, 17.* Our Lord Jesus Christ comfort your hearts, and establish you in every good word and work.

SOC. * Our Author answers this, in answer to *2 Thess. iii. 11, 12.* and says, That it is to be understood of *Christ's* intercession for us.

CHR. That is altering all the use of words that is known among Men. The Church of *Rome* allows an *Ora pro nobis* to the Saints; which is a plain distinction between intercession and bestowing. *Establishing the heart* — nothing can do but God: And therefore I ought not to pray to any but God to *establish my heart.* If intercession were ground enough, then I might pray to a Man to *establish my heart, to give me grace, &c.* because he can intercede for me.

SOC. But not so effectually as *Christ.*

CHR. That is true: But it is intercession still; and therefore if intercession will not excuse such a Prayer of mine from Blasphemy and Idolatry, if I make it to a Man, it will not alter the case, if I make it to *Christ*, who is no more than a Man, as the *Socinians* do dispute.

35. But see what styles St. Paul gives him *1 Tim. vi. 14, 15, 16.* — *Until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, which in his times he shall shew, who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, which only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto, whom no man hath seen, nor can see* —

* Hist. p. 136.

Soc. The last words shew, that not the Lord *Christ*, but God is design'd in this whole description*.

CHR. They shew indeed that *Christ* is here describ'd according to his Divinity; in which sense he is and ever was invisible: And even in his Body he was in some sense invisible; that is, they saw his Body, but if they did not understand him to be the *Christ*, this was call'd not seeing of him: Seeing is there taken for knowing and understanding: In which sense *Christ* John viii. 54. tells the *Jews* that they neither knew him nor his Father: Tho' they said⁵⁵ of him that he was their God; and they that knew God are said to see him; *If ye had known me*, said *Christ* unto his Disciples, *ye should have known my Father also: And from henceforth ye know him and have seen him—he that hath seen me hath seen the Father.* John xiv. 7, 9.

So that these last words in the text—*whom no Man hath seen, or can see*, are not in one sense applicable to the Father and in another sense applicable to *Christ*; and therefore they do not shew (as your Author says) that not the Lord *Christ*, but God is design'd in this whole description.

God is not nam'd in this whole description; and why he shou'd not be nam'd, if he had been intended to have been described, I believe our Author will find it hard to tell: Why shou'd *Christ* be nam'd, and only *Christ* in this description, if it was intended for another? Why should the Apostle lead us, and even force us to apply all these divine Attributes to *Christ*, if he design'd to persuade us that *Christ* was not God, and that it would be gross idolatry in any one who thought him so, or worshipp'd him as such?

And why should any of the divine Attributes in this description be in express terms apply'd to *Christ*, as we find it *Rev. xvii. 14.* where he is call'd *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.*

Soc. Go to the next.

36. CHR. *Tit. ii. 13.* Looking for the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Soc. Nothing hinders but that we may believe that not only the Lord *Christ*, but God himself will appear at the last Judgment†.

CHR. Nothing hinders! Yes, I'll tell you what hinders our believing it, God has not reveal'd it; and you must not add to his words: God has not told us that he will appear any other way in the last Judgment than by *Christ Jesus*. God is a Spirit, and must take a Body to appear to the Eyes; and that God will assume a Body distinct from the Lord *Jesus*, and appear in another Body at the last Judgment, is a bold presumption, and adding to God's word to suppose, and never was supposed; but by those who will invent extravagant and groundless supposes to elude the plain texts of Scripture: It is the opinion and interpretation of the *Mahometans*, whose greatest error is being *Socinians*.

Clem. Alexandr. (admonit. ad Gent. p. 5. and 6.) applies this text only to *Christ*, who was the Word of God, and so true God, and likewise true Man, and that it was his apparition at the last Judgment that was here spoke of.

“ But now this very Word himself hath appeared unto Men, who only
“ is both God and Man, and the cause of all good unto us—for as said
“ that divine Apostle of our Lord, † *The grace of God that bringeth Sal-*
“ *vation unto Men hath appeared, &c. looking for that blessed hope, and*

* Hist. p. 139. † p. 140. ‡ Νυν ὁ ἐπιφανὴς ἀνθρώποις αὐτὸς ὁ Λόγος, ὁ μόνος ἀφ' οὗ Θεός τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἀπάντων ἡμῶν αἰτίος ἀγαθῶν. καὶ γὰρ τὸ θεωτέριον ἐκείνου τὸ κυρίως ἀπόστολον, ἡ χάρις τῆς Θεοῦ ἡ σωτηρία ἀνθρώποις ἐπιφανήσεται, &c. Tit. ii. 11. Προσδεχόμενοι τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα, καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τῆς μεγάλης Θεοῦ, καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. τὰ τῶ ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ καινοῦ, ἡ ἐπιφάνεια ἡ νῦν ἐκλάμψασα ἐν ἡμῖν τὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντην, καὶ προοῦντην Λόγον ἐπιφανήσεται ὁ προὖν σωτήρ.

"the appearing of the glory of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ. This is a new Song, the Epiphany or Appearance of the Word who was in the beginning, and before existing, which hath shined unto us: He appear'd of late, who before was our Saviour.

37. CHR. Heb. xii. *By whom also he made the Worlds.*

SOC. This is, for *whom he made the Worlds* *.

CHR. But the Greek is δι', *by whom*, Origen (in Job. p. 56. of 2 Tom.) shews the words to be δι' ἑ, *by whom*, and thence proves, ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς τὰς αἰῶνας περιέποιε διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ; *that God made the Worlds by his Son.* But to end this poor shift, Col. i. 16. it is said, that *all things were created by him, and for him, and in him*; as we have before observ'd.

SOC. Well then we must see if we can get any help from the other words of this text: He says some do render the words thus. *By whom he made the ages.*

CHR. The Greek word αἰών, signifies *age*, and it is as often us'd for *eternity*, that is, *all ages*, or *generations*, or the *age to come*, as we say the *world to come*: Hence the word Αἰώνιος signifies *Eternal*, 1 Tim. vi. 16. But suppose it in that sense, how will it help your cause? Will you allow that God made all ages by *Christ*?

SOC. No: That we must not do: Therefore our Author understands by *ages*, only the Gospel ages or times.

CHR. But by what authority does he do that? Does he alledge any thing out of the text or context, or any other authority for it?

SOC. No: Not a word.

CHR. Then if he has power to limit the ages, he may, if he pleases, say, that it meant only the ages of some other Reformation, than that by the Gospel of *Christ*; some yet to come, perhaps the millenary, or what else he pleases.

38. Heb. vii. 3. *Melchisedec* is compar'd to the Son of God in these particulars, as being *without Father, without Mother, without Descent, having neither beginning of days, or end of life, but made like unto the Son of God, abideth a Priest continually.*

These are not literally understood of *Melchisedec*, only that none of these things are recorded of him; and so he was left in History *without Father, &c.* But in these particulars, he was like the Son of God, who really was what *Melchisedec* was there said to be, *without beginning of days, or end of life, &c.*

SOC. But our Author says †, That of all these things he is only like the Son of God in that particular, of being a *Priest for ever.*

CHR. By what does he exclude all the rest, which are in the same sentence?

SOC. I cannot tell indeed.

CHR. *Licentia Sociniana* is beyond *Licentia Poetica*. But how came *Melchisedec* to be like the Son of God, if there was no Son of God, when *Melchisedec* was made? The pattern after which any thing is made must be before the copy that is made after it.

SOC. Verse 15. it is that *another Priest* (Christ) *ariseth after the similitude of Melchisedec.*

CHR. And how will you reconcile these two upon the *Socinian Principle*? For *Melchisedec* cannot be both after the similitude of *Christ*, and *Christ* after the similitude of *Melchisedec*: But in the christian scheme it is most easy, *viz.* the eternal Son of God was before *Melchisedec*, but incarnate in time after *Melchisedec*:

* Hist. p. 141.

† p. 146.

39. And yet it was the same *Jesus*, yesterday, to day, and for ever. As it is express'd *Heb.* xiii. 8.

Soc. Our Author says*, that was spoke of the Gospel of *Christ* not changing.

CHR. But the text speaks it expressly of *Jesus* himself, and we know that the Phrase was us'd to express all time past, present, and to come; and is the same with the *Alpha* and *Omega*, the *beginning and the ending, which was, and which is, and which is to come*, *Rev.* i. 8. and other places of Scripture.

40. He has two texts out of *St. Peter.* i *Pet.* i. ii. *Searching what, and what manner of time the Spirit of Christ, which was in them did signify, when it testify'd before-hand the Sufferings of Christ.*

Soc. Our Author says†, that by the Spirit of *Christ*, there, is meant only the same Spirit of Prophecy which was in *Christ*.

CHR. This was spoke of the Prophets long before *Christ* was born; viz. that the Spirit of *Christ* was in them, and did testify before-hand the Sufferings of *Christ*; now if *Christ* had no Being, before he was born of the Virgin, as you say, how had he a Spirit so long before? And how could his Spirit testify before it had a Being?

Soc. Therefore our Author says, not that it was the Spirit of *Christ*, which was in them, but only the prophetick Spirit that spoke of *Christ*.

CHR. But the text says expressly that it was the Spirit of *Christ* which was in them: This is not interpreting, but running quite from the text.

Soc. He says that Poets are called the Poets of such Men as they wrote of, as *Virgil* is called the Poet of *Aeneas*, and *Homer* of *Ulysses*, because they wrote of *Aeneas* and *Ulysses*.

CHR. But is there not some difference betwixt calling a Man such a Man's Poet, because he wrote of him, (tho' that is an expression I never heard us'd) and betwixt saying that such a Man's Spirit was in him, and did signify to him what he should say? Especially if the Man whose Spirit taught the other, had no Spirit at that time, nor was a Man then? A Man to teach another before he is born! *St. Barnabas*, in his *Catholick Epistle*, c. v. p. 21, 22. says that the *Prophets having the gift* (of Prophecy) *from Christ, did prophesy of him.* Οἱ προφῆται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες τὴν δωρεάν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπροφῆτευσαν. And *St. Ignatius* in his *Epistle* to the *Magnesians*, says that *they were inspired by his Grace.* Οἱ θεότατοι προφῆται ἐμπνεόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ χάριτος αὐτοῦ. Thus these holy Fathers, who lived with the Apostles, and learned their doctrine from their mouths as well as from their writings: And one of them was ranked with the Apostles, *Acts* xiv. 14.

41. There is another text in this same *Epistle* of *St. Peter*, which likewise imports the Existence of our blessed Saviour before his Incarnation. i *Pet.* iii. 19, 20. *Quickned by the Spirit, by which also he went and preached to the Spirits in prison, which sometimes were disobedient in the days of Noah.*

Soc. Our Author interprets this of *Christ's* descent into Hell: And quotes *Bellarmino*‡.

CHR. This is not the only instance wherein your Author craves aid of the *Romans*; but he does not quote the Book or Chapter of *Bellarmino*, that you may not find him out, or with more pains than it is worth; but this we are sure of, that the *Papists* generally interpret this of Purgatory. And I would desire our Author to tell us what business our Saviour had to preach in Hell? Is there repentance and remission there? He has given reason to think this is his opinion, which we shall have more occasion to discourse

* Hist. p. 147.

† p. 148.

‡ p. 149.

hereafter. But the orthodox do plainly mean, according to the letter of the text, that it was the Spirit of *Christ* which preached in *Noah*, and the Prophets of those days, to those Spirits which were then bound in the chains of their Sins, and which are now in the prison of Hell: And that Spirit by which he quickned himself, was the same by which also he went and preached in the days of *Noah*.

42. But here follows a very peremptory text, 1 *John* v. 7. *There are three that bear record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one.*

Soc. * This verse was not originally in the Bible, but has been added to it: 'Tis not found in the most ancient copies of the *Greek*, nor in the *Syriack*, *Arabick*, or *Æthiopick*, or *Armenian* Bibles, nor in the most ancient *Latin* Bibles: 'Tis not acknowledged by the Fathers; 'tis wholly rejected by abundance of the most learned Criticks, and by all acknowledg'd to be doubtful and uncertain.

CHR. This is manifestly false, for St. *Hierom* † does by no means acknowledge it to be doubtful or uncertain: But on the contrary, tells us plainly that he found out how this text had been adulterated by unfaithful Translators, and by others omitted on purpose to elude the truth. And I will shew you hereafter how those whom you quote as the primitive *Socinians*, were notoriously detected in their adulterating the Holy Scriptures: And their successors have continued their practice in this; therefore some copies may want it. But this is only a negative argument, or presumption rather, for it can amount to no more: And in no Judicature can stand against the affirmative proof of St. *Cyprian*, St. *Hierom*, and other Fathers, and which is admitted in all the Churches of *Christ*: And it is a great Providence of God, that notwithstanding the corrupters of this text, it is still extant in the greatest number of ancient manuscripts. The Divines of *Lovain* having compar'd many *Latin* copies, found this text wanting but in five. And R. *Stephanus* found it retained in the major number of fifteen or sixteen ancient manuscripts, which he us'd. Therefore it is no wonder if Dr. *Burnet* saw some manuscripts that wanted it, which he has so carefully told in his *Travels*.

Soc. Our Author gives a second answer, viz. *These three are one*, that is, are not one God, but are one in testimony; for they are spoken of here as Witnesses.

CHR. And their Witness *ŷ. 9.* is called the *Witness of God*.

Soc. So every Witness of Men which God appoints is called the Witness of God, viz. because God appoints it.

CHR. But here the immediate Witness of God is put in opposition to the Witness of Men, or other Witnesses of God, which is by the mediation of second causes; the Witness of the three in Heaven is compar'd with the Witness of the three in Earth. And the conclusion is made, that if we receive the Witness of the three in Earth, which is called the Witness of Men, i. e. wrought by the ministry of Men, we ought much rather to receive the Witness of the three in Heaven, which is called the Witness of God, and a greater Witness than the Witness of Men: It is call'd the Witness of God, which he testified, in opposition to what was testify'd by other means: And this is a demonstration that the text of the three Witnesses in Heaven must not be left out, because there is a comparison made betwixt the Witness of these three, and the three Witnesses in Earth: So that if you leave out this verse, you must leave out the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th verses altogether, which no *Socinian* has yet so much as attempted: And the Witness of these three

* Hist. p. 152.

† Præfat. ad Epist. Canon. vide *Smith* Vindicat. 1. *John* v. 7. à suppositionis notâ Miscell. p. 137, 138. and the Appendix to his Sermon on 1 Tim. iii. 16.

in Heaven being called the Witness of God, in opposition to the same Witness by Men is a full proof what was meant, when it was said that *these three are one, i. e.* are one God; for otherwise their Witness could not be the Witness of God, that is immediately, as it is there put in opposition to a mediate Witness by Men, or otherwise.

Soc. I have heard this text is not quoted by any of the *Anti-Nicene* Fathers, and you named *Cyprian* just now, pray let me hear what he says of it.

CHR. In his 73^d *Epistle*, which is directed *Jubaiano*, p. 203. speaking against the Baptism of Hereticks, and shewing that they cannot be the Temple of God; he asks * *of which God? If of the Creator, he cannot who does not believe in him; if of Christ, neither can he be his Temple who denies God—Christ; if of the Holy Ghost, when these three are one, how can the Holy Ghost be pleas'd with him who is an enemy to the Father, or the Son?*

Here you see he reckons the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, each of them to be God: For when he is supposing the several ways by which any become the Temple of God, he computes that it can be but one of these three ways, that is, by becoming the Temple either of the Father, (whom he calls Creator) or of the Son, or of the Holy Ghost, which shews each of them to be God; and he calls *Christ* expressly God; and says that *these three are one*; and (*de Unit. Ecclesiae*, p. 109.) *Christ* says, *I and the Father are one*; and again it is written of the *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, and *these three are one*. This I quoted before, and I refer you to the *Annotations* upon this place in *Cyprian* to shew you many manuscripts, where this text is had, and vindicated from the malice of *Socinus*: And if you will look into Dr. *Hammond*, and *Pole's Synopsis Critic.* upon this text, you will be farther satisfy'd: For I would not take up time now to go through all this at large.

43. 1 *John* v. 20. *We know that the Son of God is come and hath given us an understanding, that we may know him that is true; and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ: This is the true God.*

Soc. My Author says, that this was a very negligent translation, for whether you interpret *him that is true*, to be God, or to be *Christ*, no sense can be made of the words.

CHR. Does he tell where the nonsense is?

Soc. No—he says no more of it.

CHR. It seems to me to be so far from nonsense, that I cannot see the least difficulty in it: *To know him that is true*: I cannot imagine what should trouble him at that saying, but that he is resolved to quarrel.

Soc. The latter part of the text ought to be thus render'd, *We are in him that is true*, (i. e. in God) *by his Son Jesus Christ: In God, By Christ.*

CHR. But the text is quite otherwise, it is *ev, in his Son*: He does not pretend that the Original is otherwise, yet he finds fault with the translation, and calls the Scripture nonsense.

The Apostle immediately subjoins to this text, *Little Children keep yourselves from Idols*: Which seems to bear this sense: That if *Christ* were not the true God, he must be an Idol, because Divine Worship was paid to him: And this is an explanation of his calling *Christ* the true God, viz. that whoever else pretends to it is an Idol, and therefore we must worship none else.

* Quæro cujus Dei? Si Creatoris, non potuit qui in eum non credidit; si *Christi*, nec hujus fieri potest Templum, qui negat Deum *Christum*; si *Spiritus Sancti*, cum *Tres unum sint*, quomodo *Spiritus Sanctus* placatus esse ei potest, qui aut Patris, aut Filii inimicus est?

There is another part of this text which our Author takes no notice of, which does plainly evidence the Divinity of *Christ*, and that is, That *the Son of God hath given us an Understanding* that we may know him that is true.

To give Man Understanding is an incommunicable Attribute of God; and that is, past all subterfuge, attributed here to the Son.

As knowing the hearts of Men is, *Rev. II. 23. I am he* (saith the Son of God, *Ÿ, 18.*) *which searcheth the reins and heart.*

Soc. *Christ* knoweth our Thoughts, only when God reveals them to him, and thus the Prophets may know Thoughts*.

CHR. And thus I know your Thoughts, and you mine, *i. e.* when we tell them to one another: But does that make me a searcher or knower of your heart? We have spoke of this before upon *Rom. II. 16.* and *I Cor. IV. 5.* and shown that a knower of hearts is he who knows them of himself; without being told by another: And that this is an incommunicable Attribute of God.

To what I then said, I will only add this, that in the Scripture God uses this as a peculiar attribute, as you may read, *I Sam. XVI. 7. I Cor. XXVIII. 9. Psal. VII. 9. and CXXXIX. 1. Jer II. 20. and XX. 12.* and many other Scriptures: But that which is most remarkable, and belongs particularly to this text we are upon is, *Jer. XVII. 10.* For what God speaks graciously of himself in that verse, *Christ* speaks of himself in this.

First, The Prophet in the 9th verse shews, that none can know the heart. *Who can know it?* And then in the next words, God speaks, setting forth his Almighty Power in that he knew it: *I the Lord search the heart, I try the reins, even to give every Man according to his ways.*

And *Rev. II. 23. Christ* attributes the same to himself. *These things saith the Son of God. (Ÿ. 18.) I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts: And I will give to every one of you according to your works.* *Irenæus* (advers. Her. l. 4. c. 36. p. 369.) reckons this among the Attributes of God: And this same text *Rev. II. 23.* is repeated in his text, and quoted in the Margent.

I'll trouble you but with one text more. *Rev. V. 5. Christ* is call'd, *The Root of David.*

44. Soc. That is, *a Root springing from David: As a Root of the Earth is a Root which springeth from the Earth; not on the contrary a Root from which the Earth springeth†.*

CHR. This is very fine, the Sophism is subtle, and worthy a *Socinian*: Pray, let me know what you do mean by the Root of any thing? Is it that out of which the thing grows, or that which grows out of the thing?

Soc. That is as commonly known as any thing in the World: For the Branches grow out of the Root, and not the Root out of the Branches.

CHR. And when you, by a figure, apply this to families, and say such a one is a Branch of such a Family; such a one is the Root of a Family: Are not these terms as commonly known as the Root and Branches of Trees? And is not the Root springing from a Branch, the same absurdity as a Father springing from his Son?

Soc. All this is self-evident. Go on.

CHR. Therefore if *Christ* be the Root of *David*, he must be before *David*; and this destroys the *Socinian* Principle, which allows *Christ* no Being before he was born of the Virgin.

And therefore your Author must get over this, tho' he is forc'd to make the Root the Branch, and the Branch the Root.

* Hist. p. 155.

† Ibid. 156.

This wou'd have put any less wit or resolution into despair: For the attempt looks as easy to prove day to be night. It is strange he wou'd scruple the Trinity, Incarnation, or any other difficulty who cou'd hope to master this: And he has done it to a miracle; for he has found a saying, a *Root of the Earth*, by which is not meant that the Earth springs out of that Root; and therefore the Root may be a Branch; a Father may spring from his Son, and what you please.

Let us entertain our selves a little with this great Invention, and examine it particularly.

Pray what do you mean when you say a *Root of the Earth*?

So c. I mean a Root that grows in the Earth, and so is call'd a *Root of the Earth*.

CHR. So you may say a Root of such a Man's, who owns the Garden, of such a Gardener who planted it, of such a one who bestow'd it upon you, and a hundred other ways: But is there no difference 'twixt a Root that belongs to a Man, and the Root of that Man himself? 'Twixt that which grows in the Earth, and the Root of the Earth itself? Therefore tho you may call a Tulip a Root of the Earth, yet you would not call it the Root of the Earth: Now *Christ* is call'd the Root of David, not a Root of David: But pray what did our Author mean when he call'd *Christ* the Root of David?

So c. He meant that *Christ* was a Branch of *David's* Family.

CHR. And when did you ever hear a Branch of a Root call'd the Root of its Root.

It is inextricable nonsense: There is not a Man in the World cou'd speak at this rate, or wou'd be understood if he did: That designing to call *John* a Descendant or Branch of *Robert*, should call *John* the Root of *Robert*.

And it is impossible for me to think that our Author did believe himself, when he made this distinction: And it is a full demonstration to me, that these Men seek not truth, but are resolv'd to oppose all arguments against their own opinion, tho' they were as clear as the light.

But (*Rev. xxii. 16.*) *Jesus*, says, *I am the Root and the Offspring of David*. Here is both Root and Branch. This grows too hard for a distinction, and cannot be reconcil'd any other way than as *Christ* is the Root of *David*, according to his Divine Nature which created *David*, and so *David* sprang from *Christ*, as a Branch or Offspring from its Root: And then according to *Christ's* human Nature, he was the Son and Offspring of *David*: As he is prophesied of, *Isa. ii. 6.* *There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his Roots*: But our Author will have it, that the Branch was the Root, growing out of the Root; and the Rod was the Stem, which came out of the Stem.

See now, upon the whole, what cause your Author had to conclude so triumphantly as he does at the end of his fourth Letter, p. 166. *That our Lord Christ, nor the holy Spirit, neither are, nor ever are called Gods nor God in holy Scripture; as also, that neither Creation (whether new or old) nor any of the Attributes of God are ascribed to our blessed Saviour.*

Whereas the main of his arguments have been (as you have seen) to ward off those texts in holy Scripture, which ascribe the Name and Attributes of God to be both the other Persons in the blessed Trinity; and to put other senses and constructions upon them.

But then to conclude from all this, that they are not so much as call'd so, after all the pains he has taken to shew in what sense they are call'd so, is such an assurance as contradicts itself: Has he not own'd that *Christ* is call'd the *Word of God*? And is it not said in express words, *John. i. i.* *God.*

That

The Holy
Spirit called
God.

That the Word was God? And *14. was made Flesh?* Is it not said, *2 Cor. III. 17. The Lord is that Spirit?* And is not the Spirit then called God? In what sense is not now the question? That we have seen already: But he says, they are not so much as called so.

SOC. I have now heard you to the answers my Author gives to those texts alledged by the *Trinitarians* in proof of the Trinity and Incarnation. It is fit you should likewise answer to those texts he brings in disproof of them: For this compleats the work.

CHR. In what I have done already, I hope I have not only clear'd those texts against which he disputes, as to their own genuine meaning; but have likewise shew'd, that our interpretation of those texts is supported by the current sense of the most orthodox Fathers before the first Council of *Nice*; and consequently vindicated the *Anti-Nicene* Faith against the allegations of your Author.

That the Tri-
nity was the
Doctrine of
the Church
before the
first Council
of *Nice*,
prov'd from
Lucian.

But before I come to those texts which he alledges on his side, let me add to the testimonies of the Fathers I have quoted, one evidence of a bitter enemy to Christianity, the vile but ingenious *Lucian*, who liv'd about one hundred and seventy years after *Christ*. A Man of his sagacity, and who took upon him to ridicule the christian Faith, could not but know what it was, as then generally own'd and profess'd by Christians: Especially if (as *St. Jerom* in *Catal.* tells us) that he was once a Christian, and turn'd Apostate. Among other his reproaches upon Christianity he has these words in his *Philopatris**,

God reigning on high, great, eternal, heavenly, the Son of the Father, the Spirit proceeding from the Father, one out of three, and three out of one—I know not what thou say'st; one that is three, and three that are one!

Some learned Men think that the *Philopatris* was not wrote by *Lucian*, but by some other about the year 261. which answers my end as well, to prove the doctrine of the Trinity to have been receiv'd in the Church before the first Council of *Nice*: And next I will go with you to the texts alledg'd on your side.

* Ὑψιμέδοντα Θεόν, μέγαν, αἰώνιον, ἑρμηνεύον, ὑπὸ Πατρὸς, πνεῦμα ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύομενον, ἐν σαρκὶ τειῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς τεῖον—ὅσα οἶδα γὰρ τί λέγεις, ἐν τεῖον, τεῖον ἐν.





T H E
FOURTH DIALOGUE.

A general Answer as to the Texts urg'd by the Socinians, against the Divinity of Christ, and the Holy Ghost.

I. Soc.  THESE begin in the *History*, p. 4. where several texts are quoted to prove that the Father is greater than Christ.

XVII.
The texts
urg'd by the
Socinians a-
gainst the Di-
vinity of
Christ.

CHR. That is answer'd in the *Athanasian Creed*: That *Christ is equal to the Father as touching his Godhead, and inferior to the Father as touching his Manhood*. To which I will add, from our discourse, that he is equal to the Father in Nature, but inferior in the order of Nature, or in Relation: And this answers all the Reasons and Scriptures he produces to §. 7. * wherein he speaks of *Christ's* human Infirmities and Death; for these things befel *Christ* in his human Nature, wherein he was a Creature, passible, improvable, rewardable, &c.

Soc. But §. 7. he proves *Christ* to be a distinct Person from God: For which I suppose you thank him; but I see not how it serves his cause.

2. But at the end of this §. † he intermixes an argument from Reason, and argues thus, 'Tis (say the Socinians) *as impossible that the Son or Image of the one true God, should himself be that one true God, as that the Son should be the Father, and the Image that very thing whose Image it is; which they take to be simply impossible, and contradictory to common sense, which Religion came not to destroy, but to improve.*

CHR. What I have said to you appears the clearer for this objection; and shews his mistakes. First, He calls the Son the Image of God. If by the word *God* here, the Father be meant (as it is often,) then what he says is true; but then there is no consequence in it, and the fallacy will appear by putting the word *Father* instead of the word *God*: For example, 'Tis *as impossible that the Son or Image of the Father should himself be that Father, as that the Son should be the Father, and the Image that very thing whose Image it is*: All which is very true, but makes nothing to his purpose.

But now, if by the word *God* you mean the one Godhead, or the divine Nature, then his assertion is a mistake, viz. that the Son is the Image of God. In this sense he is not the Image of God, for he himself is God: But he is the Image of the Father, from whom he took his Nature; and therefore tho' he has the same Nature with the Father, yet he *is not the Father*.

* Hist. p. 11.

† Hist. p. 12.

Gen. v. 3.

And we see the same in the parallel of Mankind: I put a case: *Adam* be-
gat a Son in his own Likeness, after his Image, and called his name *Seth*.
And the word *Adam* signifies Man, and sometimes is taken to mean Man,
that is, Mankind in general or the human Nature, and sometimes it means
only the first Father, who had that for his particular name: In which sense
only it is that *Seth* can be called the Son or Image of Man, that is, of his
Father *Adam*. But otherwise he cannot be said to be the Son or Image of
Man, for he himself is Man, and he cannot be his own Son, or Image.
But the terms of Father and Son respect only the Persons, not the Nature of
Man; and thus it is in God. And our Author's mistake arises from not
considering aright of this Unity of Nature, and Diversity of Persons, which
appear visibly both in the divine Nature, and in the human, which was made
after its Image and Likeness.

Soc. At the end of * §. 7. he promises many considerations and
passages of Scripture, which no less than demonstrate it to be false, that
Christ is God: And the demonstration is this, §. 8. because so many texts
expressly declare, that *only the Father* is God.

3. The first he brings is *John xvii. 1, 2, 3. Father, this is Life eternal,
that they know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast
sent*: Here the Father is call'd the only true God.

CHR. But there is a vast difference betwixt saying, that *he is the only
true God*, and that *he only is the true God*. There is but *one only true
God*, or one divine Nature, and each of the Persons do partake of this Na-
ture, that is, is this *one only truly God*. But then you must not say of any
of the Persons, that he only is this God, because the other Persons do par-
take of the same Nature, and so are the same God. So that the word *only*
makes nothing in this argument: And saying the only true God means no
other than if he had said, the true God, or God single, without either the
word *true* or *only*: For we all agree that there is but one, true, God.
These are the attributes which belong to the divine Nature, and consequent-
ly to every Person who partakes of it; and therefore they do not distin-
guish one Person from another, nor are they meant in any such sense in
this text.

4. Soc. The next text is *1 Cor. viii. 6. But to us there is but one God,
the Father, of whom are all things*.

CHR. We say there is but one God, and that the Father is that God:
And this text says no more: *The Father of whom are all things* means
God in his Nature, which includes the whole Trinity; and sometimes it is
taken personally to mean only the Father, as has been already discours'd:
And this will answer the other texts he there brings.

5. Soc. §. 9. and 10. † he objects why *Christ* should have the assistance
of the Holy Ghost, he himself being God the Son.

CHR. *Christ* did submit himself to all the infirmities of our Nature that
could be distinguished from Sin: For he came to be an example to us:
Which he had not been if his Divinity had exerted itself to the utmost.
Therefore he was perfected, as we are, by the unction of the Holy Ghost;
received Baptism from *John the Baptist*, and fulfilled all righteousness, or
constitutions and means of righteousness to which other Men were oblig'd:
He increas'd in Wisdom, and ascrib'd to the Father and to the Holy Ghost
the Works which he did: Nay more, he submitted to receive comfort and
assistance from Angels, and to be supply'd in his temporal necessities from
the ministry of Men and Women: In short, to be despis'd, suffer, die, and
be buried; leading us thro' every step of our way to Heaven: Thus there-

* Hist. p. 13.

† p. 14, 15.

by approving himself to be the *Captain of our Salvation*, as the Scripture speaks, *For it became him for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many Sons unto glory, to make the Captain of their Salvation perfect, thro' suffering—Wherefore in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren.* Heb. ii. 10. x. 17.

6. Soc. §. 11. * He says, if *Christ* had been more than a Man, the Prophecies of the Old Testament would not have describ'd him barely as the seed of the Woman, the Seed of *Abraham*, and a Prophet like unto *Moses*.

CHR. This must be a wilful mistake in our Author: Because he pretends to answer many texts in the Old Testament which do plainly speak *Christ* to be more than Man: For example, when *Christ* was prophes'd of in these words, *Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given—He shall be call'd wonderful Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the prince of Peace. A Virgin shall conceive, and bare a Son, and shall call his name Immanuel: That is, God with us.* Isa. ix. 6, 7. vii. 14.

The Lord said unto my Lord. By which *Christ* prov'd, that he must be more than the Son of a Man: *If David call him Lord, how is he his Son?* And this argument was so plain as to silence the very obstinate *Jews*. Psal. cx. 1. Mat. xxii. 45.

Soc. But he answers these texts afterwards, and thinking them of no force he does not quote them now.

CHR. That is begging the question: However without naming these, he should not have said, that there was nothing in the Old Testament, which spoke of *Christ* otherwise than as a Man; or that it describ'd him barely as a Man: The contrary to which himself must know.

These are all his arguments against the Divinity of *Christ*: Let us see his proofs as to the Holy Ghost: They begin p. 16. and there he immediately falls into his old contradictions of proving the Holy Ghost *to be God*, and *not to be God*; *to be a Person*, and *not to be a Person*. And which is extraordinary, he proves both by the very same argument. The arguments of the Socinians against the Divinity of the Holy Ghost.

He says, that the *Holy Ghost*, or *Holy Spirit*, is to be taken in the same sense that we commonly say the *Holy Wisdom*, or *Holy Will* of God, or as he said before, p. 16. *the Power of God*, and that they are spoken of, as one and the same thing. 1. That the Holy Ghost is only the Power or Wisdom of God.

And here (without his intention no doubt) he has fall'n upon the very division of the faculties of the Soul, and of the Persons of God, Power, Wisdom, Will.

But now to his proofs: Where he speaks consistently to himself, he goes nearer to prove the Trinity, than what he himself would be at p. 83. which we have quoted before, where he proves that *God's Word*, or *Wisdom* and *Power* is not something different from God; but, being his *Wisdom* and *Power* is God.

And yet here, † he says, that a *manifest distinction* is made as between *God* and *Christ*, so also between *God* and the *Holy Spirit*.

By the *Holy Spirit*, as he tells us, is meant *God's Power*, and *Wisdom*, and *Will*.

These he makes to be God, and to be manifestly distinct from God: And then these three, Power, Wisdom, Will, are the very three Persons in God which we have describ'd.

This in him was being led near the Trinity, even while he was disputing against it.

* Hist. p. 15.

† p. 17.

And it appears yet more in this, that when he endeavours to get off from this, he falls into manifest contradictions: For example, he says, p. 16. *That the Holy Ghost, or Spirit, is only the Power of God, at least not himself God.* And p. 17. *that 'tis impossible the Spirit should be God himself.*

And yet as before is said, p. 83. he gives the same reason why the Word is not any thing different from God, because it is the Power of God, which is God. Here the Spirit or Power of God is God. p. 17. *It is impossible the Spirit should be God.*

The matter was this, p. 83. The Word must be the same with the Power, and the Power the same with God, to get over that unanswerable text, *The Word was God.*

But p. 17. the Holy Ghost must be different from God, to hinder him from being God.

And these contradictions are no way reconcileable but in the true notion of one God, and different Persons.

2.
That the Spirit is obtain'd of God by our Prayers.

Soc. The Spirit is obtain'd for us of God by our prayers; and therefore it is not God. Luke xi. 13. *How much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?* If we say, these texts are to be understood not of the Person of the Holy Ghost, but of his Gifts and Graces; the Socinians readily confess it, but they say also, that if the Holy Spirit were at all a Person, much more a God, his Gifts and Graces would be bestow'd by himself*.

CHR. If they be his Gifts, they must be bestow'd by himself, else they were not his Gifts; for my Gifts are what I my self bestow, not what another Man bestows: So that your very argument confutes its self.

Secondly, They are expressly call'd his Gifts, and that they are bestow'd by him. 1 Cor. xii. 8. *For to one is given, by the Spirit, the Word of Wisdom; to another the Word of Knowledge, by the same Spirit; to another Faith, by the same Spirit; to another the gifts of Healing, by the same Spirit; to another the working of Miracles; to another Prophecy; to another discerning of Spirits; to another divers kinds of Tongues; to another the interpretation of Tongues: But all these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every Man severally as he will.*

Now as to the seeming difficulty how these Graces should be the Gifts both of the Father and the Spirit, they being two Persons, it is easily answer'd by their being one God; whereby, as before told, all the three Persons are joint as in their Natures, so in all their operations; tho' yet some operations are more peculiarly, but not exclusively, attributed to one than to another.

And this is remarkable in this very chapter, v. 4, 5, 6. where a Trinity of Persons, and sorts of Gifts are plainly distinguished. *Now there are diversities of Gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are differences of Administrations, but the same Lord; and there are diversities of Operations, but it is the same God, who worketh all in all.* Here Gifts are attributed more peculiarly to the Spirit, who inspires us; Administrations to the Lord, who governs us; and Operations to God, who gives us power to work, who works all in all in us.

But now, to turn your argument upon you, I desire to know how you will reconcile the Father's and the Holy Ghost's bestowing Gifts, without making them several Persons? That is, how the Holy Ghost could bestow Gifts if he were not a Person? For our discourse now is only of him: And if he were only the Gift, and not the Giver, he could not be said to bestow: A Gift does not bestow itself.

* Hist. p. 19.

Lastly, Reconcile or condemn your own Sects, who own the Holy Ghost to be a Person; and *Biddle* in his *Confession of Faith*, *Artic. 6.* of the Holy Ghost, calls him expressly, *the third Person in the Holy Trinity.*

SOC. In the same place he says, that in the Scripture no prayers are made to the Spirit.

3.
That no Prayers are made to the Spirit.

CHR. Wherever God is invoc'd, the Spirit is invoc'd: Nay more, he is often included in the term of Father, whenever we say *our Father*, by which the whole Trinity is meant, who are jointly the Father of all Creatures; but this has been observ'd before.

SOC. §. 4. p. 19. he says, *The Scripture speaks of God as but one Person.*

CHR. That is, where the Scripture speaks of one God, he wou'd have it imply'd, that there is but one Person in God, which the Scripture nowhere says.

SOC. P. 20. he lays stress upon God, being spoke of in the singular Number, which he thinks cou'd not be, if he had three Persons.

4.
That God is spoke of in the singular Number.

CHR. This is no more than saying God is one, which the *Trinitarians* assert as much as he: But God is likewise spoke of in the plural Number: As, *Let us make Man.* Gen. i. 26, &c.

SOC. He says, that is according to the style of a Prince, who says, we do this or that, when it means only himself.

CHR. I deny that it means only himself. A Prince takes that style to shew he does nothing by himself, that is, without counsel or advice, and therefore his acts are the acts of a great many, or as he is a body politick which implies a great many, all of whom he represents: And I suppose, none will say, that any of these reasons has place in God: And therefore it is very ridiculous, as well as false-reasoning, to pass over the most weighty and serious style of Scripture, upon the complements or infirmities of Princes.

SOC. But he gives an instance of *St. Paul*, * who was no Prince, nor temporal great Man, who wrote 2 Cor. x. 2. *Some think of us as if we walk'd according to the flesh*, which, he says, *St. Paul* means of himself only.

CHR. I must ask his pardon: It seems plain to me by those words, that *St. Paul* spoke of a scandal rais'd against more than himself, against the Christians, or the Apostles: Which is undeniable from the two next verses, for says he, *tho we walk after the flesh, we do not war after the flesh; for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal.* Does the Apostle (think we) mean his own warfare only, or not rather the christian warfare?

SOC. But tho' Princes sometimes style themselves in the plural Number, yet he says, † *No instance can be given in any language, where more Persons are meant by the singular Number, as I, Thou, He, Him, &c.* He says, *such speaking is contrary to Custom, Grammar, and Sense, which are the Laws of Speech: ‡ Therefore the holy Scriptures always speaking thus of God, either he is only one Person, or the Scriptures are one continued ungrammatical solecism and impropriety, and that in the chief Article of Faith; which no reasonable or good Man can or ever will allow.*

CHR. Which no reasonable, good, or modest Man wou'd assert in terms so irreverend of the Holy Scriptures, and God their Author; and in such fulsome assurance of his own wit.

And after all, this is not true: For in common discourse the singular Number is as oft put for the plural, as the plural for the singular.

* Hist. p. 21.

† p. 20.

‡ p. 21.

It is as common to say, such a King march'd, or fought, or retreated, by which his whole Army is meant; as to style himself *us* and *we*.

When we say, Man fell, *Christ* came to redeem Man: Do you mean only some one particular Man? Or by this singular Number are not many Men meant?

But now give me leave to retort this argument upon him: What Grammar will he find for God's calling himself *us*, and saying *one of us*? *the Man* is become as *one of us*. Abraham speaking to three Persons, to say, *My Lord, if I have found favour in thy sight, pass not from thy Servant;— But wash your feet, and rest your selves—and comfort your hearts— And they said, where is thy Wife?— And he said, I will certainly return unto thee— And the Men rose up,—and the Lord said, Shall I hide from Abraham what I do?*

Gen. iii. 22.

xviii. 3.

8. 4.

9, 10,

16, 17.

Here are three Men spoke of, and spoke to both in the singular and plural Numbers promiscuously: This is odd sort of Grammar.

By what rule of Grammar will he construe this sentence?

John viii. 58,
59.

Before Abraham was, I am. He wou'd do as the *Jews* did, if he durst, cast stones at *Christ* for such nonsense or blasphemy: And now must the Scripture be *one continu'd ungrammatical solecism, and impropriety, and that in the chief Article of Faith*, because these and the like expressions are out of the road of common speaking, and will not fit our poor circumstances?

Or if it must be so, unless these sayings are reconcil'd, and if they cannot be reconcil'd to common sense, but by the Doctrine of the Trinity; then here is an invincible argument for the Trinity, made out of this objection, and that by conforming *not only to Grammar, but to the custom of all Nations which understand to speak intelligibly and sensibly*. With which excellent rule our Author ends this Paragraph, beginning of p. 22. and all that he has to say out of Scripture, against the Deity of the Holy Ghost.

Objection
from the
Creed. p. 22.

SOC. He comes next to the Creed, and says, the Son and Holy Ghost are not call'd God in the Apostles Creed.

CHR. God is nam'd at first as a Nature or Species to Individuals. *I believe in God*: Then the several Persons follow in their order: *The Father, his Son, the Holy Ghost*. That the word *God* was not apply'd to each of them is no objection; our way of speaking at this day being the same: As when we say; *God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, wherein the Nature of God is intended to descend to the second and third Person: And if this be sufficient with us to express our meaning, it was much more so, before the *Arians* had disturb'd the Doctrine of the Trinity; which occasion'd a farther explication of it in the *Nicene* and *Athanasian* Creeds.

Let me once more retort upon this Author, and ask him what tolerable sense he will make of this Creed upon his scheme; that is, supposing the Holy Ghost to be nothing different from God, more than a Man's power, or wisdom differs from himself. As to say, I believe in a Man; and I believe likewise in his Spirit: Which is the same, as to believe likewise in himself. Then he must give us some good reason, how believing in the Holy Ghost came to be a distinct Article by it self, from that of believing in the Father; and put at that distance from him too, as to have more than two thirds of the whole Creed interpose.

I doubt this wou'd not pass *according to the custom of all Nations which understand to speak intelligibly and sensibly*.

To divide a Man betwixt himself and his Spirit, and to make two Articles of these, that may do something; because a Man has a Body and a Spirit, and they may be divided: But to divide God, who is all Spirit, betwixt himself and his Spirit; and to put in the Son betwixt them, and to make

three

three Articles of these, cannot be put into sensible or intelligible language, by the custom of any Nations yet extant.

Nor cou'd they think this *an accountable and reasonable Faith*, as our Author * inferrs the *Socinians* to be, from this their excellent and plain exposition of the Creed.

And now as a conclusion §. 6. p. 24. he in a meek and modest way tells the *Trinitarians* that their Faith is absurd, and contrary both to reason and to it self, and therefore not only false, but impossible; that it is, of all others the most brutal; and that not to discern it, is not to be a Man, &c. But of this sort of treatment we have plentiful store in your Author.

Soc. You have quoted several of the Fathers before *Nice* on your side: We have as ancient on our side: And it is fit our evidence shou'd be heard as well as yours. Our History says, † *They whom we now call Socinians*, were by the Fathers and first ages of christianity call'd *Narazens*. *They were also in those first times call'd Ebionites, Mineans, Samosatrenians*, and several other names he there reckons up.

XVIII.
The pretence
of the Socini-
ans to anti-
quity.

CHR. They were so call'd and condemn'd as Hereticks. Behold the Fathers of your Church!

But he joins the *Arians* with the orthodox against all these, and says, *That the writings of these ancients are all lost, being destroy'd by the Arians and Catholicks*.

So that the *Arians* were Enemies to these ancients, which will break their succession mightily, or make it run under ground for many Centuries, till it broke out again in *Socinus* fifteen hundred years after *Christ*.

Soc. But what do you say to the several names by which they were call'd in the primitive times ‡?

CHR. They were the names of several Hereticks as you will find in *Irenaeus, Eusebius, Theodoret, Epiphanius*, and others: And they stand to this day condemn'd as such by the whole christian Church. I cannot imagine what advantage your Author proposes by this.

Neither does he tell us the opinion of these ancient Hereticks, as to the question in hand, how they agree with the *Socinians*, and yet deserv'd to be persecuted, and have their Books burnt by the *Arians*.

But that is no matter: The names are old names, and sound like antiquity; and every body will not examine whether they were Fathers or Hereticks: But think this opinion of the *Socinians* has been very ancient.

But if antiquity alone wou'd do his business, I can help him to an elder precedent than any of these: *Simon Magus* was the first broacher of this Doctrine, and Father of all the Hereticks he has nam'd.

St. *John* says, that many of these false Prophets were gone out into the World in his time: And tells you what their opinion was, viz. *That Jesus Christ was not come in the flesh*: And he calls this *the Spirit of Anti-Christ, which was come into the World*; and it is the same with the *Socinian* opinion: That *Christ* had no being before he was born of the Virgin; and therefore cou'd not come in the flesh. This opinion was against the *Arian* as well as the Orthodox, and not reviv'd till *Socinus*.

Soc. Our Author tells you †, That that is not the meaning of that text of St. *John*, but that this saying, *Came in the flesh* (or, *in flesh*, for so 'tis in the Greek) is oppos'd to these false Prophets and Teachers, that affirm'd *Christ* had not a real Body of Flesh and Blood, but a spiritual; and consequently was not a true Man, nor the Off-spring of *David*. On the contrary, St. *John* here teaches that *Christ is come in flesh, or in the flesh*, that is, *was clothed with a real Body of real flesh*.

* Hist. p. 24, 25.

† p. 26.

‡ p. 157.

CHR. I grant that St. *John's* words are full against these Hereticks: But will that excuse you? This text is so worded, as to detect you both: For St. *John* does not only say, that *Christ* was *Flesh*, but that he came in that Body of *Flesh*.

SOC. I told you, that means no more than that he was *cloathed with a Body of Flesh*.

CHR. But the text says that he *came*.

SOC. Yes: He came so cloathed.

CHR. Must he not exist then before he came, and was so cloathed? Was it nothing that came, or was cloathed? Your *Socinians* confess that *Christ* was *Flesh*; but you deny that he came to take *Flesh* upon him, for you say, that he had no being before he was made *Flesh*. But the Scripture says, That *God sent forth his Son, made of a Woman, and that Christ took upon him the form of a Servant, and was made in the likeness of Men*. Cou'd he take this form and likeness upon him before he had a Being? St. *John* says not only that *Christ* was *Flesh*, but that he was *in the beginning with God*, was *sent by God to take upon him our Flesh*, that he came from God to do it, and that to deny that he came, is to be an *Anti-Christ*; and how he cou'd come and be sent, and take upon him the form or likeness of Men, and yet be nothing, as you say, before he was born, this lies upon you to explain.

Gal. iv. 4.
Phil. ii. 7.

SOC. I have told you all my Author says: But give me leave to pursue it a little farther. Is it not a common saying, That such a Man is come of such a Family? Yet this does not suppose that he had any Being, or that he really came before he was born.

CHR. I think it does. You cou'd not say a Child is born, if it were not a Child before it was born: But you cou'd not say, that Child took upon him the form of a Man: A Man does not take upon him his own Being.

Heb. vii. 10,
5.

SOC. But *Levi* is said to be in the loins of his Father, before he was born, and that the *Jews* came out of the loins of *Abraham*.

CHR. And is not that literally true?

SOC. It is true only as to the matter of their Bodies: For that really came from their Fathers. The Soul is suppos'd by a figure which takes the part for the whole.

CHR. But *Christ*, you confess, came not by corporal generation, therefore he must come some other way; and must as really exist before he was born, as the matter of my Body did exist before I was born.

SOC. The substance of his Body he took from his Mother, by which he was the seed of *David*.

CHR. But something he took likewise from his Father, by which you confess he is truly call'd the *Son of God*: So that what he took from his Father, must exist before he was born, as much as what he took from his Mother did exist before.

SOC. You say, That what he took from his Father, was from Eternity.

CHR. Yes: But that substance which he took from his Father, being join'd to the substance which he took from his Mother, is what we call his incarnation: As generation is not the begetting of a Soul, but the joining it to a Body. And without this you cannot verify the form which you your selves allow, that he was begotten of God: For there is difference 'twixt Creation and Generation. We are all created by God, and are his Son's in that sense; but *Christ* only is his begotten Son, by which he partakes of his substance, and his whole and perfect Nature as all begotten Sons do among us.

SOC. At this rate *Christ* was twice generated, once from Eternity, and once at his Incarnation.

CHR. I grant it. For his eternal substance which he took from his Father, being by the operation of the Holy Ghost, join'd in one Person with the human substance which he took from his Mother, is call'd his Incarnation; and is likewise call'd Generation, as he is call'd my Father who is the instrument of joining my Soul and Body together; not that he begets my Soul, or it comes from him otherwise than as joining it into one Person with my Body. Thus *Christ* is not the Son of his own Spirit otherwise than as it form'd his Flesh in the Womb of the Virgin, and join'd it to his Person.

SOC. But why was his human Generation perform'd by the Holy Ghost, whereas his eternal Generation was from the Father only, as you say?

CHR. Do not think I will take upon me to explain all the hidden mysteries of God, and this does no ways concern the subject we are upon; only that it proves demonstrably, that the Holy Ghost is God, because if he were not, *Christ* could not be call'd the Son of God from his being a Person: For begetting is the most personal action can be imagin'd: Naked Qualities cannot beget a Man: Whatever begets must have Substance; therefore the Holy Ghost must be a Substance, and must be God, because what he begets is for that reason called the Son of God, and *Christ* must likewise be God, because he partakes of the Substance of God: For, as before is said, this is the difference betwixt Creation and Generation; in Creation we partake of such Substance as God pleases to give us; but Generation is partaking of his own Substance who generates us. Luke 1. 35.

SOC. Then *Christ* partakes of two Substances of God: Of the Father's Substance in his eternal Generation, and of the Holy Ghost's in his human Generation.

CHR. The Substance of God is not divided among the divine Persons: There is but one Substance or Nature which exists in three distinct Substances or Persons, as has been said before: And this Substance being, by the Operation of the third Person, united to a human Substance, is truly Generation.

SOC. Then *Christ* partakes of this Substance twice; once from the Father in his eternal Generation, and once from the Holy Ghost in his human Generation.

CHR. A Man cannot partake anew of what he has already: And the very word human Generation might set you right in this matter: For it was *Christ*'s human Substance which did partake, or was made one Person with his divine Substance, by the Operation of the Holy Ghost, as one corporal Substance partakes, or is made one Person with one Soul or spiritual Substance, by corporal Generation.

SOC. Can one Substance partake of another Substance?

CHR. Nothing else but Substance can partake of Substance, their being united so as to make up one Person, is called their partaking of one another. *Christ* did not take his divine Substance from the Holy Ghost: But by the Operation of the Holy Ghost his divine Substance was united into one Person with his human Substance, and his human Substance did partake of his divine Substance by the Operation of the Holy Ghost.

Thus, in respect of his divine Substance, the Holy Ghost did unite it to his human Substance.

In respect of his human Substance, the Holy Ghost did exalt it into a personal Union with his divine Substance.

In both respects he was begotten by the Holy Ghost: But in different manners, according to his different Natures; as is to be seen even in human Generation. Thus far towards framing in our selves some notion of the mysterious Generation of *Christ* in the Womb of the Virgin.

But there is an easier answer to the objection, for you have heard in what has been said before, that in the Union of two Natures in one Person whatever belongs to either of the Natures is verify'd of the whole Person; as we say, that Man is mortal because his Body is such, and as truly we say that he is immortal because his Soul is such: And by this rule we may truly say, that *Christ* was begotten by the Holy Ghost, and was his Son, for so he was as to his human Nature; and likewise that he was not Son to the Holy Ghost, but only to the Father, from whom only he took his divine Substance, for that is true as to his divine Nature, and both these are truly verify'd of his Person, which is both.

Soc. Let us now, if you please, return to our *History*; for my Author lays stress upon that: And it is not the least plausible part of his Book.

CHR. And there is nothing in his Book shews the weakness of his cause more than this; for he there confesses that which, if he had deny'd, would have been my greatest task to have prov'd against him: And that is, that the *Socinian* opinion had been all along condemn'd in the Church as heretical; for all these were condemn'd hereticks whom he names for that opinion, in the first Ages of Christianity.

And to render them the more condemn'd, they differ'd among themselves, even in that heresy, as the *Socinians* do at this day: Besides other gross and abominable errors which the *Socinian-Unitarians* do abhor as much as we do. Of those who call'd themselves Christians, *Simon Magus* was the first who appear'd in disgrace of the Trinity.

Acts viii. 13.
18.

He was converted and baptiz'd by *Philip*; but had so contemptible and opinion of the Holy Ghost, as to think he might be purchased with money. After this, falling from one error into another, he at last set up his whore *Helena* for the Holy Ghost, and instituted beastly carnalities for the worship of God, wherein the impure *Gnosticks* follow'd him*: Who boasted themselves the greatest Men of Reason, whence they assum'd to themselves the name of *Gnosticks*, from their exceeding other Christians in Knowledge.

The denial of the Trinity is ever attended with other errors, which appeared in *Simon Magus*, who denying the Trinity, did likewise hold that the World was made by Angels, held magick and idolatry lawful, slighted the Law of *Moses* as not being from God, and allow'd of promiscuous marriages and all sensuality.

The first our Author names in his list of the *Socinian* Fathers, are the *Nazarens*: A sort of Christians who affected that name rather than to be nam'd after *Christ* or *Jesus*. *Epiphanius*† tells us they were perfect *Jews*, they retain'd Circumcision, and the *Judaical* rites, and differ'd from the *Jews* only that they believed in *Christ*.

They us'd a Gospel which is call'd the *Gospel of Peter*.

The *Ebionites*, whom our Author reckons next, so called from *Ebion*, held that *Christ* was born of *Joseph* as well as of *Mary*, (which our modern *Socinians* do abhor) they liv'd according to the *Mosaical* Law‡, and receiv'd only the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, but they called the Apostle an apostate. *Symmachus*, whom our Author mentions, was one of those that translated the Old Testament out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*. There are others likewise who are called *Ebionites*, who in all other things agree with the former; but they say that *Christ* was born of a Virgin, they use only the Gospel according to *Matthew*, and observe both the *Jewish* and the Christian Sabbath. *Irenæus* (advers. Hæres. l. 3. c. 4. p. 257.) reckons ** *Cerintus*, and before him the †† *Nicolaitans*, who had been put in with rest, but that they are nam'd Rev. ii. 15.

* Epiph. Hær. 21. Iren. advers. Hær. c. 1. l. 20.
c. 2.

† Ibid. c. 1.

** Ibid. c. 8.

† Id. Hær. 29. Theod. Hæret. Fab. l. 2.

†† Ibid. c. 11.

He tells you that *Paulus* of *Samofata* was condemn'd by an episcopal Council assembled in his own City of *Antioch*: And *Theodorit* says farther, that he publicly renounc'd this error.

And that by the Providence of God these heresies were so extinguished, that their very names were not known to many.

But now it is thought a fit season to revive them again.

And since it must be; behold the original of the *Socinians*, and the Fathers of their *no Church*! Such lewd and scandalous hereticks, as I am sure any modest *Socinian* will start and be amazed when he shall reflect from what sort of Men he has deriv'd his Faith, and adventur'd to differ from the whole catholick Church of *Christ*, not only in this, but in all former ages.

Soc. **Eusebius* (Hist. l. 5. c. 28.) and *Theodorit* (Hær. Fab. l. 2. c. de *Artem.*) say, that these *Nazarens* constantly affirmed, that they derived their doctrine from the Apostles of our Lord, and that it was the general doctrine of the Church till the *Popes Victor* and *Zephyrin* set themselves to root it up.

CHR. They say that the *Nazarens* affirmed this; and do not all hereticks the same? Did ever any Man condemn himself? Do not even *Quakers*, *Muggletonians*, and all pretend to the Scripture? Did not the Devil himself quote Scripture against our Saviour?

But why does not your Author tell how *Eusebius*, in the same chapter, proves this their allegation to be wholly false, and without any ground? First from the Scripture itself, and next from those who wrote before *Victor* or *Zephyrin*, as *Justin*, *Miltiades*, *Tatianus*, and *Clemens*, *Irenæus*, *Melito* and many more, in all whose Books the Divinity of *Christ* is establish'd, that he is both true God and Man. And he stands in admiration at the impudence of these *Nazarens*, who could pretend that this was the general doctrine of the Church before *Victor* and *Zephyrin*.

He tells us likewise of another practice of theirs, which is of great use to have discover'd, that is, that they did boldly adulterate the holy Scriptures, and rejected the rule of the primitive Faith: And he proves this by a very strong argument, viz. that their copies did not agree among themselves, some of which he there reckons, as that of *Asclepiades*, *Theodotus*, *Hermophilus*, and *Apollonius*, which last does not agree with itself, for these Copies which were written before, differ from those which he wrote afterwards. And *Eusebius* says, that they could not deny this to be done by them, because the copies were written with their own hands, neither did they receive them from those who taught them the christian Faith, nor could they shew the copies out of which they transcrib'd theirs.

Therefore they plainly own'd that they had mended the Scriptures, † adding some things, and taking away others, to make them more intelligible: Nay, some of them did not only thus adulterate the Scriptures, but absolutely rejected the Law and the Prophets; Thus *Eusebius* and *Theodoret*.

Soc. ‡*Victor* (say the *Socinians*) began to persecute the apostolick doctrine of one God, or, what is the same, that God is one, in the year 194. ** but with little success, till that which was afterwards, the doctrine of the *Arians* grew into general credit and acceptance.

CHR. *Victor* excommunicated these hereticks, which your author calls a persecution. *Victor* himself was under persecution of the *Roman* government; and he had then no civil sword to persecute any other.

Soc. My Historian says, that *Victor's*, or others endeavours had little success against these *Nazarens*, &c.

* Hist. Unitar. p. 27.

† Theod. Hær. Fab. l. 2. c. 5.

‡ Hist. Unitar. p. 27.

** p. 28.

CHR.

CHR. Witness what you have heard just now out of *Theodorit*, that they were so buried in oblivion as that their very names were not known to many: For which he rejoices and blesteth God.

SOC. My Author names *Justin Martyr* and *Origen*, as raising the honour of the Son higher than the plain and simple doctrine of the *Nazarens*; but yet not so high as the Council of *Nice*, by attributing to the Son Eternity, &c.

CHR. Your Author quotes nothing out of these Fathers; he requires us to take his word: But I think I have given you sufficient testimony of the Faith of both these Fathers, in our examination of the texts of Scripture: And if you would have farther satisfaction, I refer you at your leisure to Dr. *Bull's Defensio fidei Nicenæ*, Printed at Oxford 1685. There *Sett. 2. c. 9.* you have *Origen's* Doctrine as to the Divinity of the Son of God vindicated to be Catholick, and plainly agreeable to the *Nicene* Faith; and *Sett. 3. c. 2.* *Justin Martyr's* Doctrine as to the Eternity of the Son is explain'd.

SOC. Let us then proceed with our Author: He tells us a lamentable story how low they are now brought, that neither the *Nazaren* Faith, nor the *Arian*, or *Nicene* (truly so call'd) are openly profess'd in the territories of christian Princes and States, except in a few obscure Towns.

CHR. Blessed be God, that the *Nazaren* and *Arian* Heresies have long been banish'd *Christendom*, almost as much as what *Theodorit* said, that their very names have not till of late been known to many, at least amongst us.

But it is a sad and dismal prospect of our sins, that God suffers these tares to appear now again; and this ought to bring us to speedy bethinking our selves, wherein we have fallen short of our christian Principles, and searching into those provocations, and returning from them, which otherwise may root up our Religion, and destroy christianity among us.

But with what assurance can your Author put in the *Nicene* Faith as banish'd *Christendom*, with the *Nazaren* or *Socinian*, and the *Arian* Faith? Is not the Creed of that Council of *Nice* read in the christian Churches?

SOC. You except the *Socinians* I hope.

CHR. They are no Church: Providence has not permitted them to come to the very name of a christian Church: They look like a blot or an objection only in christianity: The *Hist Unitar.* tells us, that their Faith is no where openly profess'd in the territories of christian Princes and States, except in a few Cities of *Transylvania*, and some in the *United Netherlands*, which allows of all Religions*, that will advance Trade: He says † there are many of them in the Turkish, and other Mahometan and Pagan Dominions. It seems God has banish'd them from *Christendom*, only left some, as of the *Canaanites*, to keep us in exercise, lest we shou'd forget our christian War.

SOC. But tho' they are so low now, yet they say in ancient times they were much stronger: The *Arians* were very high once.

CHR. Indeed God did suffer them to make great inroads upon christianity; and to have favour at Court, and raise persecutions against the orthodox.

But he still most signally and gloriously preserv'd the Faith, and after some contests, crown'd it with Victory over *Arius* and his Heresie to this Day.

And besides the modern *Unitarians*, cannot be call'd *Arians*, nor have title even to his antiquity.

The *Arians* say, that *Christ* was generated before the World; ‡ and in process of time became incarnate in our Nature.

The difference 'twixt *Arians* and *Socinians* and a comparison 'twixt *Socinianism* and *Mahometism*.

* *Hist. Unitar.* p. 20

† p. 30.

‡ p. 33.

The *Socinians* deny that he had any existence before he was born of the blessed *Mary*.

Again the *Arians* say, that the Holy Ghost is the Creature of the Son, and subservient to him in the work of Creation.

And the *Socinians* say, the Holy Spirit is the Power and Wisdom of God which is God.

But Mr. *Biddle*, and those that follow him, take the Holy Spirit to be a Person, chief of the heavenly Spirits, prime Minister of God and *Christ*.

SOC. But notwithstanding these material differences, the Historian includes all these under the name of *Unitarians*, because, says he*, they agree in the principal article, that there is *but one God*, or, *but one who is God*.

CHR. And in this sense we claim the name of *Unitarians* as much as any. None assert more than we the Unity of God's Nature, which cannot be more than one; we say that is *but one God*, or *one Nature* which is God. But whether that Nature may not admit of several Persons, is another question and meddles not with the Unity of the Nature. But your different sets of *Unitarians* know not what to make of the divine Persons: The *Socinians* differ from the *Arians*, both as to the Son and the Holy Ghost, and therefore can in no justice derive themselves from them: Tho' if they cou'd, as will be farther shewn, it wou'd do them little service. But they neither have Unity with *Arius*, nor among themselves, no, not as to the object of their Worship; they have not the same God, some of them at this day, making the Holy Ghost to be God, others to be only a Creature; some that he is a Person, others only as a Quality, &c.

SOC. But my Author says†, that the *Arians* and *Socinians* esteem of one another as christian Brethren and true Believers.

CHR. It is impossible they shou'd think one another to be true Believers, unless all the abovesaid opinions can be true, or that it is not material whether the Holy Ghost be God, or a Creature; whether *Christ* had, or had not a Being with his Father before his Incarnation.

And for their being christian Brethren; if it be only the word *Christ* that does it, then all who acknowledge the name of *Christ* must come in, let their opinions of him be what they will, tho' some think him God, others only a Man.

The *Alcoran* speaks thus of him. ‡ “ The *Messias*, *Jesus* the Son of *Mary*, is a Prophet, and an Apostle of God, his Word, and his Spirit, which he sent to *Mary*.

“ The Angels said to *Zachary*, thou shalt have a Son called *John*, he shall affirm the *Messias*, to be the Word of God.

“ The angels said, O *Mary*, God declareth unto thee a Word, from which shall proceed the *Messias*, named *Jesus*** — or (as it is in the Latin translation of D. *Petrus Abbas Cluniacensis* put out by *Theodor. Bibliander* ††) O *Maria tibi summi nuncij gaudium cum verbo Dei, cujus nomen est Christus Jesus, filius Mariæ, qui est facies omnium gentium, hoc seculoq; futuro* — Here the *Alcoran* says, the name of the Word of God is *Christ Jesus*, that he is the *Face of all Nations*, which the Annotator observes to be a parallel Phrase to the desire or expectation of the *Gentiles*, and other like appellations of *Christ*. Gen. XLIX. and Chap. XXII. *Isai.* II. and *Zech.* III. *Hag.* II. And is the *Face of all Nations*, says the *Alcoran*, not only in this World, but in the World to come.

So that if speaking great and honourable things of *Christ* makes a Man a Christian, the *Mahometans* are as good Christians as the *Socinians*.

SOC. If they did acknowledge the Scriptures, it might go a great way.

* Hist. p. 34. † Ibid. ‡ Transl. English. Lond. 1649. c. 4. p. 62 c. 3. p. 33.
** P. 34. †† Azoara 5. p. 23.

CHR. They do acknowledge them, only they take the liberty as you do, to interpret them differently from the Catholick Church: Thus we read in the *Alcoran*. * *O you that have knowledge of the Scriptures! Believe in the Alcoran, that confirmeth the Old and New Testament.*

† *He (the Lord) shall say unto Jesus, O Jesus Son of Mary, remember thou my grace towards thee and thy Mother, I strengthen'd thee with the Holy Ghost—thee did I instruct in Scripture and Knowledge, the Old Testament and the Gospel.* Again, ‡ *I will teach him the Scripture, the Mysteries of the Law, the Old Testament and the Gospel.* And the common appellation which the *Alcoran* gives to the Jews and Christians, is, *O ye that know the Scripture!* And it provokes them to dispute out of the Scripture. *O ye that know the Scripture, come with words alike—true between you and us; do I worship other than God? Be ye witnesses that we believe in God. O ye that understand Scripture, dispute not the Law of Abraham, to wit, if he observ'd the Old Testament, or the Gospel; they were taught after him, perhaps you will acknowledge your error; O ye that have disputed what ye know not! Abraham was no Jew nor Christian, he professed the Unity of God, he was a true Believer, and not of the number of Infidels. The People, and particularly those that follow'd him of his time, as also the Prophet Mahomet, and all true Believers have known the truth of his Law—O ye that know the Scripture! Do not maliciously conceal the Commandments of God—Observe exactly what you have learn'd in Scripture, and what you read—Remember—that he (God) taught you Scripture and Knowledge,** and that after this came a Prophet, that confirm'd the Doctrine that was taught you, that you might believe his words.*

These are the words of the *Alcoran*: And you see they make no more of Mahomet, than a Prophet who succeeded Christ, as Christ succeeded Moses: And as Christ confirm'd Moses's Law, so Mahomet confirms the Gospel of Christ; the latter still confirms the former. *Say to them (says the same Chapter of the Alcoran††) we believe in God, in what he hath inspired into us, in what he inspired into Abraham, Ismael, Isaac, Jacob, and the Tribes, in what was ordained by Moses, by Jesus, and generally all the Prophets from God—Such as shall be impious towards Jesus having believ'd the Books of Moses, and shall augment their impiety against Mahomet, shall err eternally.* And there is a great deal more to the same purpose.

SOC. At this rate they advance Christ beyond Mahomet.

CHR. Only, that Mahomet was a later Prophet, and so the last Messenger from Heaven; otherwise they do not speak such things of him as they do of Christ: They acknowledge Christ to be born of a Virgin, by the operation of God, in the same terms with the Scripture; they say not so of Mahomet, whom they do not call the *Messias*, the *Word of God*, and the *Face*, or *Lord of the World to come*, as you have heard the *Alcoran* speak of the Lord Christ.

SOC. Wherein then do they differ from the christian Church?

CHR. In the same points which the Socinians do; they allow not the Trinity nor Divinity of Christ: And they interpret those texts which speak of the Trinity and Incarnation of the Word, as the Socinians do.

†† And they acknowledge not the satisfaction of Christ, but they put him into the number of Intercessors with his divine Majesty: Which are exactly the Socinian Tenets.

And I wou'd not have you asham'd of it, but accept Mahomet for one of the Fathers of Socinianism: He is not half so scandalous, nor so heroto-

* *Alcoran* c. 4. p. 51. † c. 5. p. 75. ‡ c. 3. p. 34, 35. ** p. 36. †† p. 37. †† p. 34.

dox as *Ebion*, and *Theodotion*, and that string of Hereticks whom your Historian has muster'd up for the primitive founders of Socinianism in its purity: Some of these us'd a different Gospel from ours, others rejected all our Scripture, but some parcel that pleas'd themselves; they corrupted the Scripture, and it being prov'd upon them under their hands, they call'd it mending and improving the Scripture: Some of them wou'd not allow *Christ* to be born of a Virgin, but that he was begot by *Joseph*, as other Men are; and many other things which I shall shew you by and by, and which grate the Ears even of a *Socinian* now.

Mahomet is much more Christian than these, and an express *Unitarian*, but these are not so well known in the World now as *Mahomet* is: Therefore you wou'd not own *Mahomet* to be of your Party, lest the People shou'd stone you, for they have all a great aversion to *Mahomet*. But I assure you, that these primitive *Anti-Trinitarian* Hereticks were as odious to the Christians then, as *Mahomet* is now: Witness St. *John* quitting the Bath where *Cerintus*, one of the Ring-leaders of these, came in, saying, he wou'd not stay in a place where there was one of such Anti-christian Principles, lest a judgment shou'd overtake him for being in such Company.

Mahomet succeeded *Arius*, and set up his Doctrine, which is contain'd in the *Alcoran*, with some additions: And it is observable, that where *Arianism* most prevail'd, there *Mahometism* came in and prosper'd; that Men might read their sin in their punishment, by the progress of their wickedness, and having once departed from the christian Faith, can now find no stop or remedy.

And as *Mahomet* improv'd *Arianism*, so the *Socinians* have exceeded even the *Alcoran*, in their contempt of *Christ*, as I have shew'd, bringing him lower, and making him more a mere Man than the *Alcoran* does.

Soc. I must tell you, that notwithstanding all you have said, we have some of your modern and celebrated christian Writers, who favour our opinion; and our History names three or four of them.

XIX.
The Credit
the Socinians
expect by al-
luding some
modern Chri-
stian Writers,
as favourers
of their opi-
nion.

CHR. This you urge not, I suppose, as an argument, only that it wou'd gain some credit to your cause. 'Tis well he can name no more: But that you may not lose any advantage, I am willing to hear whom he names.

Soc. He names two of the Church of *Rome*, and two of the reformed, with a fifth one *Sandius*, whom he calls the *Arians* Historian.

CHR. The first he names is *Erasmus*, who liv'd and dy'd in the Communion, of the Church of *Rome*. Yet he was not a bigot Papist, as he was far from being a thorow Protestant: His great wit led him from many errors of *Rome*. He begun well, but it was left to others to finish.

Erasmus.

Yet might he be vindicated in a great measure from what your Historian lays upon him; but that is not our present business: Neither does what is here alledged, prove him to be either *Arian* or *Socinian*. For tho' *Phil. II. 6.* be a principal argument of the fathers against the *Arians*, and tho' *Erasmus* shou'd say (for your Author quotes no place where he says it) that this text did not prove against the *Arians*, yet it is no consequence, that therefore no other text does prove it: One Man may think that a proof, which another does not.

And as to his second proof from what *Erasmus* says upon *Eph. v. 5.* I do not find in him what your Author says in that place. Yet, if he said it, viz. That the word *God* us'd absolutely, always signifies the *Father*, this wou'd not prove him a *Socinian*: For we grant the word *God* frequently to mean the *Father*, as I have already told you, but that it does not always so, you may see *Col. II. 2.* where the Apostle speaks of the Mystry of *God*, and of the *Father*, and of *Christ*: Where the word *God*, us'd abso-

absolutely is distinguish'd from the *Father*, as from *Christ*, and this is there call'd a Mystery; which it were not, if it were spoken all of one Person, as you wou'd have it: But on the other hand, where it is not so distinguish'd, we grant that it always means the *Father*, but not in exclusion of the other Persons; for the word *God* us'd absolutely, means the divine Nature, which includes all the three Persons. He next quotes *Erasmus's Scholia* on the third Tome of St. *Jerom's* Epistles, but he names not which Epistle, that you may not find it without reading him all over. He says *Erasmus* there denies the *Arians* to be Hereticks, and that *they were superior to our Men in Learning and Eloquence*: To which we must demur till he quotes the place: But I am sure, if he says the *Arians* are not Hereticks, he contradicts himself, for in the second Tome of St. *Jerom's* Epistles, in his argument of the Epistle *adversus Luciferianos* p. 134. Edit. *Basil* 1537. he says that *no heresy did more grievously afflict the Church than that of the Arians*. And in his Paraphrase upon *John* II. I. no *Trinitarian* can speak more full and express than he does. He calls *Christ*, "*Ex Deo vero, verus Deus: Very God, of very God*". That he was the "eternal Word, with the eternal Father, and that this Word did so come forth from the Father as never to part from the Father. Neither did he so adhere to his Father as an Accident adheres to its Substance, but he was God of God, he was God in God, he was God with God, because of the common Nature of both their Divinities: These two who were alike in all things, nothing did distinguish but the property of the Begetter, and the Person begotten: And tho' this Word was God omnipotent, of the omnipotent, yet being distinguish'd by the property of his Person; he was with God the Father not in any dissimilitude of Nature. Neither was he made or created by the Father; but by this his own Word, co-eternal to himself, the Father made all things, that he did make, whether visible or invisible; by the same he governs all things, by the same he restores all things, not using him as an Instrument or Minister, but as a Son of the same Nature, and same Power with himself. So all things whatever are, came from the Father as the supreme Author, but by the Son, whom he begot from Eternity, equal to himself in all things, and without end does beget". These are the words of *Erasmus*, and a great deal more in the same, and many other places, to the same purpose. And if you will make a *Socinian* of this Man, you need not despair to gain *Athanasius* too, and prove him to be an *Arian*, *Nazaren*, or what you please. And to shew you what opinion *Erasmus* has of the great ingenuity, which your Author brags he expresses for the *Socinians*, upon the same Chapter, *John* I. he says, *They greatly err from the truth, who think that the Word of God is posterior to him who brings it forth, as among Men the mind is before the speech; and who reckon the Word of God, by which God the Father made all things, among the things which were made: Sed crassior est illorum error—But their error is more gross who suppose that Christ then began to be the Son and Word of God, when he was born of the Virgin Mary*.

Whether this be the opinion of the *Socinians*, you can tell, and whether calling their error gross and greatly distant from the truth, be so mighty a complement, as your Author wou'd force from this great Man to the *Socinians*.

Soc. My Author quotes *Erasmus* Epist. to *Bilibaldus*, wherein he says he cou'd be of the *Arian* persuasion, if the Church approv'd it.

CHR. Your Author is very unwilling to be brought to the light, his quotations are all dark; he does not care to have them look'd into. In *Erasmus's* Epistles there are no less than thirty seven to *Bilibaldus*: And you

may

may suppose it was too much trouble for your Author to name the Epistle, then you would have found it out too soon. That one which he means, I suppose, is the third Epistle of *Erasmus's* twentieth book of his Epistles; where speaking his sense of the great authority of the Church, he says, *it was by her authority he believed the canonical Scriptures*: And then indeed it is no wonder that he submits every thing else to her authority. And magnifying his deference to the Church, he says, *he could agree with the Arians and Pelagians, if the Church had approv'd what they have taught*. Now the natural consequence of this to me, is, that *Erasmus* thought these the most pestilent and abominable heresies he could think of, for it had been no great matter to submit to any rational or tolerable doctrine; but to shew the vast authority of the Church, he sure would name some mighty thing. But why did your Historian leave the *Pelagians* out of this quotation? He would not have them join'd with the *Arians*, for fear of discovering his plot, for he does not pretend to favour the *Pelagians*, or that *Erasmus* was a *Pelagian*: And this quotation would make him as much so, as an *Arian*. But whatever comes of the integrity, I must commend the ingenuity of your Historian.

SOC. You are satyrical, you know not how to miss a blot; let us see if you can find the like in his next instance of *Grotius*, who, he says, is *Socinian all over*. Grotius

CHR. It is all over, for he quotes no particular place, but desires that you will take his word, or else be at the pains of reading over all *Grotius's* works.

SOC. I had rather take his word; at this time, for I have not now so much leisure: But yet he names his Notes upon *John* i. i. and says, that his Annotations are a complete system of *Socinianism*.

CHR. He has a better perspective than I can see thro', for I cannot find any such thing in his Annotations, but I think the direct contrary.

SOC. Indeed my Author says, *they are written so artificially, and interwove with so many different quotations, that he has covered himself, and his sense of that portion of Scripture, from such as do not read him carefully*.

CHR. I am sure he has covered himself in that place from being so much as suspected of *Socinianism*, for he interprets *John* i. i. *In the beginning*, to be the beginning of all things, and to mean *Eternity*; *sicut mos est Hebraeis Aeternitatem populariter describere, that it was a common and familiar expression among the Hebrews, whereby to describe Eternity*.

This is point blank destructive of the *Socinian* principle, which allows *Christ* no Being before he was born of the Virgin; and therefore they are forced to interpret these words, *In the beginning*, to mean only the beginning of the Gospel.

Then *Grotius* does most learnedly tell us the acceptation of the term *Logos*, agreeably to what we have already discours'd; *viz.* that it was first with the *Jews*, and he supposes it taken first from *Gen.* i. where God's creating is express'd by, *God said, let there be light, let there be a firmament, &c.* Thence the notion of the Word of God. From the *Jews* the *Chaldeans* had it, and from them, the *Greeks*: And that it was by this Word that God created all things. He tells you how *Philo* the *Jew* calls this Word the Image and Son of God; how the *Jewish Cabalists*, and the *Pythagorean* and *Platonick* Philosophers had invented many other emanations from God besides his Word, or *Logos*.

These emanations they called *Æones*, and reckon'd the *Logos* as one of them: And this doctrine the *Gnosticks* follow'd. And *Grotius* says, that it was expressly against this that *St. John* wrote, and proves that all the appellations which they gave to their several *Æones*, as *Maker of the World*, *only Begotten*, and *Saviour*, did belong only to *Christ*, who was the *Logos*. And this Learned Annotator observes, that our *Saviour* is call'd by these names in *St. John's* Writings, and not in the other holy Writers, tho' they deliver'd the same thing in effect.

And this account of *St. John's* using the term of *Logos*, and vindicating it from the other fanciful *Æones* or emanations, which the Heathens, *Cabalists*, and from them the *Gnosticks* join'd with it, and preferred some of them before it, is a confirmation of what I have already said upon that point.

And *Grotius* says, that *St. John* by these words, *In the beginning was the Word*, rejects the figment of the *Gnosticks*, who said, that from the *Proarchs*, after many ages, the *Nous*, or Mind, was born; then from the *Nous* the *Monogene*, or only Begotten, and from that the *Logos*: All which *St. John* confutes, by rejecting all these but the *Logos*, making that *from the beginning*, that is, as *Grotius* explains it, from Eternity, and applying to it the term of *Monogene*, only Begotten, and all the other epithets of their several *Æones*, and shewing that they belong only to the *Logos*.

Acts xx. 30.
2 Cor. xi. 13.
2 Tim. ii. 18.

And here I cannot but take notice how *Grotius* (upon *Mat. xxiv. 11.*) joins *Cerintbus* and *Ebion* together, as those who perverted Christianity, by mixing *Judaism* with it, not only as tolerating the *Jewish* rites, (which we know the Apostles did at first) but by acknowledging *Judaism* to be the only way to salvation, which was preached, as by other Prophets, so also by *Christ*. And he says, that *St. John* wrote much against these, and that these and the like are those whom *Christ* calls the false Prophets: *St. Paul*, *Men speaking perverse things* (and these shall arise of your own selves, they shall be Christians.) *False Apostles*, *deceitful Workers*, *transforming themselves into the Apostles of Christ*, by whose opinions the Faith of many is overthrown.

This is *Grotius's* judgment of *Ebion* and the *Ebionites*, whom our Historian has set down as the true *Socinians* of the first age.

But to see farther how good a *Socinian* *Grotius* was, upon *John i. 14.* he says, that the *Logos* shewed himself in our human Nature, that he might advance us Men to the divine Majesty: And applies to this *1 Tim. iii. 16.* *God was manifest in the Flesh*: And what *Irenæus* says, *Verbum ait, unitum suo plasmati*—The Word being united to his own Workmanship, was made a passible Man.

Upon these words, *The Word was God*, *John i. 2.* *Grotius* tells us plainly how that Word was made synonymous with God, and quotes *Justin*, calling *Christ* the God who was before ages: And *Theophilus*, that the Word is God, and born of God, and much more to the same purpose.

But to end this matter, *Grotius* having given the reason beforetold why *St. John* treats more expressly of the *Logos* than the other holy writers, says thus, "*Ceteri Scriptores Evangeliorum*—The other Evangelists thought " it sufficient to express *Christ's* divine Nature from his admirable conception, his infinite power in working Miracles, his knowledge of other mens hearts, from those things which happen'd concerning his Death, Resurrection, and Ascension into Heaven, finally, from the promise of his perpetual Presence, of sending the Holy Ghost, forgiving Sins, judging Mankind. " But *John*, according to the necessity of his times, and in the beginning " would give him the name of God, and the power flowing from the eternal Fountain:" Thus *Grotius*. And how this agrees with the *Socinians* who

who hold that *Christ* had no Being before he was born of the Virgin, I leave you to judge, and what reason your Historian had for his great boast, that * *Grotius was Socinian all over; that he has interpreted the whole Bible according to the mind of the Socinians: And that there is nothing in all his Annotations which they do not approve and applaud, and that his Annotations are a complete system of Socinianism, not excepting his Notes on John 1. 2.*

SOC. I am sure no *Socinian* can either approve or applaud what you quoted out of *Grotius*, especially his notes upon *John 1. 1.* But our Author perhaps means that he is only a *Socinian* as to the Trinity; for as to the Incarnation and Pre-existence of *Christ* before his Birth from the Virgin, I think we have no title to *Grotius*.

CHR. The Incarnation and Trinity are closely link'd together, so that you cannot suppose the Incarnation, without first supposing the Trinity; for you cannot say that *Christ* is God, without more Persons than one in God.

But *Grotius, de Verit. Rel. Christ. l. 5. §. 21.* vindicates the doctrine of the Trinity from the objection of Polytheism, and shews that it was not unknown to the *Jews*. He says, that " *Philo the Jew* oftentimes makes " three to be in God, and calls the Reason or the Word of God by the name " of God, the Maker of the World, neither unbegotten, as is God the Father " of all, nor begotten so as Men are. That the *Cabalists* distinguish God " into three Lights, which some of them call by the same names that " Christians do, viz. of the Father, of the Son, or the Word, and of the " Holy Ghost. And he says, that it is confessed by all the *Hebrews*, that " the Spirit by which the Prophets were inspired, is not any thing created, " and yet it is distinguish'd from him that sent it; like as also that which " they commonly call *Shechinah*. Now many of the *Hebrews* have taught, " that that divine Power which they call Wisdom shall dwell in the *Messias*; " whence the *Chaldee* Paraphrase calls the *Messias* the *Word of God*: And " he is called by that august name of God, and also, of Lord, by *David*, " *Isaias*, and others:" These are the words of *Grotius*. And nothing can speak the Trinity more plainly, in contradiction both to the *Arians* and *Socinians*. The Spirit not being any created thing, is against the *Arians*, and Mr. *Biddle's Socinians* who hold that it is created; and being distinguish'd from the sender thereof, does confound all the other parties of the *Socinians*, who hold that the Spirit of God is not distinguish'd from the sender thereof. And the *Jews* distinguish *Shechinah* from the Spirit, and make the *Messiah* to be this *Shechinah*, for which you may see more authorities in the Annotations upon this place in *Grotius's* works, printed in London, 1679. Tom. 3. and this both proves the Trinity, and that the *Messiah* is one of the Persons.

SOC. † But what say you to that which my Author objects of *Grotius*, attacking the *Socinians* in his younger years, in a principal article of their doctrine? But being answer'd by *J. Crellius*, he not only never reply'd, but thanked *Crellius* for his answer; and afterwards publishing some Annotations on the Bible, he interpreted the whole according to the Mind of the *Socinians*?

CHR. You have had a taste of these Annotations, and whether they be wholly according to the mind of the *Socinians*; and from hence you may guess at the truth of the other part of his allegation: But if you would have full satisfaction, consult *Grotius's* works of that edition I have just now nam'd, and there before his defence of the Catholick Faith as to the satisf-

* Hist. Unitar. p. 32, † ibid.

faction of *Christ* against *Faustus Socinus*, you have his Letter to *Ger. Vossius*, clearing himself as to this matter of his answer to *Crellius*, and his Faith both as to the Trinity and the Satisfaction of *Christ*, and vindicating himself from the imputation of *Socinianism*.

It is a strange thing that you will make a *Socinian* of a Man who writes against *Socinus* by name; and throws it off as an asperion to be thought to be a *Socinian*: Nay he not only clears himself, but says of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* that none there did defend *Socinus*. *Nemo ibi hactenus inventus est qui Socinum defenderet.* (Tom. 3. Lond. Edit. p. 112.)

Petavius.

Soc. Let us go to the next. My * Author says, that *D. Petavius*, the most learned of the *Jesuits*, has granted that generally the Fathers who liv'd before the *Nicene* Council, and whose writings are preserv'd, agree in their doctrine concerning God with the *Nazarens* or *Socinians*, and concerning the Son our Lord *Christ*, and Holy Spirit, with the *Arians*.

CHR. This is a condemnation of the *Socinians*; for, as before is told, they differ exceedingly from the *Arians*, both as to *Christ* and the Holy Ghost: The *Arians* make the Holy Ghost a Creature; the *Socinians* say that he is nothing different from God, but is God: The *Arian's* are for *Christ's* Pre-existence before he was born of the Virgin; the *Socinians* say, that he had no Being before he was born of the Virgin, &c.

And if the *ante-Nicene* Fathers were for the *Arians* in these points, then it is a demonstration that they were against the *Socinian* opinion: So that that stands condemn'd on all hands.

But your Author has quoted no particular Father, only says it in the general; and I have shewn you in *Eusebius*, the names of several of these Fathers, whom he quotes against the like allegation of the *Socinians*; and I have before shew'd you, that the tenets of the *ante-Nicene* Fathers were fully on our side in the examination of the several texts which prove the Trinity. But your Author does not quote the place where *Petavius* says what he alledges from him, and considering your Author's ingenuity in other quotations which I have examin'd, he may be justly suspected in this: But I do not think it worth the while to search over *Petavius's* works for it, because I know it is a common topick with the *Papists* to discredit the ancient Fathers, and run all into the authority of what they call the present Church: And therefore if your Author could find a *Jesuit* saying so, it would be no great argument; for I allow the *Papists* and you to agree in a great many things, even when you seem to be most contrary to one another, as your dear friend *Grotius* has observed, who makes the like difference betwixt *Popery* and *Socinianism*, as betwixt *Tyranny* and *unbridled Licentiousness*, (oper. *Grotii Londini*, 1679. Tom. 3. p. 112.) this he says in answer to *Sibrandus*, who observ'd that the *Socinians* had rather take part with the *Papists* than with the *Reformed*.

Episcopus.

Soc. The next my Author quotes for a *Socinian*, is of the *Reformation*, it is *Episcopus*; who is, he says, so much esteem'd by the *English* Divines.

CHR. And deservedly for a learned Man. But now for your proof.

Soc. My Author quotes the Book and Chapter in him, *Episco. Instit. Theol.* l. 4. c. 32, 33, 34. and he says that *Episcopus* seems to be *Arian*.

CHR. He is more modest with *Episcopus* than he was with *Grotius* by much: *Grotius* was all over, and absolutely *Socinian*; *Episcopus* only seems to be: Then he does not so much as pretend to him as a *Socinian*, but what he seems to be is only *Arian*: That is, he would have us to loose him, tho' he cannot gain him to the *Socinian* party; and if his so positive

* Hist. p. 32. † p. 34.

boasts of *Grotius* come off as you have seen, we can expect little from his fearful, *seems to be*, of *Episcopus*. But however, let us hear what he says? What does he charge upon *Episcopus* from these Chapters he quotes.

* Soc. That he said the Father is so first, as to be first in Order (*i. e.* in Time.)

Chr. Let me stop you, does he say that *Episcopus* said these words, (*i. e.* in Time)

Soc. I suppose not; for they are in a different letter, and in a Parenthesis: But they are in exposition of the preceding words (*in Order*) because my Author supposes that whatever is first in Order, must be likewise first in Time.

Chr. You have seen the contrary to that, in the relation 'twixt Father and Son, and it might be shewn in many other instances. But your Author wou'd slip it in, in a short Parenthesis, whereby it might pass for *Episcopus's*, or otherwise being heedlessly granted might carry his cause. Therefore in answer to him, we say, with *Episcopus*, that the Father is first in Order, but not in Time. And *Episcopus* says nothing in this, distant from the Catholick Church.

Soc. But he says, that to make three equal Persons in God, or in the Godhead, is to make three Gods.

Chr. That is, so equal, as to have no superiority of relation among them, which we do not say: We say, they are equal in their natural perfections; but not so in their natural relations: And in this *Episcopus* does not differ from the Church.

Soc. He denies that the Lord *Christ* is the Son of God by substantial generation, from the Father's Substance and Essence.

Chr. He does not deny it; he does indeed find fault with defining the *modus* or manner of it, according to all the extravagant invention of the Schools, which he reckons up. c. 33. and they are indeed extravagant and most dangerous, as *Episcopus* there sets forth, but determines nothing, only that such questions ought not to be started, are not necessary to be believ'd, because not reveal'd, and have bred much trouble in the Church, whose Creeds at first were plainer and shorter than of after ages: But if the starting of Heresies impos'd that fatal necessity upon the Church, where will the blame lie? It is a great misfortune to be forc'd to fight at all, but if my life be assaulted, I must chuse the lesser evil.

I think it a very great hurt to the Church, and a Judgment sent from God, that this question we are now upon shou'd be broach'd among us: But pray who began? If you throw your Books about, and boast of them as unanswerable, and overthrow the Faith of many, you force us to enter the Lists, tho' with grief of heart at the occasion of the quarrel, and then you make the very quarrel an argument against us: Why do ye dispute of these things? Can you not let them lie in their primitive simplicity? O that you cou'd have done so! Was there ever any Creed or Canon made but against a Heresy that was then in being, and spread before such Creed or Canon was made: To be under Physick is a disconsolate life, but the remedy shews that the disease was first; yet you charge your Physician as the cause of your disease. God in his mercy heal the breaches of our *Sion*, for they are many.

But to return to *Episcopus*, if it were my task I cou'd shew abundantly his Principles as to the Trinity and Incarnation. But I think it sufficient to have answer'd your Historian's Objections.

I will only tell you that *Episcopius* did not only believe the Trinity, but that it was clearly and plainly, and most perspicuously reveal'd in Scripture. And he disputes this against *Bellarmino*, who wou'd have the Scripture obscure in this point, that he might bring us to the authority of the Church. *Episcopius* does indeed find fault with the unnecessary School-distinctions, as to the manner or *modus* of these divine Mysteries, which is not reveal'd, and that this has prov'd an offence and stumbling-block to the *Jews*, and other enemies of Christianity; and all good Christians do join with him in this, and that we should keep as close to the Scripture as possible, especially in those Mysteries which we had not known but by the Scriptures. And he gives for a reason of this, that the *Scriptures themselves* are sufficiently clear and full as to the Trinity, Incarnation, &c. which are express'd in Scripture, *non solum perfectè, not only perfectly; sed etiam dilucidè, but clearly; adeo ut neque Ecclesie decisione—so that we need neither the decision of the Church, the conclusion of doctors, nor the decrees of Council in this matter.* (*Concio secunda de Conf. Incredulit. Judæorum.*) That God is one, is of it self evident in Scripture, and, says he, (*Instit. Theol. l. 4. c. 18.*) that he is Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is no less clear from the Scripture; and from hence you may judge what sort of *Arian* this *Episcopius* was, and what advantage it is to your cause to have nam'd him. Indeed he refuses to tell the manner, how these three are one, as not necessary, because not reveal'd; and we all join with him.

Sandius.

Soc. The next he names is *C. Sandius*.

CHR. This is he whom you have already quoted as an *Arian*: The *Arian* opinion, says our Author (p. 34.) *may be seen on their part in their Historian* Chr. Sandius. And now you bring him into the number of the catholick Writers: You wanted one to make up the number: But tho' he cannot be produc'd as a Catholick, yet if he says any thing material, tho' an *Arian*, we may hear him.

Soc. My Author says that *C. Sandius* wrote on purpose to prove that all antiquity was *Arian**.

CHR. But does he shew any of his proofs?

Soc. No: He only says that *Sandius* wrote with that design.

CHR. Then I will oppose to him *Eusebius* and the Fathers he quotes who were before the Council of *Nice*, and were not *Arians*: But if by all antiquity being *Arian*, he only means, as in truth he can mean nothing else, that the seeds of the *Arian* Heresy, were sown even in the Apostles time, and so were from antiquity, we do readily grant it, and have prov'd it.

Soc. He says, this *Sandius* under the borrow'd name of *Cingallus* wrote a Treatise call'd *Scriptura Trinitatis Revelatrix*; where †, under pretence of asserting the Trinity, he has as much (as he could) defeated all the strengths of the catholick cause, and shews that there is no considerable texts objected to the *Arians* or *Socinians*, but is given up by some or other of the *Trinitarians* themselves: So that among them, they have given away the victory to their adversaries.

CHR. This if true, serves only to shew that your *Sandius* was a treacherous enemy, betraying under the shew of friendship. And for his saying that some *Trinitarian* or other has given up every text, it makes no more if granted, (which it is not) than this, that one text may appear strong to one, and another text may appear more convincing to another: But tho' I lay aside such a text, and chuse rather to insist upon another, it does not follow that I give up such a text, because I wave it: Yet after all, I must

* Hist. p. 35. † p. 36.

absolutely deny the assertion, whether it be your Author, or *Sandius* makes it, and I put it to the proof, and say that there are many texts, as to the Trinity which no learned *Trinitarian* will give up. But I will retort this upon our Author, that there is no point of the *Unitarian* Doctrine, as distinguish'd from the *Trinitarian*, but what is given up, as I have already shewn, not only by *Arians* against *Socinians*, and *Socinians* against *Arians*; but by sub-divisions of *Arians* against *Arians*, and *Socinians* against *Socinians*, *Bidleites*, *Anthropomorphites*, &c. And all against the *Nazarens*, *Ebionites*, and others taken in for the primitive *Unitarians*, as you call them; and even by these ancients among themselves, hardly two of them agreeing almost in any point, wherein they broke off from the Church. So that among them (to use your Author's words) *they have given away the victory to their adversaries*, with a witness.

As for the advantage he expects from Dr. *Burnet's* relation of *Van Parr* the *Dutchman**, with which he ends his first Letter; I shall say nothing at this time: I will not anticipate what a living Author shall think fit to say in his own defence; lest I mistake his meaning.

Thus you have seen his strength from History, and his success in gaining some Men of name to favour his Party.



THE FIFTH DIALOGUE.

A general View and Application of what has been said.

CHR.  ET us now from the several heads upon which we have discours'd, take a general view of the state of the Controversy on both sides; and see where the difficulty lies of believing, and the prejudices that detain you or us.

SOC. Our prejudice lies in the seeming contradiction to reason there is in your Faith. And we wonder that does not byass you to come to our side.

CHR. I will not repeat what has been said upon that head: But then you ought to consider, that it must be some very strong and powerful evidence that sways us against that byass of seeming reason; for every Man wou'd make his Faith as easy to him as he cou'd: No Man loves difficulty; but in some cases it cannot be avoided; and the greatest matters are not to be attain'd without it.

* Hist. Unitar. p. 37.

This evidence is the holy Scriptures, as understood and generally receiv'd in those ages wherein they were wrote: And the same sense deduc'd and carry'd down to us, through all the following ages to this day.

And your prejudice against receiving these Scriptures in the same sense, is, the seeming contradiction you fancy there is in Reason against the christian Doctrine, of which he have discours'd.

i.
The word
God in holy
Scripture is
taken most
commonly
in a complex
sense, as in-
cluding all the
three Persons.
And some-
times it is ta-
ken personal-
ly for the Fa-
ther.

But I wou'd say a word more concerning a prejudice you have taken up, as if the word *God* in holy Scripture was always meant of the Father only; and so you apply whatever you find said of God, as belonging only to the Father, and urge such texts to infer the exclusion of the other Persons, the Son and the Holy Ghost.

Now I grant that the word *God* is often in holy Scripture us'd to mean the Father particularly, or in a personal sense, he being the fountain (as I may say) of the Deity, whence the other Persons do proceed: But most commonly it is taken in a complex sense, to express the Deity or divine Nature, wherein all the Persons are included: So that God is three Persons, and the three Persons are God. And thus we find it express'd in Scripture. (*viz.*) The three Persons without the name of God at all; to take away the cavil about that word, and to shew that as God is a proper word to express the whole Trinity, or any of the Persons; so the Trinity may be express'd without the word *God* at all. We find the three Persons nam'd where *God* is certainly meant; and yet the word *God* not there, nor any discrimination or exception of any of the Persons: And what God has put together, how can we take asunder? God is express'd by three Persons: And shall we take upon us to except any of the Persons? Or shall we say that one of these Persons is God, and that the other are Creatures? Shall we say this, tho' the Scripture says no such thing? Or shall we say that Creatures, are part of the description of God? We may as well say that they are part of God.

Mat. xxviii.
19.
1 John. v. 7.

When *Christ* commission'd his Disciples to baptize in the name of *God*, he does not use the word *God*; but expresses and describes him thus, *Go and baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*; again, *There are three that bear record in Heaven; the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost*.

If you will make the two other Persons to be Creatures (as one Party of the *Socinians* do) then you join Creatures into the description of God; and baptize Men in the Faith and Worship of Creatures, (As Mr. *Biddle* in his *Confession of Faith touching the Holy Trinity*, above quoted, does expressly own) and set up a Trinity which consists of God, and two Creatures, the first Person God, the second and third Persons were Creatures. And it will in no ways solve the horrid blasphemy, to say that these two are very excellent Creatures; for the distance 'twixt God, and the most excellent Creature that is, or can be, is infinite; and the blasphemy the same to join one Creature as another into a Trinity with God; and to baptize Men into the Faith and Worship of Creatures, jointly with God.

And this Trinity, in Mr. *Biddle's Confession of Faith*, which he asserts by the express name of *the Holy Trinity*, must be more abhorrent than the christian Trinity, to the other set of *Socinians*, who own what we call the second and third Persons to be nothing different, but the self same thing with the first Person; because, so, the Christians join nothing with God, nor adore any thing but God in the holy Trinity: And suppose the Christians shou'd be mistaken in their notion, or explanation of the Trinity, they still avoid the blasphemous idolatry of joining Creatures with God, or sharing his honour to them; which (by virtue of the distinction of *Latria*, and *Dulia*, of a supreme and inferior, divine Worship) was the only foundation

dation and excuse of the *Pagan, Arian, and Roman* idolatry; and excuses all alike.

But now in the sense of those *Socinians*, who make the Word and the Spirit to be only qualities, then you give this excellent sense of these texts; (*viz.*) *There are three in Heaven.* First the Father; the second, his Power or Wisdom; and the third, his Power or Wisdom. Which is not only to make a Man and his Spirit to be two, without being two Persons; but to make his Spirit to be a second and a third thing from itself: For, as we have said before, this scheme makes God's Word and Spirit to be the same thing, to mean no more than his Power or Wisdom, which are not distinct from him.

Thus you have God commanding to baptize in the name of himself, and of himself, and of himself.

And whosoever shall blaspheme against himself shall be forgiven; but he that blasphemes against himself shall not be forgiven.

Our Author says * we are out in counting when we say three Persons and one God, which he, in his courtly way, calls brutal in us.

I would desire to know by what rule of arithmetick he reckons one God into three, without distinction of Persons, for this is a Trinity; but whether it be more rational than our Trinity, do you judge. We both hold three in Heaven, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: This is a Trinity; herein we agree, but in the account we give of it we differ mightily.

2.
The Socinians hold a Trinity more unaccountable than what is held by Christians.

We say there are three in Heaven, really distinct from one another; and therefore reckon them three, tho' they agree in the same nature; which he makes the difficulty: But at the same time he says there are three in Heaven: Which three are not distinguished at all from one another; but are only one in every respect. We say they are three in one respect, that is, in respect of their three Persons; and in another respect are one, that is, in respect of their Nature, which is but one. On the other hand, the *Socinians* say they are one, and yet reckon them three in the self-same respect; *i. e.* in respect of their Nature, without any difference of Persons. We say one is three, by being distinguished into three: They say one is three, without being distinguished at all: Which of these is the best reckoning and best reason is left to the Reader's judgment.

And every Scripture bears the same argument where these three are reckoned: Of which there are multitudes of texts that we have not quoted: It is in the preface and salutation of almost every Epistle; with *St. Paul* frequently, as we have remember'd: And thus *St. Peter* begins, to the *Elect* some of which according to the Fore-knowledge of God the Father, thro' sanctification of the Spirit unto obedience, and sprinkling of the Blood of Jesus Christ.

1 Pet. i. 2.

And our Author gives a very fair confession against himself as to all his interpretations: For after he has done with the Scripture texts, he owns ingeniously, p. 158. *That they differ from the Church in translating several, and in interpreting all the before-cited texts.*

3.
The Socinians own their interpretations to be contrary to the Church.

Soc. I do remember this, and it has much offended me, that we should confess out of our own mouths, that we take a way of our own, contrary to the Church of *Christ*.

CHR. Sure he must give some very extraordinary reason for this; nothing less than express Revelation or Demonstration itself can support a Man in a war against the whole christian Church.

* Hist. p. 25.

Soc. He repeats the old difficulty of three being one, and thence concludes that *their interpretations and translations ought to be admitted, and those of the Church and Trinitarians rejected.*

CHR. And you have seen him run himself into greater absurdities than these he pretends to avoid.

4.
Pretended
obscurity in
Scripture not
the cause.

And this brings us just where we began, which was, that the *Socinians* would admit of the translations and interpretations of Scripture, which the Church recommends, and would own the Trinity to be sufficiently reveal'd in Scripture, if it did not appear to them to be contrary to their own Reason, if there were not difficulties in it which they cannot solve. And therefore it is not any absurdity in the Scripture which hinders them to believe; for while they go upon this argument, if the Revelation were never so express, they would never submit to it, but screw and gloss while words would bear it, of which we have seen very fair examples: And he declares in express terms, that **whatever doctrine appears absurd and contradictory ought to be rejected, how agreeable soever it may seem to the mere chime and jingle of the words of some few texts*, as he reverently expresses it.

Soc. He gives two parallel instances; one of the † *Anthropomorphites*, and Mr. Biddle: That God has human parts and passions; *which we reject*, (says he) *because it is again Reason, though many texts speak of God after this manner.*

5.
The rule of
interpretation
in case of
the *Anthropo-*
morphites,
will not serve
in case of the
Trinity.

CHR. There was a necessity to speak of God after this manner, because otherwise we should not understand him: For we can apprehend nothing but after the manner of Men. But the reason was quite contrary why God should speak of himself as three one: You will not say that this was to condescend to our capacities: And therefore if this had not been a necessary truth, God would not, as I may so say, have troubled our understandings with it, seeing there was no other necessity in the whole world for revealing it to us.

Secondly, These expressions, to be delivered into the Hands of God, to be hid under his Wings, &c. are common and known figures of speech, nor are taken literally, even when apply'd to Men. If I should say, I will hide you under my wings, no body would understand it as if I had real wings and feathers, but only that I would protect you and keep you safe, as Birds do their brood under their wings.

But *the Word was God*, and *there are three in Heaven*, have no relation to these sort of expressions.

Thirdly, Other Scriptures tell us, that God is a Spirit, invisible, impassible, &c. and therefore where he is spoke of after the manner of Body, we must understand it figuratively.

But there are no Scriptures which say, that God is not *Tri—une*; and therefore those which say he is so, must stand in their plain literal sense, and are not parallel to these Scriptures which speak of God after the manner of Body.

Fourthly, The Scriptures alledged by the *Anthropomorphites* are plainly figurative, as has been said, even when apply'd to Men. But the Scriptures which are brought for proof of the Trinity, are not so much as pretended to be taken in any figurative sense, as *The Word was God*; *Baptizing in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*; *He that sins against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven*; *There are three that bear record in Heaven*, &c.

The *Socinians* do not pretend to escape these texts by making them figurative, for there is no figure in them, they take other ways to answer

*Hist. p. 160.

† p. 159.

them which we have seen: Therefore this instance of the *Anthropomorphites* is not parallel to that of the Trinity.

Let me here take notice, that Mr. *Biddle*, whom our Author quotes here as an *Anthropomorphite*, is notwithstanding own'd by him, and other the *Socinians* as a brother *Socinian* and a great *Rabbi* of theirs, whose works they have re-printed, with his life prefix'd, making him both a Saint and a Martyr for their Religion.

Concerning whom I only now observe how tender Men are to the mistakes of their own party. Mr. *Biddle* and his followers are own'd as *Socinians*, as very good *Unitarians*, tho' they will take the figurative expressions, which speak of God after the manner of Body, in a literal sense; that is only a small mistake in them, it is nothing but the old heresy of the *Anthropomorphites*, and destroys the first notion of a God, to make him a Body, and Matter, which makes it impossible for him to be God: All this shall be pardonable in a *Socinian*!

But on the other hand, when we take these texts of the Trinity literally, which the *Socinians* themselves confess cannot be taken figuratively, this is brutal in us, as our Author civilly treats us.

To digest *Anthropomorphitism*, and boggle at the Trinity, is straining at a gnat, and swallowing a Camel; it is a peripicuity of Reason worthy a *Socinian*! But go on with your Author.

Soc. He gives another parallel: *What can be more express*, says he, *than this is my Body? Yet we reject the doctrine of Transubstantiation, because it is contradictory and impossible that the same body should at the same time be in more places than one**.

CHR. Here he plays both the *Socinian* and the *Jesuit*: He implies, that we think Transubstantiation is contain'd in these words, *This is my Body*, and that most expressly: *What can be more express?* says he: And that tho' it be so expressly contain'd in these words, yet that we reject it only because it seems contradictory, &c. Herein he insinuates two manifest falshoods, *First*, That we think Transubstantiation is expressly contain'd in these words, *This is my Body*: Whereas we say, that it is so far from being expressly contain'd in these words, that it is not contain'd in them at all.

The *Lutherans* take these words as literally as the *Papists*, and yet our Author cannot but have heard, that they utterly reject Transubstantiation.

This mistake of his occasions a second, which is, that the reason of our rejecting Transubstantiation, is the seeming impossibility of one Body being in two places at once.

This indeed is a great objection: And God never commanded any thing contradictory to human sense. But this is not our chief reason; our chief reason against Transubstantiation is, that it is not reveal'd in Scripture; but that it is against many express Revelations of Scripture; for example, 1 Cor. xi. 27. Mat. xxvi. 29. 1 Cor. x. 17. As for these words, *This is my Body*, we say Transubstantiation cannot be inferr'd from them; and we put the issue upon this.

Soc. You say, that God never commanded any thing contradictory to human sense: We do often insist upon the parallel betwixt Transubstantiation and the Trinity, and say that the Trinity is as contradictory as that or more.

CHR. I know you do, and it is a common place of the *Papists* too: But as much without ground as any thing ever either of you said; because Transubstantiation is wholly against sense, and the Trinity is not at all: As I have already shew'd.

* Hist. p. 160.

SOC. But let me repeat. Is not the Trinity against sense at all?

CHR. No: Tell which of the senses it is against. Is it against your seeing, or taste, or smell?

SOC. I cannot say it is against them: But our senses could not have found it out.

CHR. Who ever said they could? Every Spirit is without the reach of our outward senses: But that is the reason why a Spirit is not against our senses, or contradictory to them.

But Transubstantiation is flatly against them all.

And I do insist upon it, that God never requir'd any Man to believe any thing that did contradict any of his outward senses.

So very poor is your parallel betwixt the Trinity and Transubstantiation.

Again, we have seen parallels in Nature, as to the Trinity; but there is none as to Transubstantiation. Can you tell us any other case where accidents appear without inherance in a Substance proper for such accidents? Nothing like it was ever heard of, to lead us to any possible idea of it.

7.
Concerning
mysteries.

SOC. We reject both, because we will have no mystery in our Religion; and all the Sacraments, their operation, and their effects, what they typify, and what they exhibit, is, in the modestest explanation very mysterious: I mean your way of explaining them, for we make them as familiar and plain as the high-way.

CHR. You do so indeed: Till they deserve the name of Sacraments no more than what you have named: And so you do with all the rest of Religion: But you have ill luck at it, for while you endeavour to make it so very plain, to avoid all Mystery, you have entangled it to the degree of contradiction itself, and forcing words out of all the meaning that ever Mankind put upon them, of which we have seen liberal instances: You have advanc'd idolatry beyond the notion even of Heathens, while you own a Person not to be God, and yet pay him divine worship: This takes in the most ancient, honourable, and greatest part of the *Unitarians*. Then to make God a Body, with your *Biddleit-Unitarians*, to revive the most noisom of the ancient heresies, and most nonsensical, the *Anthropomorphites*, and countenancing the idolatry of making pictures of the invisible God, which, if God be a body of the shape of a Man, with Hands, Feet, Eyes, &c. can be no great fault: And all this to make the Scripture plain, and to shun all mystery in our Religion!

SOC. But how do you answer our arguments? *How can any thing that is reveal'd be a mystery? It was a mystery or secret before the revelation of it; but since it was reveal'd, it ceases to be a mystery or secret; unless a secret discover'd be a secret still.

CHR. That is to say, so far as it is discover'd, it is no secret; which is, that no secret is no secret. But pray, may not a thing be discover'd in such obscure terms, that tho' I understand something of it, yet I cannot clearly apprehend it all? And so I may have many searchings and reasonings to know farther of it, and to understand the Revelation of it more perfectly. Do you pretend to know all the Book of the *Revelations*? Is it not therefore reveal'd? And is there therefore no mystery in it? I suppose you do not deny but our Saviour was reveal'd, *Gen. III. 15.* where it was told that *the seed of the Woman shall bruise the Serpent's Head*: And in several other places of the Old Testament, wherein he was prophesied of in very express terms. But you confess this to have been a mystery till the farther Revelation of it in the Gospel: Upon which I desire you to answer your own question; how it was a mystery after it was reveal'd in the Old Te-

* Def. Hist. c. 9. p. 49.

stament, *unless a secret discover'd be a secret still?* But lastly, Is not Heaven plainly reveal'd to us in the Gospel? Is there no Mystery remaining in it? *We now see thro' a glass darkly*, says St. Paul, *but then face to face.* 1 Cor. xiii. 12. And to see darkly is a true description of Mystery: I know an ingenious Socinian may call this an absurdity, and say, how can you see darkly? For so far as you see, it is not dark. And I will not take pains to answer it.



T H E
SIXTH DIALOGUE.

*Of the Satisfaction made by Christ for
our Sins.*

CHR.  HERE is one great point yet behind, which is built upon the Doctrine of the Trinity, the Divinity and Incarnation of *Christ*, and that is the Doctrine of Satisfaction; of which your Author likewise speaks: And this work will not be compleat, without considering that main foundation of the christian Religion.

Soc. Let us then go on with our Author; he says, whereas besides the above cited texts, the orthodox object: That if *Christ* were not God as well as Man, he cou'd not satisfy the justice of God for our sins, or be a full atonement for them. The Socinians answer, *First*, That *Christ* is a propitiation and atonement for sin, is a demonstration that he is not God; for God doth not give or make, but receive satisfaction for our sins.

CHR. God gave his Son to be a propitiation for sin; and receiv'd from him satisfaction for our sins; and this proves him to be both God and Man: God because none else cou'd pay infinite satisfaction for infinite goodness offended: And Man, because that which offended must make the satisfaction: But human Nature cou'd not make this satisfaction, *In that it was weak thro' the flesh, therefore*, says St. Paul, *God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin*, or by a sacrifice for sin (as our margent reads it) *condemned sin in the flesh.*

1. Objection of God, by this, having made the satisfaction to himself. Rom. viii. 3.

Soc. If God gave or sent his Son, then it was God who paid the ransom to himself.

CHR. In that sense no doubt, he did, as the Apostle speaks, *God was* 2 Cor. v. 19. *in Christ, reconciling the world to himself*: It was God who found out, and afforded us this admirable means.

He exalted the Manhood into God, united human Nature into one Person with the divine Nature, whereby Man might become worthy to expiate for his offence.

X x x x

And

And, to compare this with cases which are familiar among our selves, nothing is more common than for a Man to endeavour to enable his Debtor to make satisfaction for his debt, by adding to his stock, putting him into the method of gain, obtaining for him offices, preferments, &c. And, in this case, when a Debtor has recover'd himself, by the kindness and munificence of his Creditor, and when he has with thankfulness, paid his debt; no body objects it as an absurdity, that by this method the Creditor has paid himself: It is so far true, that if it had not been for the Creditor's goodness and his management, his Debtor wou'd never have been able to have paid him; and in this sense, he may be said to have satisfied himself; because the satisfaction given himself, mov'd from himself, and was carry'd on upon his stock: But, because it was paid by the Debtor, being thus enrich'd, it is not strictly call'd satisfying himself.

And thus it was, that Man paid his debt to God, tho' he was wholly enabled to it by God, and without God cou'd never have done it.

All his sufficiency is of God: And after this manner it is that Men are said to bestow upon God, and that God accepts it as such, and rewards them for it. You know the free-will-offerings in the Law, and the contribution for building the Temple are call'd their offering willingly to God: Tho' *David* acknowledges to God, that all this store that we have prepared, *cometh of thine hand and is all thine own*, yet this hinders not what *David* there says, that he had offer'd them *of his proper goods*: And at the same time confesses to God, *of thine own have we given thee*.

1 Chr. xxix.
6, 16.
3,
14.

And now be judge your self, whether my giving, or bestowing, does not argue that I have less dependence upon the Person who receives a boon from me, than I have upon my Creditor to whom I am bound to pay my debt?

Yet you can well enough digest our giving to God, who gives us all; and at the same time cry out upon our paying any thing to God, as an absurdity, tho' he requires it from us, and calls it a debt upon us.

But take another reason. It was God the Son who was incarnate, and paid the satisfaction to his Father. Here it is one Person making satisfaction to another Person, and so your objection is wholly over.

By this you see how necessary the Doctrine of the Trinity is to the satisfaction of *Christ*: *Christ* himself did sanctify his human Nature; *For their sakes I sanctify my self*. And then offer'd it up as an acceptable and sufficiently worthy sacrifice to his Father. He rais'd from death his human Nature, freed it from Prison, as having discharg'd one debt; and *by his Power*, he took his life again, as, of himself, he had laid it down: * Thus in all things, *out of his own stock*, he paid our whole Debt to his Father.

Joh. xvii. 19.

Joh. x. 19.

Soc. The Socinians answer, Secondly, They wonder that *Christ*, tho' a Man only, shou'd not be judg'd a sufficient satisfaction and propitiation for sin, when the sacrifice of Beasts, under the Law, was accepted as a full atonement and satisfaction, *in order to forgiveness*, Lev. vi. 6.

CHR. I wonder much more, that they shou'd be so wilfully blind as not to see that the legal sacrifices were not accepted *for their own worthiness*, but only as types of the sacrifice of *Christ*, which only is sufficient to make atonement and satisfaction as to the justice of God for us. And St. Paul gives this for the reason why there was a necessity of *Christ's* sacrifice, *in order to forgiveness*. For, says he, *It is not possible that the blood of Bulls and Goats shou'd take away sins*, Heb. x. 14.

2.
How the legal sacrifices were accepted as satisfaction.

Soc. This is all our Author says, as to this point; but I would gladly ask why there was a necessity to make satisfaction to the Justice of God?

3.
The necessity of a satisfaction from the nature of Justice.

* Hist. Unitar. p. 136.

It is not call'd injustice in me, if I forgive a debt without any satisfaction.

CHR. What is it call'd then? Is it called Justice?

SOC. No: It cannot be call'd Justice; for Justice would exact to the uttermost farthing: It is called Mercy; to forgive is Mercy, and not Justice.

CHR. Right, and in Men there is a mixture of both, and sometimes we exert our Justice, and sometimes our Mercy: We have our proportions of each: And in some Men their Justice is greater than their Mercy; and in others their Mercy does exceed their Justice.

But in God it is not so: He is both to the utmost, that is, infinitely. His Justice must not take any thing from his Mercy, nor his Mercy from his Justice, every one of his Attributes must be full and complete, and entire in it self.

Therefore God is not only just, that is, has some Justice in him, or a certain measure of Justice; but he is Justice itself; Justice in the abstract; and whatever agrees to Justice, to the Nature of Justice, that must be in God.

Does Justice require full satisfaction?

SOC. Yes: That is the Nature of Justice.

CHR. Then God must require it; for he is Justice.

SOC. Where then is his Mercy? If he be all Justice, there is no room for Mercy.

CHR. He shews his Mercy in finding that full Satisfaction for us; which is *Christ*, whom he gave and sent to us: And this satisfaction being infinite, consequently his Mercy is infinite; and so all his Attributes stand in their full extent, and the one is not crippled to ease another: His Mercy is not exalted, by the lessening of his Justice; but in the fulfilling of it: His Justice is exalted, by his finding an infinite Satisfaction for sin: And his Mercy is exalted, in that his Justice cou'd take no less a Satisfaction, which brought his Mercy to a necessity of finding such a Satisfaction, if it wou'd save Man. Thus his Attributes exalt and magnify one another, but they do not cramp, nor incroach upon one another: There is harmony, not a struggle 'twixt the Attributes of God; and what seems to be a difference between them, unites them the more strongly. *One deep calleth another*: The Abyfs of his Justice, calls upon the Abyfs of his Mercy: His Justice requires Satisfaction; his Wisdom finds it; and his Mercy bestows it: Here are the three Persons of the Trinity before describ'd, *viz.* Power, Wisdom, Love. And let me observe to you, that, as the Will acts from the last dictate of the Understanding: And the holy Spirit of Love proceeds from the Wisdom, which is the second Person of the blessed Trinity, as before has been explain'd: So, in the present disquisition we are upon, the Satisfaction due to the Justice of God for our sins, his Love or Mercy does act, not arbitrarily, *i. e.* without Reason; but according to the strict rules of his Wisdom and Justice; with which his Goodness and Mercy must keep even pace; otherwise there must be a fraction and division in God, that is, among his Attributes, and one get the better of another. But according to the Doctrine of Satisfaction, they recommend and glorify each another: They all concur to the same end, tho' in different manners, tho' they seem to be opposite, to go against one another; which they often do among Men; for want of Wisdom to find out a method to satisfy both Justice and Mercy: And therefore one is forc'd to yield to the other; one to oppose, to be against the other; but in God, they are all one.

SOC. St. James says, *Mercy rejoiceth against Judgment*, ch. ii. 13.

Jam. ii. 13.
explain'd.

CHR. That may be said in compliance with our manner of apprehension, which, as has been observ'd, is often us'd in Scripture; and in our forgivenesses

givenesses, *Mercy rejoiceth against Judgment*: We cannot reconcile them, therefore this was spoke *ad captum*.

But Secondly, our Margent reads it *glorieth*; and the vulgar has it, *Misericordia superexaltat Judicium*; *Mercy exalts Justice*, or as the Greek will bear it, *Mercy glorieth of Justice*.

And this appears plain from the part of this verse, which goes before; for these words are deduc'd as a consequence from an instance of Justice, and even of Justice *without Mercy*; *for he shall have Judgment without Mercy, that hath shew'd no Mercy, and Mercy glorieth of Judgment*.

But if you mean that *Mercy glorieth against Justice*, by way of getting the better of Justice, of taking off from the Satisfaction which Justice would require: How is that done in executing Judgment without Mercy, which this text speaks of?

But if you mean that this severe and exact Justice does recommend Mercy to us so much the more: Then the force of the argument appears plain because this Justice was threaten'd to those *who had shewn no Mercy*. So that this Justice recommends or exalts Mercy to us: And Mercy here glorieth of Judgment, of this Justice done to those who have no Mercy.

To glory or boast of a thing, shews that we have a kindness for it, that we are pleas'd with it, or as the common saying is, proud of it: And this supposes a concern for it, and not an enmity against it: And thus it is that the Mercy of God glorieth of his Justice; but by no means against it, in this sense, as if his Mercy does thwart his Justice in the redemption of Man by *Christ Jesus*. But as the Apostle speaks, *His Righteousness* (or *Justice*, δικαιοσύνη) *was declared, in his being just, and the justifier of him who believeth in Jesus*. Mercy satisfying Justice, exalts Justice, and, in that sense may be said to glory even against it, *viz.* That the Debtor is not ruin'd by Justice, which Justice does not require, so full satisfaction be made otherwise; but it is not so if Mercy will save the Debtor without satisfying of Justice, for then Justice must be restrain'd and curtail'd and driven from its right, forc'd to be satisfy'd, without satisfaction given to it: And Mercy glorying, or rejoicing against Justice, in this sense, is being an enemy to Justice, contesting against its right, and overcoming it: And this cannot be betwixt the Attributes of God, without supposing God to be at enmity, and contradictory to himself.

But pray tell me, since you will not have *Christ* a Satisfaction or Propitiation for your sin, what is it that you make of him?

4.
Of *Christ* as
Mediator on-
ly.

Soc. We think he is our Mediator and Intercessor; and that it is for his sake that God forgives our sins, and gives us Heaven.

CHR. And you think this more rational, than that God shou'd need any Satisfaction to his Justice: But now upon the point of Reason, does God need any to mediate or intercede? Does not he know and consider whatever any body else can suggest to him? For, *who hath known the mind of the Lord? Or who hath been his Councillor?* Rom. II. 34.

Soc. That is true: But if God please to ordain a Mediator.

CHR. And if he please to ordain a Satisfaction; why do you reject this as being against Reason; and yet set up a Mediation, which you confess has as little reason?

5.
Reasons the
Socinians give
for the death
of *Christ*.
To confirm
his Doctrine.

But how do you solve the Justice of *Christ's* death, who can find no use in the World for his death? For he might mediate and intercede without dying.

Soc. He dy'd to confirm the truth of his Doctrine.

CHR. Many Men have dy'd for an error. Dying proves no more than that a Man is strongly persuaded of the truth of what he says.

In hatred to
sin.

Soc. God took *Christ's* life, to shew God's hatred to sin.

CHR. This proves flatly against you, for *Christ* had no sin of his own, and therefore it must be, that he took our sin upon him, and suffer'd for it, which you will not allow.

But let us leave our own reasonings and guessing, they are very fallible, and let us come to matter of fact, and see what God has done, not what we may fancy proper for him to do. 6. *Christ* consider'd in his types.

The strongest argument to persuade you in this great point of the propitiation of *Christ*, is to view him in his types of the Old Testament: And these will give you the easy sense of those texts of the New Testament, which speak of him as fulfilling those types of his.

Himself tells you, that *one iota of the Law cannot pass till all be fulfilled.* Mat. v. 18.

And St. *Paul* is so exact in the parallel betwixt him and his types, that he gives this for the reason of that seeming small circumstance in the Sufferings of *Christ*, which otherwise, I suppose, no body had observ'd, and that was, that he suffer'd *without the gate of the city.* But the Apostle tells us, that this was order'd by Providence, on purpose that he might fulfil his type of the Sin-offering, or expiatory Sacrifice, whose body was to be *burnt without the camp.* Heb. xiii. 11, 12.

And it is notorious, that these Sacrifices were expiatory or propitiatory for atonement and satisfaction for Sin: That they were to suffer in our stead, and for us: Our Sins were confessed over the Scape-goat, and put upon his head, and he was to bear upon him all our iniquities: This was another type of *Christ*, which he was to fulfil to the least tittle. Lev. xvi. 21.

This was more than bare interceding: Nay we are plainly told, that there is *no remission without shedding of Blood:* There must be death: Death was threatened to Sin before it was born: And this must be made good: And this did consecrate or devote our life to God; that is, lay it under the curse of God's Indignation, or Justice, and for its sake, the Blood (its vehicle) which therefore was forbidden to be eaten; it was not ours, it was forfeited to God by our Sin, it was a debt due, and must be paid. This Blood thus forfeited to God, he gave to us again, not to eat, or to our own common use, but to a new use, to be a type of the Blood of *Christ*, which only has virtue to make atonement for our Sin: And in its virtue only, its type, the Blood of the legal Sacrifices, was said to make atonement for our Souls. Heb. ix. 22. Gen. ii. 17.

The life of the flesh is in the blood, and I have given it to you upon the Altar, to make an atonement for your Souls: For it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the Soul. Lev. xvii. 11.

Here we are told what it is that maketh the atonement, not the naked intercession, or mediation, no, nor merit of the Sacrifice: *For it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the Soul.* There must be payment—another Man's riches will not satisfy for my debt, unless he pay the debt for me. Thus *Christ's* merit or riches had not satisfied without his Death; it was his merit made his Death to be satisfactory, which otherwise it had not been for Sin: But his actual dying was the actual payment of the debt: And hence it is that our Redemption is attributed to the Death of *Christ*, his Blood, the Sacrifice of his Life for us.

Do not mistake me, as if this took away his Mediation and Intercession: No, it was this which render'd them effectual.

Be pleas'd to consider with me some of the texts which attribute our Redemption to *Christ's* Death. 7. Our Redemption is by the Death of *Christ*.

He came to give his Life a Ransom for many—My Blood is shed for the remission of Sins—Except ye eat his Flesh, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life—Whom God has set forth as a Propitiation, through Faith Mat. xx. 28. xxvi. 28. Joh. vi. 53. Rom. iii. 25.

iv. 25. v. 10, *Faith in his Blood—He was deliver'd for our offences—Reconcil'd*
 11. *to God by the Death of his Son—By whom we have received the a-*
 2 Cor. v. 15, *tonement. He died for all—God made him to be Sin for us, who knew*
 21. *no Sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him. He gave*
 Gal. i. 4, *himself for our Sins. He hath redeem'd us from the curse of the Law, be-*
 iii. 13, *ing made a curse for us; We have Redemption through his Blood, the*
 Ephes. i. 7, *forgiveness of Sins, having made peace through the Blood of his Cross.*
 Col. i. 20. *Not by the Blood of Goats and Calves, but by his own Blood, he enter'd*
 Heb. ix. 12. *once into the holy place, having obtain'd eternal Redemption for us—*
 x. 19. *Having therefore boldness to enter into the holiest by the Blood of Jesus—*
 ix. 14, 15. *The Blood of Christ shall purge your conscience—And for this cause he*
 Heb. i. 3. *is the Mediator of the New Testament: That by means of Death, for the*
 1 Pet. ii. 24. *redemption of transgressions—We might receive the eternal inheritance.*
 1 John i. 7. *He by himself purged our Sins—His own self bare our Sins in his own*
 ii. 2. *Body on the Tree—By whose stripes ye were healed. The Blood of*
 iv. 10. *Christ cleanseth us from all Sin. He is the Propitiation for our Sins—*
 1 Cor. xv. 3. *God sent his Son to be the Propitiation for our Sins. Christ died for our*
Sins according to the Scriptures.

Soc. What Scriptures does the Apostle there mean?

CHR. All of the Old Testament which relate to the Sufferings of Christ; all the Sacrifices and Institutions of the Law which are applied to Christ; particularly of that remarkable chapter the LXX. of *Isaiah*: Where it is said that he was "*wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities, the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed—The Lord hath laid on him the Iniquity of us all—And made his Soul an offering for Sin—He shall see of the travel of his Soul, and be satisfied—Because he hath poured out his Soul unto Death—And he bare the Sin of many.*"

And there you have the express word *satisfied*, that Christ's Sufferings were a satisfaction to God for our Sins.

1 Cor. v. 7. And again, *Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us.* Here you have the very word *Sacrifice*, tho' the former quotations did in effect prove the same: And every one knows that the Sacrifices were appointed to suffer in lieu, or in the stead of the Person offending.

8. Soc. But all this may be solv'd on the account of God's Covenant, to send Christ to die for us, redeem us with his Blood, &c.

God's Cove- And this is an easier way than to talk of satisfying God's Justice.

CHR. God tells us that he is satisfied and pleas'd by the Sufferings of Christ.

Soc. That is still on account of his Covenant: Because that was his Covenant, that he would be satisfied by the Sufferings of Christ.

CHR. God makes not Covenants by chance, or at a venture: His Covenant was declaratory, and in pursuance of his own inherent Rectitude in Justice and Mercy.

In your scheme there was no more reason for God's sending Christ, than if he had covenanted to pardon Man upon turning of a straw, or the most insignificant action in the world.

Soc. Yes, Christ was more an example of good Life than a straw, or any other Man could be, and had several other Endowments useful to us.

CHR. But as to the point of appeasing God's Wrath toward us, that you make only upon the account of the Covenant, and so, in that respect, the straw might have done as well.

Soc. And if God had appointed it, so it might, for the Covenant of God is arbitrary, and he cannot appoint insufficient means; because his appointing it makes the means sufficient; the natural efficacy of the means is not consider'd at all.

CHR.

CHR. Then indeed the straw would have done as well: But St. Paul was of another opinion; for he argu'd that the old Law could not stand because of the weakness of the means: For it is not possible (says he) *That the blood of Bulls and of Goats should take away Sins.*

SOC. That is because God did not appoint them for that end.

CHR. You quoted just now, *Lev. vi. 6.* to prove that God did appoint them for that end, and accepted them as full atonement and satisfaction in order to forgiveness, and that he might do so as well as accept the sacrifice of Christ: But if it was possible for God to have appointed them for that end, then St. Paul argu'd wrong; which must be, or else you must be in the wrong.

SOC. Did God ever appoint means which were not sufficient for the end for which he ordain'd them?

CHR. No sure; because God will not appoint such means.

Therefore St. Paul argu'd from the insufficiency of the means of the Old Covenant, that *in order to forgiveness there must be a New Covenant, upon better and more sufficient means than those which were in the Old Covenant.* Which in your Scheme, had been absolute nonsense and blasphemy against God, calling his means insufficient: Nay, that it was not possible to make them sufficient, for St. Paul infers the necessity of Christ's blood being shed in order to forgiveness, because it was not possible the blood of Bulls and Goats cou'd take away sin.

SOC. Was it not possible, if God had appointed it?

CHR. It was not possible God shou'd appoint it: Because it was not a sufficient means for remission of sin: Therefore the Apostle infers, that if God design'd remission of sin, he must appoint other means; and make another Covenant: And that there was need and necessity for this. For, says he, *If perfection were by the Levitical priesthood, what need was there for another Priest, and after another order—And there is a disannulling of the commandment going before, for the weakness, and unprofitableness thereof—for if that first Covenant had been faultless, then shou'd no place have been sought for the second—It was therefore necessary, that the patterns of things in the Heavens shou'd be purified with these; but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these. And it is of necessity that Christ offer: Because the legal Priests, his types, did offer.*

Heb. vii. 11.
18.

viii. 7.
ix. 33.

viii. 3.

So that you see God did not make new Covenants, for Covenant sake: And that if bare Covenant wou'd have done, one Covenant was as good as another: But that the Covenant had regard to the means, and to the end: And the Covenant of the Law cou'd not do it: It is impossible, *ἀδύνατον.* Rom. viii. 3. *in that it was weak.* Therefore God sent his Son, &c.

Gal. iii. 21. *If there had been a Law given which could have given life, verily righteousness had been by the Law.* But says the Apostle (Heb. x. 1, 2.) *the law being but a shadow of good things to come, cou'd never with those sacrifices make the comers thereunto perfect; for then, as he argues, wou'd they not have ceased to be offer'd—and therefore their ceasing was, because they were not means proportionable to so great an end as the remission of sin.*

In short, God's Covenant in sending Christ was with respect to his Justice, which cou'd not without full payment, be satisfied: And if the blood of Bulls and Goats cou'd have done, by virtue of a Covenant, it had not been Justice in God (according to any notion we can have of Justice) it cou'd not have pleas'd the Lord, as the Prophet speaks, to bruise Christ, and put him to grief, and to make his Soul an offering for sin, when the offering

Isai. liii. 10. offering of a Bullock wou'd have done as well: *If righteousness cou'd have come by the law, then Christ is dead in vain*, Gal. II. 21.

9. Soc. *Crellius* in his Book touching *one God the Father*, in the conclusion of the work treats of the Satisfaction of *Christ*, and says, it is a great hindrance to Piety: For if *Christ* has paid the whole Debt, what need we do any more? Nothing can be required of us.

Obj. That the Doctrine of Satisfaction obstructs Piety.

CHR. Yes: *Christ* does require from us a lively and stedfast Faith, in that Satisfaction he has made for us, (which he cannot have who does not believe it) together with sincere repentance and amendment of life: And then his Satisfaction will be apply'd to us, by our Faith: This is the condition, that is, Faith and Repentance: And this is offer'd to all: And full Satisfaction is made for the sins of the whole World: Yet all have not the benefit of it; because all will not accept of the conditions. Let me give a familiar example: Suppose you shou'd pay all the debts of the Prisoners in a Goal, and open the Doors, on condition that all who acknowledg'd your kindness, and wou'd go out, shou'd be free; and there were some among them despis'd your kindness, and wou'd not go out, preferring the lazy and sordid life of a Prison, before the true liberty: Cou'd you say that their debt had not been paid? And yet it wou'd be true, that they were never the better for it, but the worse: It wou'd be an aggravation of their future bondage.

Difference 'twixt the debt of sin and of money.

What a gross conception had *Crellius* of the nature of sin? He look'd upon it only as a lump of Money to be paid down: That we run in debt to God as a Man does to his Creditor; so that God wou'd lose his Money if it were not repaid to him, and so being paid by another, God is no loser, and the Debtor has no more to do, he owes nothing to God his Creditor; but may now defy him as out of his reach; need be pious no more, love, fear, or trust in God no more! This is the *Socinian* argument against the Satisfaction! It wou'd hinder Piety! And all this, because sin is call'd a debt. But the Sophistry consists in not distinguishing aright 'twixt the debt of sin and of money. God does not lose by sin, as a Man loses his Money; that is a gross thought.

Sin a debt to love.

But sin is an offence against love and goodness, that is against God, for God is love.

And the greater the goodness against which you offend, your offence is the greater. The greater love has been shewn to you, the more your ingratitude, if you be not sensible of it.

10. The Satisfaction which love must require, by the necessity of its nature; and for our happiness

And the greater misery to your self too: For love is happiness, and consequently the want of love must be misery, it is envy, malice, and all torment.

Now it is not in the power, that is, in the nature of love, ever to forgive till you grow sensible of your fault: Love cannot be brib'd to a reconciliation with pride, envy, malice, or what is contrary to its own nature: It must hate these, by the same necessity that it is itself.

And there is an exact Justice in love; it will require that your sense of your fault, hold full proportion to the goodness offended. If I be but a little sensible for a great fault, love will reject it, it will be a fresh provocation. On the other hand, if I be as sensible as I can, and desire to be more, and humble my self, and repent, love will accept, and improve the smallest sincerity, the smoking flax, or bruised reed. Whereas all the torments of Hell will never move its pity, or one kind thought towards hypocrisy, or any treachery of love. Behold the goodness and severity of love!

So c. You say love will accept the smallest sincerity, the smoking flax, and bruised reed, that is, our contrition, tho' it be not proportionable to our offence; what need then of any other Satisfaction?

CHR.

CHR. This is no Satisfaction at all, being, as you say, not proportionable to our offence. Therefore God cannot accept it as a Satisfaction. I will tell you presently how he accepts it. But first you may consider, that what is righteous and pure in the eyes of Man, is not so before God; he says, *That we are all as an unclean thing, and all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags: Quasi pannus Menstruatæ*: The most impure and filthy thing in the World, that defil'd whatever it touch'd: Now God is purity itself; who *chargeth his Angels with folly, yea, the Heavens are not clean in his sight*. How then can he accept of our impurities? He sees insincerity and sin in our best performances, in our very righteousnesses: And insincerity is a sin against love; love cannot accept of insincerity; it is a fresh offence against love; it is hypocrisy, which love must hate by the necessity of its own Nature.

Isai. lxiv. 6.

Job iv. 18. and

xv. 15.

SOC. By this argument, God must hate the Angels too, for he sees folly in them.

CHR. It is said folly, not sin; the Angels that sinned are cast out of Heaven.

SOC. But God cannot love folly more than sin.

CHR. No; he loves not folly: But all created Wisdom is folly in comparison with the eternal and infinite Wisdom: And he loves that Wisdom he has given to Creatures, though it bears no proportion to his infinite Wisdom, and is folly in respect to that; but it is not sin; for tho' all sin be folly, yet all folly is not sin.

But farther, we are told, that the very Angels of Heaven are reconcil'd and accepted through *Christ*; to shew, that nothing created is worthy before God, upon its own account. Thus we read, that *it pleas'd the Father, that in Christ shou'd all fullness dwell. And having made peace through the blood of his Cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself, by him, whether things in Earth, or things in Heaven.*

The Angels of Heaven are reconcil'd and accepted thro' Christ. Col. i. 19, 20.

And again, *That in the dispensation of the fullness of times, he might gather together in one all things in Christ both which are in Heaven, and which are on Earth, even in him.*

Eph. i. 10.

Now if the folly, though not sin, of the Angels of Heaven needs a reconciliation; how much more all our gross and grievous sins! And if all their righteousness cannot be accepted, for its own sake, because of the mixture of their folly and imperfections, which makes them unworthy to appear in the presence of God, but as they are accepted thro' *Christ*, who is their head and reconciler, as well as ours; how then can our righteousness be accepted, upon its own account, which is *all impurity and filthy rags*?

SOC. What then is the meaning of not quenching the smoking flax, or breaking the bruised reed, or, as you infer from thence, accepting of our small sincerity?

CHR. That is, as to what is to be perform'd on our part; our repentance, and sense of the infinite goodness of God to us, in the wonderful Oeconomy of our redemption by *Christ*: In this God will pardon our imperfections, and accept of our smoking flax and bruised reed; but he accepts it not, as any part of the Satisfaction made for our sin. *We must let that alone for ever, as David says, for it cost more to redeem their Souls. And no Man can by any means redeem his Brother, nor give to God a ransom for him.* This is perform'd wholly and solely by *Christ*, and we must put in for no share of it, none of the merit: But pay our most dutiful acknowledgments, in adoring his goodness, who has given to God a sufficient ransom for us, and has redeemed our Souls, by the blood of his Cross; and this, tho' very imperfect on our part, God will accept in and

Psal. xlix. 8.

Z z z z

through

through the Merits and Satisfaction made for us by *Christ*; and in that only.

And to this my argument drawn from the nature of love perfectly agrees; For it is necessary towards compleating the full and absolute notion of the Justice of love, that there be a sensibility of the fault, proportionable to the offence: This is impossible for Man to do; for an offence against infinite love, requires an infinite sense of such offence: This *Christ* performs, and taking upon him our nature, and our sin: He offers to God a sense of sin, fully proportionable to the whole offence: And then he intercedes for his younger Brother, who is as sensible as he can be in his fal'n state, and in his desires, even proportionable to his offence, that is, infinitely.

And is accepted in the fullness of *Christ's* Satisfaction, and the sincerity of his own desires.

And it is natural, even among Men, thus to accept one Person in behalf of another, especially one Brother for another, or near relation, the same flesh and blood.

But this still supposes the offending Person to be as sensible as he can: On the contrary, if he persist obstinate, and will not be reconcil'd, he redoubles his offence, and his friends intercession is a fresh aggravation of his wicked perverseness, and ill nature: Thus *Christ's* Satisfaction is the strongest obligation to Piety that is imaginable; and he who thinks otherwise, and practises accordingly, will never receive any benefit by it.

And love and happiness being reciprocal, consequently he can never return to happiness till he become sensible of love: So that this Method is even natural; and no other way cou'd possibly either restore a sinner, or make atonement for his sin.

I know this necessity of satisfying God's Justice is generally argu'd upon from another topick, which is, the Greatness and Majesty of God: And consequently sin is consider'd as an offence against, and a contempt of God's Government, and sovereign Authority: And therefore that the honour of his Government requires full and absolute Satisfaction.

And all this is exceeding true: But I chuse rather to explain it by the Nature of God, which is love; for from hence flows his sovereign Authority, and all his other Attributes: And by considering the very Nature of God, we discover more plainly the Nature of sin, and of that satisfaction, which, even by Nature, due for sin, and which only can make atonement for it.

II. Ob. That *Christ* had despair.
Soc. You say that the sense which *Christ* had of sin was proportionable to the offence, which is measured by the goodness offended, which is infinite. Hence it will follow that the sense which *Christ* had of the demerit of sin did exceed that of the damn'd, for theirs is not infinite. And then it will follow, that *Christ* did despair, or something worse, if worse can be, because the damn'd have so strong a sense of sin, as to drive them even into despair.

Ans. CHR. Despair of God's Mercy does not proceed from a strong sense of sin, tho' it supposes it. It proceeds from a weak, which is a false notion of God. Hence it is that one Man who hopes in God, may yet have a stronger sense of sin than another who despairs; but then he that despairs has not so strong and true a notion of God.

Thus *Christ* had a sense of sin infinitely exceeding that of all the damn'd, even to eternity; because he had an adæquate notion of God, and consequently of the infinite demerit of sin: But, from the same reason, he cou'd not despair, which, as has been said, proceeds only from a low and insufficient notion of the Nature of God; tho' in the great case of dereliction upon the Cross, when he cry'd out, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken*

ken me! He submitted himself even to that infirmity of our corrupted Nature, as much as cou'd possibly be distinguish'd from sin, and consist with a right apprehension of God; which tho' we may suppose in a great measure clouded thro' the anguish of sufferings, and the load of sin in its full weight which merited the eternal desertion of the comforts of God's blessed influence from the sinner, and which therefore *Christ* endured to an unexpressible degree, exceeding in weight, even the despair of the damn'd; yet formal despair, cou'd never befall him, because it proceeds from a false notion of God.

Soc. You say, that eternal punishment is the reward of sin; therefore if *Christ* did undergo the whole punishment due to sin, he must have suffer'd eternally.

12.
Ob. That he must have suffer'd eternal punishment.

CHR. The eternity of the punishment is only because satisfaction can never be made by the damn'd: Whom Justice detains till they have paid the uttermost farthing: Which they not being able to pay, consequently are prisoners for ever. But as Justice requires the uttermost Farthing, so when that is paid, Justice is oblig'd to release. That uttermost farthing, which the nature of Love requires, as well as of Justice, (as I have shew'd) is a sense of the sin proportionable to the offence: Which *Christ*, in our Nature, having offer'd in full tail, he purchased the release of that Nature; and gives the benefit to all who will accept of it: Whereas if he had suffer'd eternally, he had only been a prisoner with us, but had purchas'd no Redemption for us.

Soc. In answer to your arguments drawn from the Nature of God, as explain'd by the Nature of Love, I think them too notional.

CHR. It is the notion God has given us of himself: 1 *John* iv. 8. and 16. *God is Love*. And therefore it must be the most certain topick from whence to argue of his Nature: And to say that this is notional, is finding fault with Scripture.

Soc. I like the other topick better, that is, to consider of God only as a great Governour: and not to argue from his Nature, but only to consider what may be consistent, that is, safe to his government.

And in this sense I take all his threats, even of Hell, to be no more but threats in order to secure his Government over us: And that therefore he is not bound in justice, or any way, to inflict those punishments farther than to secure his Government: And that this is no breach of promise, or of his word, more than it is in a Prince to remit that punishment which he, by his Laws, has denounc'd against such an offence: The security of his Government is all he has to look to: It is no Injustice, or falsifying his Word, to pardon such an offence, or to mitigate it, to what degree he pleases.

XXII.
Of the eternity of Hell.

And therefore, tho' God has threatened Hell to be eternal, he may remit that either in part or in the whole, without any impeachment to his Justice, or his Veracity, as he spar'd the *Ninevites* after he said he would destroy them.

CHR. His threatening of the *Ninevites* was in order to their repentance, *Jonah* iii. 10. and so are his temporal threatenings to other Nations and Kingdoms, as we are assur'd *Jer.* xviii. 7, 8. And therefore when they do repent, the end of that threatening is obtained.

But it is quite otherwise in the punishment of Hell; for the sufferings there are not intended for the amendment of the offenders, (which is in order to pardon) but as a satisfaction to Justice, the time of forgiveness being over: As when a malefactor is brought to Justice, to die without Mercy for his offence.

Soc. This is only to secure the Government against the like offenders for the future: And therefore I said that God does, and ought to punish, so far

as

as to secure his Government; but farther than that consideration he is not oblig'd either in Justice or Honour.

CHR. Why? Is God afraid? Is he in danger of having his Government overturn'd? What a poor notion have you advanc'd of God's Justice!

Besides, this argument only takes place as to this World; for no body says that the punishments of Hell are only for example sake: Therefore it must be from some other consideration; and I can see no other but that of satisfying the Justice of God. But why was eternal punishment threatened by God?

SOC. It was of use to have eternal punishments threatened at least; because less than that would not deter Men from sinning; since we see that that itself does not do it. For,

"The sting of sin is the terror of eternal punishment, and if Men were once free from the fear and belief of this, the most powerful restraint from sin would be taken away *—— And therefore if any thing more terrible than eternal vengeance could have been threatened to the workers of iniquity, it had not been unreasonable, because it would all have been little enough to deter Men effectually from sin†. And whoever considers how ineffectual the threatening even of eternal torments is to the greatest part of sinners, will soon be satisfy'd that a less penalty than that of eternal suffering would to the far greatest part of Mankind, have been in all probability of little or no force—— ‡ The eternal rewards and punishments of another life are the great sanction and security of God's Laws. ** And in the last place, that if we suppose that God did intend that his threatening should have their effect, to deter Men from the breach of his Laws; it cannot be imagin'd that in the same Revelation which declares these threatenings, any intimation should be given of the abatement or non-execution of them: For by this God would have weakened his own Laws, and have taken off the edge and terror of his threatenings; because a threatening hath lost its force, if we once come to believe that it will not be executed: And consequently it would be a very impious design to go about to teach or persuade any thing to the contrary, and a betraying Men into that misery, which had it been firmly believed might have been avoided."

CHR. This is astonishing beyond any thing ever I heard; for I pray answer me, whether your making Hell doubtful, be not, in your own words, *a very impious design, to take away the great sanction and security of God's Laws? To make them of little or no force to the greatest part of Mankind?* And if the firm believing that misery (*viz.* the eternity of Hell) be the means, as you say, to avoid it; then *quære*, whether making Hell doubtful, be the means to make us firmly believe it? You confess that in Scripture there is not any intimation, or any to be expected of the abatement or non-execution of the eternal punishment of Hell. It would be asked here, how then you came by the discovery? You prove very well that it was God's design that Men should think Hell to be eternal.

But it seems you are still to be excepted, who are a Man of Reason, and will not be over-reach'd. God could not keep it from you! But suppose you have been admitted into God's Cabinet Council, and this great secret has been reveal'd to you; how came you to blabb it, and frustrate God's design? Who intended that Men should believe Hell was eternal.

SOC. I have told you of the folly of trusting to this: For may be Hell may be eternal to some, tho' not to others; and it would not be prudence to run the hazard, tho' God should not inflict it: And if Hell should be but

* Hist. p. 4.

† p. 11.

‡ p. 29.

** p. 20.

for some time, what wise Man would venture such terrible punishments, tho' for never so short a time?

CHR. But if less than Mens believing the certainty of Hell's eternal punishment will not, as you say, deter Men from sinning; if that itself does not do it, how will they be persuaded by telling them, that perhaps Hell may be but for some short time, or, may be, that God will remit it altogether: That neither his Justice, his Wisdom, nor other considerations does require it from him to make good his threatenings, but it is still perfectly in his own Power and free Liberty to inflict them, or not, at his pleasure.

SOC. Will you say that it is not in God's Power?

CHR. I like not the expression, that it is not in God's Power to do this or that. We say he cannot lye, he cannot sin, &c. and we know the meaning of these, and the like expressions: and perhaps you think to take advantage, and to tie me up with that sort of expression.

But if it does appear that God will not do such a thing, or that he will certainly do such a thing; I think we need not word it in that irreverend and provoking style, that God cannot, that it is not in his Power to do this or that, as if we were putting him to defiance, or had catch'd him at an advantage.

Now why I think it most certain that Hell is eternal, and that God will inflict it, is because he has said so, and sworn to it.

Secondly, *Christ* did not promulgate this only as a Lawgiver, whereby it might be taken as a bare threatening, and, as such, dispensable at the pleasure of the Legislator; but *Christ* taught it as a Doctor of his Church, and says, not only that such things were threatened, and consequently that it was a hazard they might be inflicted; but he speaks of them as things that will most certainly come to pass, that the *worm will not die in Hell*, nor the *fire be quenched*. And therefore, whatever you say of the Legislator, or his Prerogative, *Christ* is here to be consider'd as a true Teacher, or a true Prophet, which would not be so *if the worm should die, or the fire be quenched*.

SOC. I will give you a farther reason, which exposes the vulgar notion Men have of the nature of Justice, and which leads them wrong in all this matter. People have been taught heretofore, that it belongs to the nature of Justice to proportion the punishment to the crime: Whence an exact proportion is called a just proportion: And from hence they argue, from the infinite demerit of sin an eternity of punishment.

1.
Of the punishment being proportioned to the offence.

CHR. I must confess my self to have been in the number of these mistaken people; for I always thought that it did belong to Justice to proportion the punishment to the crime: I would gladly know your reason to the contrary.

SOC. You might have seen that in what I have already told you, *viz.* that the end of Justice was only for the support Government.

For, “ * what proportion crimes and penalties ought to bear to each other, “ is not so properly a consideration of Justice, as of Wisdom and Prudence “ in the Lawgiver: And the reason of this seems very plain; because the “ measure of penalties is not taken from any strict proportion betwixt crimes “ and punishments; but from one great end and design of Government, “ which is, to secure the observation of wholesome and necessary Laws: And “ therefore, if the appointing and apportioning of penalties to crimes be not “ so properly a consideration of Justice, but rather of Prudence in the Law- “ giver; then whatever the disproportion may be between temporal sins “ and eternal sufferings, Justice cannot be concerned in it. And I desire

* Hist. p. 11.

“that this consideration may be more especially observ’d, because it strikes
“at the very foundation of the objection.”

CHR. Indeed it does at the very foundation of the Satisfaction of *Christ*, and makes it wholly unnecessary.

SOC. *God is not oblig’d to execute what he hath threatened any farther than the reasons and ends of Government do require; and therefore he may remit and abate as much as he pleaseth of the punishment that he hath threatened**. And that declaration, *Mat. xxv. 26.* that *the wicked shall go away into everlasting punishment*, † does not restrain God from doing what he pleases. *We are all bound to preach, and you to believe the terrors of the Lord; not so, as saucily to determine what God must do in this case: For after all, he may do as he will, as I have ‡ clearly shewn.* But no doubt they are to be blam’d, *who will desperately put it to the hazard, whether and how far God will execute his threatenings upon sinners in another world.* It is but a hazard, and that not so great as some of you would make us believe; for I do assure you that the misery of Hell is so terribly severe, that *at present we can hardly tell how to reconcile it with the Justice and Goodness of God***.

CHR. This is a fair inuendo, that the eternity of Hell is against both the Justice and Goodness of God: At least against his Goodness.

SOC. *We may rest assur’d that if it be any wise inconsistent either with Righteousness or Goodness, which he knows much better than we do, to make sinners miserable for ever, that he will not do it.*

CHR. Since then you cannot at present reconcile it with God’s Goodness, it is plain that you do not at present believe the eternity of Hell, but on the contrary that you rest assur’d (as your self words it) that God will not make sinners miserable for ever: And that for another reason, because (as you say) to punish crimes, or at least to proportion the punishment to the crime, is not the work of Justice, but only a design of Government, to secure the observation of wholesome Laws: And there being no such observation of wholesome Laws suppos’d in the damn’d, consequently there must be no Hell; not in respect of Justice, for that you assure us is not concern’d in the matter; and not in respect of the observation of such Laws, which are not suppos’d to be observ’d there.

Unless you mean to turn Hell into a Purgatory, where repentance and amendment are allow’d, and consequently pardon and release, which would be of service to some who find it very inconvenient to repent here: Especially to make restitution: And this is fairly hinted in our Historian’s Exposition of *1 Pet. iii. 19, 20.* *Hist. Unitar. p. 149.*

But you tell us not all your hypothesis at once: It is new, and would surprize the world too much on the sudden. But I am afraid that you will improve this notion, and end in no Hell at all, which I cannot but think to be your opinion, from what I have already observ’d of it.

I desire you will give us a definition of Justice, or if you believe there is any such thing, other than some politique of state, to secure Government by terrifying unthinking People, as the Heathen said, *Primus in orbe Deos fecit timor!*

And we know the principles of some of our own, and late ages, who took the name of Christians and Philosophers, and yet made the authority, even of Scripture, and the very notion of Right and Wrong to depend upon the civil Magistrate.

And what is Right and Wrong but Justice and Injustice? And what is the civil Magistrate but the civil Government? And your making that the

* Hist. p. 13.

† p. 15.

‡ p. 21.

** p. 22.

end and measure of Justice, has but a little alter'd Mr. *Hobbs's* phrase; his meaning is exactly the same.

You make Religion such a perfect tool to the civil Government, as if it were intended for no other end in this or the World to come, than to keep in quietness People's outward possessions or lives, and to dispose the minds of Men to the Peace of this World.

Soc. "And for God's sake what is Religion good for, but to reform the manners and dispositions of Men, to restrain human nature from falshood and treachery, from sedition and rebellion? Better it were there were no revealed Religion, than to be acted by a Religion—that is, continually supplanting Government, and undermining the welfare of Mankind. And the Doctrine of the lawfulness of desposing Kings, and subverting Government, is as bad, or worse than Infidelity and no Religion*."

CHR. This may be perhaps like a Polititian, but not so very like a Christian; because in the consideration of Religion, you totally forget the other World; and wou'd rather have no Religion than to disturb the Government with it, that is, *rather than be disturb'd by any Government for it.*

The Religion of this World is Peace and Plenty in this World. This you make the standard of your Religion; and better have no Religion than disquiet this. Sure you think *Joshua* to have been wicked, and his Religion wicked to disturb the poor *Canaanites*.

Soc. As to that expedition of *Joshua*, I will not meddle with it. But (till I be better inform'd, which I am always ready to be) I cannot think it lawful so much as to preach the Gospel against the command of the civil Government, unless we had such an extraordinary Commission as the Apostles, or as *Joshua* had, and cou'd vouch it with Miracles as they did.

CHR. Not to preach the Gospel without leave of the civil Magistrate is making the authority of Scripture depend upon the civil Magistrate as much as Mr. *Hobbs* himself wou'd desire, or *Erastus*, or the grand Signior.

So many friends have you made to your self with this Doctrine of *Mammon*, who when you fail may receive you into their Habitations: Nor need you fear to displease the Pope by this; for where he is the supreme civil Magistrate, which he is own'd to be at *Rome* (and others contend for him all over the World, at least in what they call catholick Countries, even to depose Kings, to create and bestow Kingdoms at his pleasure) there you will allow that the Gospel shall not be preach'd without licence from his holiness, nay that the very notion of Justice, and of right and wrong must be taken from him; which is making him infallible, and even God, in the most strict and proper sense; and he must, in your scheme, not only judge always right; but it is right and justice because he does judge it: And so of truth and falshood; for what is that but right and wrong?

But notwithstanding all these efforts, the World is still posselt, and I hope in God ever will be, that there is such a virtue as Justice, that there is right and wrong among among Men, tho' there was no political Government in the World; or tho' the Government was so secur'd, that it could not be shaken with any attempts of ill designing Men, yet that wicked Men ought to be punish'd, for the evils they have done, without respect to what more they might do: And that there ought to be difference made 'twixt greater and lesser crimes, and their punishments proportionable even in Justice, without regard to Politicks.

Soc. Let us return to the subject we were upon which is the Satisfaction of *Christ*.

* Hist. p. 21.

4.
All this ap-
ply'd to the
Doctrine of
Satisfaction.

CHR. What has been said of the nature of Justice was necessary to that subject; for if Justice be nothing else but an intrigue of Politicks, as you have disputed, then indeed it infers no necessity of Satisfaction; there is no such thing as Satisfaction, it can be nothing but prudence and foresight, for that is the relative to Justice, if it be taken only for a caution in Government: But on the other hand, if Justice be a positive virtue, if it be one of God's Attributes; and consequently God himself, of his very Nature and Essence, so that God is Justice, in the abstract, then it must require full and adequate Satisfaction, for that as is said, is the Nature of Justice, and consequently of God, who is not God because he is Governor of the World (which is all the notion some Men have of him) but he is chief Governor because he is God; it is a consequence of his Nature; and therefore we must compute of his Government from his Nature, not of his Nature from his Government; and from the necessity of his Nature, as he has reveal'd it to us, we infer the necessity of a Satisfaction to his Justice, which is his Nature: And consequently his Government must of necessity proceed pursuant to his Nature; that is, his Justice, and we must not measure it by that mean and worldly notion of Government, under poor Politicks and tricks of state, to keep up their Government and secure the Execution of their Laws. If we be good, what do we add to God? And if we be wicked what do we hurt him? No; he punishes wickedness out of his inherent Justice; and neither to fear, nor flatter sinners: Therefore he punishes, when the time of repentance is over, that is, in Hell.

And, from the same necessity, all sinners must go thither, if full Satisfaction be not made to his Justice: Justice not being satisfy'd, does always suppose that Justice is not done, and consequently, that there is Injustice; for, coming short of Justice, is contrary to Justice.

For these reasons, we gladly and without contradiction receive the most rational and gracious dispensation of the Gospel; wherein we find a full and adequate Satisfaction (for other than a full and adequate Satisfaction is no Satisfaction) to Justice for our sins; without which there could never have been any remission, by the same necessity that Justice must be Justice, and that God is Justice: And this is the true account we give, and proper end of *Christ's* coming into the World.

5.
Of *Christ* in-
troducing the
Covenant of
repentance.

SOC. I have heard some of our Authors say, that the end of *Christ's* coming, was to shew us a new condition, or Covenant for remission of sin, that is, repentance, which was more effectual than the legal sacrifices.

Hof. vi. 6.

If. i. 13, 16.
Ez. xviii. 17.
Joel ii. 13.

CHR. He might have taught us this without dying, and being crucify'd. Secondly, repentance was no new Condition or Covenant. It was the import of all the legal sacrifices, and, as such, fully explain'd by the Prophets, *I will have mercy and not sacrifice. Bring no more vain oblations—wash ye, make ye clean, put away the evil of your doings. The sacrifices of God are a broken Spirit,—at what time soever a sinner repents, he shall save his Soul. Rent your Heart and not your Garments.* And many more places: This is the strain of all the Prophets.

And *Christ* came not to destroy, or alter any thing of the Law, but to fulfil it: Therefore he taught no new Doctrine, but fulfill'd his types, which were in the old Law, and brought them to their fullness and completion.

6.
The Law and
the Gospel
the same Co-
venant.

The Law and the Gospel are call'd two Covenants or Testaments; because the one was before the other, one weaker, or more imperfect than the other.

But in regard that one was the shadow or type of the other, and was fulfill'd and perfected in the other, they were both but one and the same Covenant. It was one and the same *Christ* who was figur'd in the Law, and plainly exhibited in the Gospel.

He was meant, when the Priest was commanded to eat the sin-offering that he might *bear the iniquity of the Congregation to make atonement for them before the Lord.* Deut. vi. 29. ch. x. 17.

This sin-offering was so holy, or devoted to bear God's indignation for sin; that none *must touch it but who was holy, the Garment must be wash'd, on which any of its blood had been sprinkled; and the earthen Vessel wherein it was sodden, must be broken; and the brasen pot scour'd and rinsed.* Lev. vi. 27. 7. *Christ* taking our sins upon himself was typify'd in the sin-offering.

Yet this devoted and cursed thing, loaded with the sins of the whole People, the Priest must eat, and turn it into his own flesh and blood, that he might bear their iniquity, as it were incorporated in his own Body.

And thus it was that *Christ* was made a curse and a sin for us, and bore our iniquities; they were incorporated in him, made his own, and he bore them in his own Body on the Cross; and suffer'd for them, as if they had been his own.

He made himself liable to our debt, by becoming our Surety for the debt, and so made it his own: And then he was bound to satisfy the whole debt, because it was his own. 8. *Christ* our Surety.

And no Man calls it unjust to become a Surety for a friend, or for the Surety to pay the debt, especially when the principal is not able.

Soc. That is true, as to personal actions, debt, or the like: But can we find any such thing us'd among Men, as Sureties for life?

CHR. Yes: It is common to be bound life for life: You have several instances of it in Scripture. 1 *Kin. xx. 39, 40, 42.* 2 *Kin. x. 24.* and hostages are us'd in all Nations, and ever have been, nor can War and publick Faith be manag'd without it. Our Hostage.

Soc. Can you find any place in Scripture, where *Christ* is call'd by the name of a Surety?

CHR. The name signifies nothing: You have seen the thing, under other names of as much import as that, *viz.* redemption, ransom, propitiation, atonement and sacrifice: But if the very word will persuade you more, you have it too, *Heb. vii. 22.* *Jesus was made a surety.*

Soc. *Christ* there is not call'd our Surety, but the Surety of a better Testament.

CHR. That is, of the New Testament, or Covenant: And are not we a Party in this Covenant? Therefore he is our Surety: As he that is bound in a Bond with me, is my Surety; so that being Surety of a Covenant, is being Surety for the Person on whose behalf the Covenant is made. Heb. vii. 22. explain'd.

What if we perform our part of the Covenant?

Soc. No question he that is Surety of the Covenant, is Surety to you for the performance of what is due to you, by the Covenant from the other Party.

CHR. And is it not reciprocal? That if I break my part of the Covenant of grace, then the Surety of the Covenant is bound to God for me, that I shall pay according to the Covenant.

Soc. This is still only upon the account of the Covenant.

CHR. Let it be upon what account it will, *Christ* is our Surety: But that of the Covenant we have discours'd already, and upon what account it is; I now only shew you, that *Heb. vii. 22.* *Christ* is call'd our *Surety*, by being call'd Surety of the Covenant made 'twixt God and us; of which

David spake, when he pray'd to God: *Be Surety for thy Servant*, Psal. cxix. 122. And *Job* was not ignorant of this notion, when he said to God. *Put me in a Surety with thee*, Job. xvii. 3. So that there are no names nor expressions wanting, whereby to signify the Satisfaction of *Christ*, even the very word *Satisfaction*, Isai. lxi. 11.

9.
The Socinian
interpretation
of Is. liii. 11.

Soc. I have heard from our Authors, an exposition of that text, *Isai. lxi. 11.* in another sense than you have taken it. *He shall see of the travel of his Soul, and be satisfied*; that is, *Christ* after he is gone to Heaven, shall reflect upon his past Sufferings, and shall be satisfied; that is, pleas'd with it.

CHR. This is like one of the fore-mentioned interpretations: The business is, this text must be got over, and this is one way! But this is a long paraphrase instead of an interpretation. Is there any thing in the context of *Christ's* going to Heaven? And that this was to be understood not till his Ascension.

Soc. No: But in our sense, we cannot find another time when *Christ* should look with pleasure upon his own Sufferings.

CHR. That whole Chapter is treating of *Christ's* Sufferings, and describing his passion: And the very verse next verse before that text, tells us how it pleas'd the Lord to bruise him, and put him to grief; and so goes on, recounting the Sufferings which the Lord laid upon him, of which these words are a part, *He shall see of the travel of his Soul and be satisfied*.

Now if this were no inconvenience to your opinion, wou'd it not be easier to mean those words in this sense, that God who put *Christ* to grief, shou'd see of the travel of *Christ's* Soul and be satisfied with it; rather than to make so great and unseen a transition from the passion of *Christ*, to him in glory looking back upon him, meaning himself: He said to him, or he lookt upon him, being Phrases never us'd in *English* for a Man's saying, or looking to himself.

Soc. I confess if it were not for the difficulty appears in that text to our opinion, your interpretation is what offers at first view from these words, and seems most natural and agreeable to the context, and scope of that Chapter.

But all this is a digression from our Author*, and the subject we are at present upon. If you please let us return: He says, the distinction of two Natures in *Christ* (a divine and a human) is clearly overthrown by the 8, 9, 10 and 11 arguments mention'd in the first Letter.

CHR. And I refer to the answers given to them.

18.
A notable
turn against
the Divinity
of *Christ*.

Soc. He says farther, that if a thing, otherwise true of *Christ*, may be deny'd of him, because it is only in one of these (pretended) Natures, and not in the other: If our Saviour, saith he, can do nothing of himself, only because he can do nothing of himself according to his human Nature, and can do all things of himself according to his (pretended) divine Nature, then it is lawful and allowable to say, *Christ* is no Man, was never born of the Virgin, never was crucified, dead or buried, &c. And on the other hand, no fault can be found with a *Socinian*, † when he shall say *Christ* is not true God, was not generated of the essence of his Father, was not from eternity, for all this may be said of him, according to his human Nature, for according to that, he is not true God, was not generated of the Father's essence, was not from eternity, &c.

This is his argument and he thinks it invincible.

CHR. And to surprize him the more, I will answer it by granting it all; and shew his Sophistry by a plain and familiar example.

* Hist. p. 164 † p. 165.

Suppose any shou'd question my legitimacy, and say I was not such a Man's Son? And when he came to the proof shou'd say, that my Soul was not begotten by my Father; and he only spoke in relation to that, and not of my Body, which he allow'd to be legitimately begotten by my Father? Wou'd this save him from being a pitiful Sopister, and paying me just damages? And yet I do grant all that he said to be true: But his condemnation lies in speaking with design to be misunderstood.

Thus it is with the *Socinians*: If they will explain themselves, and tell what they mean, *viz.* That *Christ* is not God, nor eternal according to his human Nature: That he did not suffer, or die according to his divine Nature: No good Christian will be offended, because he also says the same.

But when we know the *Socinian* principle, and hear them deny *Christ* to be God, we have reason to take it in the same sense they meant it, and and to judge them accordingly: And to think this shift as poor and contemptible, as if a Man should deny I eat, slept, or talk'd, and say, that he meant only that my Soul did not eat, &c.

Soc. Now we have done with our Author; but a Friend of the *Publisher's, of excellent learning and worth, adds a Letter of his own, to prove three things. 1. That the doctrine of the *Trinitarians* is no necessary or fundamental doctrine of Christianity. 2. That the *Socinians* are not to be put under any penalties of the Law. 3. That the *Trinitarians* ought to own the *Unitarians* as christian brethren.

Arguments of
the *Socinians*.

CHR. Give his reasons as to the first point, that the doctrine of the Trinity is not fundamental.

1.
That the doctrine of the Trinity is not fundamental.

Soc. The first reason is, that it is difficult to be understood.

CHR. So is the Nature of God: The most learned have very obscure and imperfect notions of it, and some common People have even blasphemous and contradictory apprehensions of God; yet you would not exclude the belief of a God from being a fundamental article. God reveals himself as he thinks fit, and we are to learn all that we can; and God will require no more than he has given. The Angels know him not perfectly. But is it not therefore fundamental, whether *Christ* be God, whether what we worship be God, or no God?

Soc. His second reason is, that to make the doctrine of the Trinity fundamental, is to join hands with the Papists, in contradiction to the Protestant doctrine; owning with them, that the Scriptures are obscure and insufficient even in fundamentals†.

CHR. What he dare not prove he slyly insinuates, *viz.* that the Protestants think the Trinity is not sufficiently reveal'd in Scripture: The contrary to which we assert, and think it has been shewn.

Soc. He says the Papists have in reality the advantage of the Protestants in that matter‡.

CHR. That is, he would have it so, because it makes for the *Socinian* principle: But we must maintain the truth, tho' Papists and *Socinians* are join'd against us; and that Lord too of whom he tells the fine story.

Soc. His third reason is, that the first ages of the Church had none but the Apostles Creed; and that the Apostles Creed does fully agree with the *Socinian*, but by no means with the *Trinitarian* doctrine of fundamental Faith**.

CHR. We have seen already that the Apostles Creed does express the Trinity, and cannot be reconcil'd to sense without it; and the after Creeds were only farther illustrations of it.

* Hist. p. 168.

† p. 169.

‡ p. 170.

** p. 171.

SOC. His fourth reason is, that the sixth article of the Church of *England* says, that nothing is to be requir'd of any Man as an article of Faith, but what is in the Scripture, or may be proved thereby.

CHR. What does this prove against the Trinity?

SOC. Nothing, unless you will confess, that it cannot be prov'd from Scripture.

CHR. This was his fetch in his second reason, and it was dull to bring it in again.

SOC. Will you hear his reasons to the second point? *viz.* that the *Socinians*, or *Unitarians*, ought not to be put under any penalties by the Law *.

2.
That the *Socinians* ought not to be prosecuted.

CHR. I think none have a Right to claim a toleration, or immunity to their Religion, whose principle it is not to allow the same to other Religions; and who do not practise it, when they themselves have the Power: And whether the *Socinians* or *Unitarians* be of this number, the bitter persecution of the *Arian* against the orthodox will sufficiently witness.

Your Friend *Grotius de Jure Belli*. lib. 2. c. 20. S. ult. whom you quoted on your side, observes out of *Athanasius* [Ep. ad Solitar. Vit. agentes ep. Tom. 1. Vide *Hilarium Orat. ad Constantium*] that the *Arians* were the first of any who called themselves Christians, that persecuted others for Religion. *In Arianam Hæresin acriter invehitur Athanasius, quod prima in contradicentes usa esset judicium potestate, & quos non potuit verbis inducere, eos vi, plagis, verberibusque ad se pertrahere anniteretur; whom they could not persuade by fair means they endeavoured to bring over to their side by force and persecution:* Of this you will be satisfied abundantly not only in the reigns of *Constantius* and *Valens*, but of the *Gothick* Kings in *Spain*, and the *Vandal* Kings in *Africa*, whose persecutions are writ by *Victor Vitenfis*.

If we should tell them that they should have the same quarter they gave to *Athanasius*, what objection could they make against the justice of the sentence? And what security could they give, or reason to make any one believe, that if they had a *Socinian* Prince (which God avert) they would not persecute as bloodily as they did formerly? Or that *Socinian* Bishops in this age would be more christian and merciful than those in the ages past; and would not make use of the temporal power, as they did before, to deprive the orthodox Bishops, and seize upon their Sees for themselves; and prosecute those for Schismatics who refus'd to join with them in communion; and as obnoxious to the temporal Law, who should dare to own their depriv'd orthodox Fathers? When they can secure us that, in this case, the orthodox ought not to be put under any penalties by the Law; then, and not till then, it will be time for them to plead that the *Socinians* ought not to be under any penalties by the Law: Of which they are under no apprehensions at present, nor can they ask more liberty than they have, unless to be established by Act of Parliament as the national Religion; of which I will not say whether they have hopes or not; or whether now, or in a little longer time, when their principles shall be more generally spread, and as publickly own'd in the Countrey as they are in and near the city. For what other end should they desire a repeal of the penal Laws I cannot see at present, for they are in fact as much suspended towards the *Socinians*, as towards other Dissenters. The *Socinians* have now for a long time had an open Meeting-House in *Cutlers-Hall* in *London*; their Preacher one *Emlin*, formerly a Dissenting Preacher in *Dublin*, but forc'd to fly

* Hist. p. 172.

out of *Ireland* for his open and notorious *Socinianism*. I have seen a very long catalogue of the many volumes of *Socinian* Tracts printed since this *Brief History* we are now upon: And they have been dispers'd with great diligence all over *London*, without caution or secrecy, and are still to be bought openly in the Booksellers Shops: Yet no enquiry or prosecution! I have heard *Socinianism* by name openly defended in publick Coffe-houses, and the persons own themselves to be *Socinians*, and no notice taken! What liberty would they have? Or what persecution do they fear? They all pass under the name of good Protestants! For they are not Papists.

Soc. This brings me to the third point, which is, that the *Trinitarians* ought to own the *Unitarians* as christian brethren.

3.
That we ought to own them as our christian brethren

CHR. You charge us with Polytheism and Idolatry; and that *Christ* whom we worship as God, you say is but a Creature: What greater difference can there be in Religion? As soon may contradictions be reconcil'd, and God and no God mean the same thing, as we be christian brethren.

The *Jews* and Heathens confess *Christ* to be a Man, and a good Man; the *Turks* own him to be a true Prophet, and the *Messiah* sent from God: These too must be christian brethren upon the same score.

Besides, you reject the only way we know to Heaven, which is, by the Satisfaction of *Christ*. How then can we be christian brethren? We go not so much as the same road together.

Soc. Must every body be damn'd that does not believe the Satisfaction of *Christ*?

None sav'd but by the Satisfaction of *Christ*.

CHR. I will not say that, but I do firmly believe, that no Man can be sav'd but by the Satisfaction of *Christ*: Infants, Fools, Mad-men, and those who never heard of it, are excus'd from believing it, but yet are sav'd by the virtue of it.

Soc. Why then does *Athanasius* say, that *except we believe we shall be damn'd, and without doubt perish everlastingly*? Are not these words too positive?

CHR. They are no more than our Saviour said, *Go preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth shall be sav'd, but he that believeth not shall be damn'd.*

Mark xvi. 14, 16.

Soc. But why does *Athanasius* put in such positive words, as to say *without doubt they shall perish*, &c. as if he were so sure of it?

Obj. Of *Athanasius* saying *without doubt shall perish*.

CHR. Is not what *Christ* says true without doubt?

Soc. Yes sure.

CHR. Then without doubt they who believe not shall be damn'd.

Soc. This is a hard saying.

CHR. But lay it not upon *Athanasius*, who but repeated it after our blessed Saviour, and spoke the sense of all the rest of the Fathers of the Church: And, in the true sense, I think it goes no farther than this; that those who refuse or neglect the preaching of the Gospel, that is, reasonable conviction of these reveal'd truths, shall be condemn'd. But I do not think at all, that those are included whose unbelief proceeds from an impossibility of conviction; either thro' want of capacity, or want of means: And my reason is, *Christ* bids them go and preach, and then who do not believe——So that where there is no preaching, or sufficient publication of the Gospel, there this sentence does not take place; for it is only pronounc'd against those who refuse to believe upon the preaching of the Gospel.

Secondly, No Man is requir'd to believe farther than his capacity can reach; for that is not in his power, and is impossible, and a contradiction in nature. And God has said, that he will require no more than he has given; but then Men may improve their parts, and strength will encrease

by labour, and decay by idleness; and to him that hath, more shall be given; and he will be condemn'd who hides his talents.

These are strong incitements to the utmost diligence and sincerity, but by no means to despair.

And it is in this sense that I recommend to you the doctrine of the Satisfaction of *Christ*: For if Faith in him, as such, as our Surety and Satisfaction to God's Justice and Wrath against sin, if this be the saving Faith, as we say it is, then the Turks and Barbarians will enter into Heaven before you, and have a better title to the name of Christians.

The *Alcoran* allows of *Christ* as an intercessor with the divine Majesty, as you have heard: And they speak as great and honourable things of *Christ* as any *Socinian* can do; and a great deal more in some respects, as I have shewn almost to the height of the *Arians* themselves.

The nearness of their faith may be the reason why the *Hist. Unitarians* tells us*, That the *Socinians* in the Turkish and other Mahometan and Pagan Dominions are very numerous, but that their Doctrine is not profess'd in Christendom, except in a few very obscure and little places.

The Socinians
Faith.

But pray let me ask you in good earnest, for I do not well understand, how you expect to be sav'd by *Christ*?

Soc. By that new Covenant he has made with God for us.

CHR. What is the condition of that Covenant?

Soc. Our true obedience, and upon failure, sincere repentance and amendment.

CHR. Is any of our repentance and amendment as true and sincere as it ought to be?

Isa. lxiv. 6.

Soc. No: We must not presume to that, for the Scripture says, that *all our righteousness is as filthy rags*.

CHR. Was the condition of the Covenant, that God shou'd accept of these filthy rags.

Soc. Thro' the intercession of *Christ*.

CHR. God hates sin, with an irreconcilable hatred. And he is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity. Wou'd *Christ* intercede with him, to act contrary to his Nature, and to love what he hates? Does not *Christ* himself hate sin? Does he desire it to be accepted?

Compar'd
with the
Christian.

Soc. That will not bear: But do not you say the same?

2 Cor. v. 21.

CHR. Far from it: We say, that God accepts only the Satisfaction of *Christ*, as being full and adequate to his whole Justice. And the condition and privilege of *Christ's* Covenant is, by our being incorporated into him, to make his righteousness ours, that as *he was made sin for us who knew no sin, so we* (who have of our selves no righteousness) *might be made the righteousness of God in him*. And being thus cloathed in the Garments of our elder Brother; we are accepted *in him only*: And those only are accepted, who in profound humility and sense of their own unworthiness rely wholly on the righteousness of *Christ*.

We must
work, because
God works in
and with us.

Soc. If we lean so wholly to the merits of *Christ's* righteousness, then we need not work our selves: So say the *Solifidians*.

CHR. That has been sufficiently answered already, and it is resolv'd, *Phil. II. 12, 13. Work out your own salvation—because it is God who worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure*.

God gives us power to work, that we might work: We must work because God commands it, and we must do all we can, because he gives us ability, and it is, that we might use that ability: But when we have done all we can, we are unprofitable Servants; we must trust nothing to any

* Hist. p. 30.

thing we do; it is all unclean, and cannot appear before God, nor can ever, for its own sake, be accepted by him; it must be hid and cover'd, and cloath'd with the righteousness of *Christ*; that nothing of it self may appear at all in the presence of God, (as has been said) who sees folly in his Angels, and the Heavens are not clean in his sight; *how much less them that dwell in houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust, who are crush'd before the moth? And who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?*

Job. iv. 19.

xiv. 4.

You that trust in your own works, appear to me as a Man cloath'd in filthy rags, (for such is our righteousness) and brought into Court, rubbing and scrubbing, and patching these nasty clouts, striving to make himself clean and fine and well dress'd as the Courtiers he sees there.

Yet must be uncloathed of them all, and cloathed in the Righteousness of *Christ*.

Who may commend his skill and industry in darning or cobbling, but must withal pity his ignorance, if he thinks ever to make his dress fashionable by such means: But if he shou'd presume to make one, in that garb, at a solemn Feast, made upon the most glorious occasion, the Marriage of the King's Son, he must not only be thought mad, but expect to be severely punish'd, and thrown out of Court with disgrace, for such impudence.

If none cloath'd in Sackcloth (the weed of Mourners) must enter into the King's Palace, much less shall one besmeared, and in filth come into his presence, sit down to Table with him, nay be admitted to his Bed, made one with him and marry'd to him, and *sit with him in his Throne*. For such high prerogative has *Christ* obtain'd for all true believers: Who when they come to Heaven, are not, for *Christ's* sake admitted in their filthy rags, nor is his Covenant with his Father to patch and scour their rags; no they can never be made fit for that place: But as the Serpent leaves all his Skin behind him, they are stripp'd and divested of all their Earth, stain'd, sinful Weeds. And as the custom is in some Courts, they are new cloath'd in the fashion of that Court to which they come, as God said to *Joshua* (Zech. iii. 4.) *Behold, I have caused thine iniquity to pass from thee, and I will cloath thee with change of Raiment*. New botching the old will never do; we must have all new, a new Wedding Garment put upon us; we must throw off the old Man, not seek excuses for him, or to reconcile him to God, who hates him and all wickedness, by the same necessity that he loves himself: Nor can *Christ* plead for such; that wou'd make him wicked too; he hates sin as much as God does.

Esther iv. 2.

Rev. iii. 21.

Mat. xxii. 12.
Col. iii. 9, 10.

Give me leave to suppose, that you had now all your death-bed thoughts about you; place your self, in your own imagination, in the utmost scene of your life, and just ready to breathe out your last, and be carry'd to hear the irrevocable sentence pass upon you: Wou'd you delight to bring the sincerity of your own performance before the most extream scrutiny of infinite Justice, so as to stand or fall by it to all Eternity? Or wou'd you think it greater comfort, if you cou'd believe that *Christ* wou'd appear, not to plead for God's acceptance of your provocations, for such have been all your performances: But that having made you a *Member of his own Body, of his Flesh, and of his Bones*, and consequently given you a title and a right to all that was his; as every Member, even that which is grafted, partakes of the nature and privileges of the Body: And that is truly a Member, which is enliven'd and actuated by the same Spirit, and receives nourishment from the same head; whence the Apostle inferrs the necessity of our resurrection, because that Spirit which rais'd up *Christ* from the dead, must raise us up, being Members of his Body, and acted by his Spirit: I say if you cou'd believe, that the merit of *Christ's* righteousness were thus made yours, so that you might plead it as your own, as a full Satisfaction to the utmost demand of Justice, paid by your Surety, such a Surety as has made

An appeal to the *Scythians*

Ephes. v. 30.

Rom. viii. 11.

your

your debt his own, by making you one with himself: If you cou'd believe this, wou'd it not give you more comfort and delight, more light and assurance to your mind, than any excuse you cou'd fancy to be made for all your failings, so as to make God in love with them, and accept them upon whatever arbitrary and fancy'd Covenant you may suppose 'twixt him and *Christ*, which is contrary to the nature of them both? And that upon the only reason of an innocent person being murther'd by those sinners, without any need or necessity for it at all, upon account of satisfying the Justice of God for our sins, for so you *Socinians* say: But yet give no other reason at all for the death of *Christ*. But suppose a Covenant for it, without any why or wherefore, when all might have been done as well without it; which is opposite to all sense and reason; while you reject as irrational the Satisfaction of *Christ*, which is strictly consequential, and necessary to the nature of Justice, which is God: And the Covenant of remission grounded upon it, flows necessarily from it, carries its own light and assurance with it, and leaves no doubt or suspense in that heart which can believe it. He that thus follows *Christ*, walketh not in darkness, but I will be judg'd by your self whether your way be not dark and slippery; whether you can lean your Souls absolutely, and without hesitation upon that foundation of your being accepted without any Satisfaction, made for your sins, trusting only to the sincerity and perfection of your own performance of those conditions which *Christ* hath enjoind, as the terms of that arbitrary Covenant you suppose he made with God, without any Covenant of Satisfaction. Which of these Covenants wou'd you desire to plead before your Judge, before the face of the utmost Justice, unerring essential Justice in the abstract, which cannot forgive, or remit the least farthing, more than it can cease to be what it is, that is Justice? Wou'd you appear there pleading your own righteousness, or sincerity of your repentance, as an atonement for your sins? That wou'd be cleaning of your filth with a filthy cloth: Wou'd you not rather (to end in the words of Scripture) have the *filthy rags* of your own righteousness taken quite away, and to be cloath'd in the *Wedding Garment* of the righteousness of *Christ*?

Soc. There is no dispute but the latter wou'd be chosen, if it were in our choice, that is, if it were in our power to believe it: It has comforts in it beyond all imagination.

The grace of
God necessary
to work
true Faith in
us.

CHR. We are told by St. *Paul*, Eph. xxi. 8. that this *Faith is the gift of God*. All arguments will prove ineffectual without the influence of God's blessed Spirit; his Grace, like the Sun, is that which must inspire the ground of our heart, to make it capable of receiving the good seed of his Word, and bringing forth fruit into Salvation; without this, all our own manuring and cultivation is but lost pains: Yet we must prepare the ground, and cleanse our heart, but that is only to render it susceptible of the influence of this blessed Sun of righteousness, which only giveth life: Therefore all the glory, all the praise is not to him that soweth or watereth, but to him that giveth the increase: To him the Doctrine of Satisfaction restores the whole of our salvation, without taking any thing from the obligation of our own endeavours, not as partners in the merit, but as the natural and bounden duty of Creatures, and sinners receiv'd to Pardon and Grace; which therefore to neglect is Rebellion and contempt of God, and renders us incapable of the influence of his blessed Spirit, which will not descend into an impure or polluted, nor into a stubborn and disobedient heart; much less into an heart fraught with the conceit of its own sincerity, so as to think it has no need of any Satisfaction for its sins, more than the integrity and perfection of its own repentance; upon which your selves are forc'd to

to confess, you cannot lean your Souls confidently when you come to die, but wish for that Satisfaction against which you dispute.

Judge then with your self whether you had reason to avoid all the plain texts which speak of the Satisfaction of *Christ*, and of his Divinity, upon which it is grounded, and consequently that of the Trinity, without which the other cannot be: And to strain your wit to find *Salvo's* to turn them to another sense, which may be done to the plainest words can be spoken in any language.

A persuasive inference from the whole.

And consider, that by the adorable providence of God, there are no Doctrines wherein all christian Churches are so much united, as in the Trinity, the Incarnation and Satisfaction of *Christ*: And therefore judge if to destroy this Doctrine, you had reason to decline the evidence and authority of the catholick Church in all ages, which declar'd the meaning of these Scriptures, we have debated, as the Church this day does interpret them.

And whether you consulted your own advantage, when you chose for your guides, the most wretched Hereticks in the several ages, who oppos'd their lewd fancies to the receiv'd Doctrine of the Orthodox, wherein themselves had been educated and stand to this day condemn'd in all the Churches of the christian World.

And all this, only to carry you off from that foundation of Faith which once deliver'd to the Saints, is most according to the Letter of the Scripture, gives most glory to God and takes least to our selves: Which only can give you comfort or assurance in the hour of death; or dare be pleaded on the day of Judgment.

All Glory be to the one only God, the Eternal Power, Wisdom, Goodness, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God; Creator of all things, Redeemer of Mankind, Sanctifier of the Elect, whose is the Kingdom, and the Power, and the Glory, for ever and ever. Amen.



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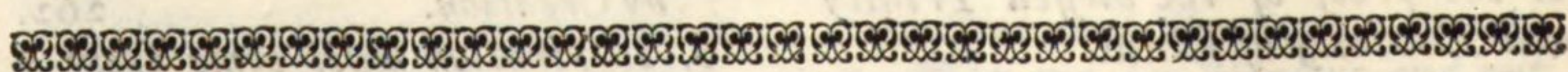
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The years of *Christ* in which those *Anti-Nicene* Fathers flourished, whom I have quoted in the preceding Dialogues, and the Editions, that you mistake not where I have quoted the page: And if any other Edition happens to be quoted, the Edition is told.

Years of *Christ*.

S. Barnabas the Apostle	—	—	Oxon. 1685.
S. Ignatius.	—	—	101 { Usher's Edit. Oxon. 1644. Gr. Lat. Is. Voss. Edit. Lond. 1680. Gr. Lat.
S. Justinus Martyr.	—	—	140 Parisiis. 1636. Gr. Lat.
S. Irenæus.	—	—	167 Parisiis 1639.
Clemens Alexandrinus.	—	—	192 Paris. 1641. Gr. Lat.
Tertullianus.	—	—	192 Paris. 1664.
Origen.	—	—	230 Rothomagi. 1668. Gr. Lat. Tom. 2.
S. Cyprianus.	—	—	246 Oxonia. 1682. T H E

AN ANSWER
TO THE
REMARKS
ON THE
FIRST DIALOGUE
AGAINST THE
SOCINIAN S.

M. A.

AND SWEET
TO THE

REMARKS
ON THE

FIRST DIALOGUE
AGAINST THE

2 M A I M I C O 2



An ANSWER to the REMARKS on the First DIALOGUE, &c.

SINCE the First Dialogue was printed, there is come out a *Socinian* Sheet against it, intituled, *Remarks on Mr. Charles Leslie's First Dialogue on the Socinian Controversy*. And I think it proper to take notice of it here, for it may help to illustrate more at large what is there said in short: And because I hear some say, it is well wrote, and that many lay stress upon it.

1. First I observe that this Remarker has not kept up to that Character the *Socinian* Writers give themselves (but without much Reason, as I have shew'd in these Dialogues) of being the fairest Adversaries, and an example to all others of managing Controversy without heat or passion, or personal reflexions: For he has treated me in a very rough manner, calling the instances I bring ridiculous, p. 1. And that I am *Paganish* in my Notions, p. 6. And says, p. 1. *If such poor Philosophy, such shallow Reasoning, and such gross Divinity, must baffle the Socinians, I confess they ought to be the last who pretend to the Character of Men of Reason.*

But notwithstanding all this contempt of what I have said, I cannot but think it has given him some trouble, because it has made him so angry: For it is losers that have leave to talk at this rate; and as you shall see him talk afterwards.

2. My argument was, that we cannot charge any thing to be a contradiction in one Nature, because it is so in another, unless we understand both Natures. Because a Nature we understand not cannot be explain'd to us but by allusion to some Nature we do understand: And there is that difference in Natures that no allusion will lie betwixt them; that is, none that is proper, that will come up to the thing, or give a Person who knows not the Nature a true idea of it, or even reconcile it from contradiction, while he considers the Nature he does not understand, by way of allusion to another Nature which he does understand.

3. To illustrate this I gave several instances, of which this Remarker has p. 1. pick'd out two to shew his wit upon: One is, *That if a Man cou'd be suppos'd to be without Thought, it wou'd be impossible to make him ap-*

prehend what it was, or the progress of it, as from hence to Rome in an instant, &c. It is common to say to a Man that is musing, where are you? and to answer, I was at *Rome*, or such a place. Now supposing any one (if it were possible) not to know what Thought was, he wou'd apprehend your Body was remov'd to *Rome* and back again as soon as you cou'd speak. And by allusion to the motion of Body, this cou'd not be reconcil'd to him from being a flat contradiction, that any thing cou'd move a thousand Miles as soon as a Yard.

In answer to this the Remarker tells you p. 1. *That when you think of Rome or any other place, 'tis only the idea of it in your imagination which you contemplate, and not a leap or local motion of your Thoughts to it.*

Who knows not this that has any Thought? But upon the supposition that a Man did not know what Thought was, he cou'd have no apprehension of it but as of a local motion. And what you call Idea he wou'd fancy to be some Horse or Coach that carry'd you very swiftly; which yet wou'd not solve the contradiction as to him, because the swiftness of the motion, suppose it a common Bullet, cannot go two Yards as soon as one.

4. But because it may be too extravagant to suppose a Man without Thought, tho' some have very little; and suppositions are allow'd in argument even of what never was; yet I insist not on this, but have given another instance which is fact, and daily before us, that is, of a Man born blind: And how you cou'd give him any notion of sight, or explain to him how the Eye can reach a Star as soon as the top of the Chimney. He can feel his Eye with his Hand, and that it is there fixt and does not go out of his head; how then can he imagine it gets a thousand Miles off in an instant, while he feels it does not stir at all? He can have no notion of this, but by allusion to some other of his senses which he has: And by the word *reach*, how the sight can reach a Star, he fancies Arms or Legs, that being all the way by which he can reach to any thing. And then knowing that the motion of Legs or Arms must go one Yard before it goes two, he takes your description of sight to be not only some strange and wonderful thing, which he will readily grant; but he will insist that it is a flat contradiction; and therefore that he must not believe it: And it is impossible to explain it so to him as to reconcile it from being a contradiction to him.

To this says the Remarker very ingeniously, *when we see the Stars, our Eyes move not up to them, but their extended Rays strike upon the Eye.* But the Man born blind wou'd say, nothing strikes upon my Eye, for then I shou'd feel it. And he knows nothing what you mean by Rays or by Seeing: Nor cou'd think of any other way but that the Eye must get up to the Star, or the Star come down to the Eye. And your talking of Rays will not solve the contradiction one bit as to him. Nor can he be any otherwise convinc'd than by persuading him that what is a contradiction in one Nature he understands, must not be concluded to be so in another Nature he does not understand; and that the Nature of sight is such as that no allusion from any other of his senses can make him apprehend what it is. Nothing but this can silence his murmurings about contradiction.

Is it not reason then that our murmurings about contradiction in the Nature of God shou'd be silenc'd, seeing it can be told us no otherwise than by such words and allusions as are proper to Man; and that the divine Nature is infinitely more distant and diverse from the Nature of Man than one of our senses is from another? And as the contradiction the Blind-Man conceives in the Nature of sight is caus'd by his comparing it with the motion of his Legs or Arms, and that occasion'd by improper words we must use to him, all others being unintelligible to him but what have allusion to some of the senses he has: So in like manner those contradictions we conceive

ceive in the Nature of God are all occasion'd by the improper words which must be us'd to us in expressing of his Nature, all words being totally unintelligible to us, which have not allusion to something we understand. And thus we conceiving of God after the manner of Men, make all those things to be contradictions in God which in our conception of the words are a contradiction to Men: As that several Persons should not be several Men, and that the Father should not be before the Son, &c. Whereas these terms of Father, Son, Persons, &c. are not proper to the Nature of God, (tho' the most proper we can use or understand) and therefore we are not to conceive of them in the manner they are us'd and apply'd to Men, nor draw consequences from them as we do when these words are apply'd to Men: Otherwise we shall run into the like contradictions as the Blind-man about sight.

This will throw off all that the Remarker says of inferring three Gods from the term of three Persons, because it is so among Men. He talks like a Blind-man of Colours, of things which he must confess he does not understand; yet will be inferring contradictions in them: He owns he cannot speak properly of them, yet finds fault with the terms we use, because they are not proper, tho' he can find none more proper.

5. He may as well say, that God is not eternal, because we have no word to express duration higher than the word Beginning, and there can be no Beginning in Eternity.

He may say it is a contradiction that all things should be present with God, (which yet he will not deny to be an undoubted verity) because it is a contradiction to Men, that the past or future should be present, because then a thing would be past and not past, future and not future at the same time.

These and other things I mentioned in my *first Dialogue*, but the Remarker takes no notice of them, nor will own the absurdity of inferring contradictions in God from contradictions in Man, occasion'd by the improper terms we are forc'd to make use of to express God after the manner of Men.

6. But he has laid his stress upon this instance I brought of the Blind-man: And here he thinks he has an advantage of me: And I am willing to join issue with him upon it, that if he can find out any words that are proper, whereby to express the nature of sight to a Man born blind, and that he will give the Blind-man leave to draw consequences and infer contradictions from such words according as he understands them; then I will undertake to solve all the contradictions that he pretends to muster up in the terms whereby we express the Holy Trinity: And let him shew any difference betwixt these cases if he can, only this, that far greater disparity ought to be allow'd as to the propriety of words when terms belonging to Men are spoke of God, than when what belongs to one of our senses is apply'd to another.

7. And now let the Reader judge what occasion he had of thus insulting me, p. 1.

" But are you indeed (*says he to me*) so very weak as to think you move
 " all the way to *Rome*, and are got thither as soon as you think of it? No,
 " Sir, whatever haste you may be in thither, you go no faster than your
 " Legs can carry you: And should you challenge all the Philosophy in the
 " world, who have so little as not to know, that when you think of *Rome*,
 " or any other place, 'tis only the idea of it in your imagination which you
 " contemplate, and not a local motion of your thoughts to it. In like man-
 " ner, when we see the Stars our Eyes move not up to them, but their ex-
 " tended Rays strike upon the Eye. I see you have a Head much fitter for
 " entertaining and coining Mysteries, than for explaining or defending 'em.
 " It's

“ It’s a wonder you did not think rather, that *Rome* or *Constantinople*
 “ shift and come into your Head: And then since in other cases a lesser ves-
 “ sel cannot contain a greater, nor a Nutshell hold an House, you might
 “ wonder how your little Head should hold such great Cities; and with the
 “ same Philosophy infer, that what is a contradiction to Nutshells is none to
 “ Heads, and challenge all Philosophy to reconcile it.

Now, Reader, has he not fully understood me, do you think, and answer’d me smartly?

8. But will you see him freely confessing what he thus ridicules? He says in this same p. 1.

“ Indeed there may be something attributed to one Nature, where there
 “ is nothing inconsistent, or contradictory to it; while if attributed to an-
 “ other it might meet with something inconsistent, whence a contradiction
 “ will arise in the one and not in the other.

Now this is the whole of what I have been contending for: I desire no more of him: And having granted this, how can he deny that what is a contradiction in one Nature, that is, of Man, may not be so in another Nature, that is, of God? Or are there any two Natures more distant and more different than the Nature of God and of a Creature? Or do we understand the Nature of God more perfectly and clearly than our own Nature? Is it not reasonable then what I said, as he quotes my words, p. 2. *That we must not object contradictions in the incomprehensible Nature of God, from comparing it with our own; because we understand not his Nature.*

To which the Remarker says,

9. “ I should grant this in an object of which we have no knowledge at
 “ all; but surely if I have some, tho’ a partial knowledge of the infinite
 “ God, I may discern what is contradictory to that little knowledge of
 “ him: Nor is any thing more usual or just than to deny such or such a
 “ doctrine, because incompatible to the divine Attributes, to his Spirituality,
 “ Eternity, Goodness, &c.

To which I reply, that the Nature and Attributes of any thing are different: We may know the Attributes, when we cannot know the Nature; as we may see the River, but cannot reach the Spring whence it flows. And this dispute of the Trinity is not about any of the Attributes of God, but concerning his very Nature and Essence, and how his Being is compos’d, (if I might use that word) of which I may say we are totally ignorant; it is a Light inaccessible to us, we know nothing of it at all; and therefore cannot charge contradiction in the revelation that is given to us of it. If we look directly upon the Sun in its strength, we see nothing at all, it strikes us blind; but if we turn our backs, we discern the light that comes from it. The Attributes of God are the Rays of the Sun, but his Nature is the Sun itself, we cannot look upon it; it is utter darkness to us, through the excess of the Light; we can discern nothing at all in it, or say it is thus or thus, or that this or that is contradictory to it. Alas! how little do we know of our own Nature? We know it only by the effects and the qualities we find in our selves: But what it is in it self we cannot tell, we are exceedingly in the dark: And so as to the Nature of Trees, Flowers, Plants, &c. We find by experience such effects, and virtues in them, but we know not the Nature or Essence of them, no not of a pile of grass, why of that colour, shape, or virtue: How then can we know what the Nature of God is? Or can we say it is not rightly reveal’d to us in the holy Scripture? Do we know of what composition our own Souls are made? Or how they act in us? Do we know any thing at all of the Soul but by the effects? We know we think, therefore we conclude we have a Soul, but

but what that Soul is in it self, we know not: Yet we wou'd know the Nature of God!

10. This brings me to a Criticism of the Remarker upon the parallel I made use of concerning the three faculties of the Soul. He says, p. 3. *That the Memory is not another Faculty, but only an act of the Understanding.* Now I thought that the Understanding was only conversant about what was then present before it; and that the Memory brought back past things, and so made them present to the Understanding: Whence a Man may have a good Understanding, and yet a bad Memory. Do we say of the Understanding that it forgets? I take truth or falshood to be the objects of the Understanding; but is love or hatred so? A Man may have an aversion, and not know the reason of it:

*Non amo te, Sabidi, nec possum dicere quare:
Hoc tantum possum dicere, non amo te.*

Are there Antipathys in the Understanding? I think this is generally attributed to the Will, and it is agreed that it is a distinct Faculty from the Understanding. And if there be different Faculties in the same Soul, it answers all the purpose for which I brought that parallel. Nay, if it be but so thought, it does as well for me, to solve the Objection about contradiction, that Men shou'd not think a plurality of Persons in God to be a contradiction when the same difficulty arises from a plurality of Faculties in the Soul: For three Faculties can no more be one Faculty, than three Persons can be one Person; and yet these different Faculties make up but one and the self same Soul.

11. But I have sufficiently caution'd that I intend not to bring any proof from these parallels, nor lay the stress of the cause upon them; yet I thought them not altogether useless, to shew Men how far they may mistake in charging contradictions from one Nature to another.

12. I have likewise told, that no parallel in created Natures can answer exactly, or come up to the Nature of God, only point him out at a great distance, and with infinite disproportion; and therefore that we must not argue strictly from the one to the other: Yet the Remarker will not observe this, but he argues of the Persons of God as of human Persons; and says, p. 4. *If three divine Persons be the three human Persons—And if three divine Persons should as properly be accounted three Gods, as three human Persons can, in strict Speech, be accounted three Men—* Thence he infers *three Gods, &c.*

He cannot I think but see the fallacy of this argument, after all that I have said; but he will not see it; he will still argue strictly from the word Person, and apply it to God in the same manner that it is us'd among Men. If he wou'd apply the word Father so (which himself gives to God) or God's being said to repent, to grieve, &c. what work wou'd he make? What contradictions might he infer? His Brother Socinian Mr. Biddle (as I have shew'd) turn'd *Anthropomorphite* by this sort of argument, and from Man being said to be made after the Image of God, held God to have a Body, and of human shape. And he might as well have made him a Bird too, because there is mention made of his Wings and Feathers! This favours P^{sal.} xci. 4. not of the sagacity the Socinians think peculiar to themselves.

13. From the like gross conceptions the Remarker p. 7. raises difficulties how a begotten Being can be God; thinking of begetting after the manner of Men; and then the Father must be in Time, as well as in Nature before the Son. And it having been told him that supposing the Son to be eternal, its light wou'd be as eternal, he replies, p. 7. that this parallel will

do, for that the Light which (says he) *You call an effect of the Sun, is indeed the very Sun it self, so may well be as old.* By which the very Sun we see in the Firmament, and is many times bigger than the whole Earth, can creep through a Cranny, and be all of it in this room, and in a thousand other places at the same time! This will help Transubstantiation not a little: But is it so indeed that this subtle *Socinian* can see no difference betwixt the very Sun it self, and the Light that flows from it? it is then time to have done disputing with him: And he runs into as great absurdities to get rid of these parallels as he charges upon me for making use of them.

He says, (as before quoted, *Sect. 4.*) *That when we see the Stars, our Eyes move not up to them, but their extended Rays strike upon the Eye.* But if the Rays or the Light be the very Star it self, then the very Star it self strikes upon the Eye. Let him consider whether there is any thing so very gross as this in any of the parallels I have produc'd; and on whose side lies the poor Philology, and shallow Reasoning.

14. Therefore leaving this subject, I will now only answer an Objection he makes from Scripture, wherein he says, p. 2. *God Almighty is perpetually express'd in the singular Number, under one, He, Me, Thou, &c.* Now least the Reader of these *Remarks* should be carry'd away with this, I must mind him, that this *Socinian* says this, without taking any notice of the texts I have given to the contrary in the *Second Dialogue* p. 264, &c. beginning with the first of *Genesis* where God is spoken of in the plural as well as the singular Number, according to the *Hebrew*; he is there called *Gods*, and *Us*, as well as *God*, and *Me*: And is he not spoken of in the plural Number in the form of Baptism in the *Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*? The Remarker ought to have mark'd this, and ought not to have put the Objection over again, without saying something to the Answer had been made to it.

If this Sheet gives him not full satisfaction, I shall be willing to hear from him again.



A
R E P L Y
TO THE
V I N D I C A T I O N
OF THE
R E M A R K S
UPON THE
F I R S T D I A L O G U E
ON THE
Socinian Controversy.

REPLY

TO THE

VINDICATION

OF THE

REMARKS

UPON THE

FIRST DIALOGUE

ON THE

Socialist Controversy.



A REPLY to the VINDICATION of the REMARKS on the first DIA- LOGUE, &c.

SIR,

1. **Y**OUR complements to me of *poor, weak arguments, foolish, absurd, ridiculous, &c.* would have made me believe you had been very angry with me, but that at the close of your Letter you assure me, *That you are acted herein by no passion.*

2. Yet you seem mov'd at what I say of Mr. *Biddle*, who reviv'd the old exploded heresy of the *Anthropomorphites*, who held God to have a Body, and of the shape of a Man; for so they understood our being made after the Image of God, to be meant of the shape of his Body. Was your concern for Mr. *Biddle* because he was likewise a *Socinian*, and one of your principal Writers? But this looks the more suspicious and less to your advantage, because of what you say, p. 5. *I may doubt whether God be a pure Spirit, or be only a gross Body.*

3. But now, Sir, as to your *Vindication*, I might give this short *Reply*, that it is one general mistake of my *Answer* from top to bottom. You begin p. 1. with supposing, *That I admit there are irreconcilable contradictions in my scheme of Faith; and therefore, in order to support my notions, I endeavour to support the credit of plain contradictions; intimating, that we conceive of God no otherwise than as a Blind-man of sight, i. e. with a mind full of contradictions.* And you go on with this notion, and repeat it often every Page, That I allow of contradictions in the holy Trinity, and defend them.

4. If you had said I had fail'd in rescuing our Doctrine of the holy Trinity from those contradictions charg'd upon it by the *Socinians*, you had only found fault with my performance: But to say, that I allow of these contradictions and defend them, when I expressly oppose them, and you cannot but know was the very purpose and intent of my undertaking, has something in it for which I want a proper name. All I shall say, is, that if this mistake was not wilful, I have no dangerous Adversary.

5. But how came you to suppose that a Blind man thinks sight to be a contradiction? If he thought so, he cou'd not believe there was or cou'd be any such thing. There is no Blind-man but believes there is such a thing as sight, because others tell him so who have it: But he knows not what

it is, nor can we explain it to him; for we can explain it no otherwise than by allusion to some of those senses which he has: And the senses are so different from each other, that the perception of one cannot be apprehended by the perception of any of the others; and if we apply the one strictly to the other, we shall fall into contradictions, like that I mention'd of explaining the progress of sight by that of Legs: Which is a contradiction to a Man born blind, while he conceives of sight after the manner of the motion of Legs; and it would be the same contradiction for the Eyes, as for the Legs to move two yards as soon as one. Therefore the Blind-man does not suppose that the Eyes move as the Legs do, for then sight would be a downright contradiction to him, and he cou'd not believe it; but he knows this is made use of only as an allusion to him: And he supposes that the perception of sight is quite of a different Nature from the motion of Legs, and that there is no contradiction in it, tho' he knows not what it is.

6. And thus it is that we conceive of the holy Trinity: We know it is of a quite different Nature from three Men, or any three upon Earth; yet we must speak of it after the manner of Men, for we can talk no otherwise. But if we will therefore apply strictly every thing of three Men to the three Persons in the Deity, we shall fall into manifold contradictions, like the Blind-man who would measure sight by the motion of Legs: But then, as the Blind-man believes sight, and that there is no contradiction in it, and is sensible that the seeming contradiction arises only from pursuing the parallel of Legs and Eyes too strictly; so we believe that there is no contradiction at all in the holy Trinity of God, but that the seeming contradiction arises only from our applying too strictly what is spoke of God, after the manner of Men: For we have no words whereby we can speak properly of God; as we have none whereby to speak of sight or colours to a Blind-man.

7. I once discours'd with a Man born blind, and having explain'd sight to him as well as I cou'd, I at last ask'd him what he thought it was like: And after considering a little, he said he thought it was like a Wheel: A Wheel! said I; why a Wheel? Because, said he, you tell me that sight perceives several things at once, and things distant as soon as things nearer hand: Now when a Wheel turns swift round, I feel all the parts of it almost at the same time, and the farthest part of the rimm is presently next to me. I profess I cou'd not mend his notion, nor find any word whereby to express sight more to his apprehension. Now then suppose the word Wheel were pitch'd upon to express sight to Men born blind; yet they would not think sight to be a Wheel, nor think there were those contradictions in sight which might evidently be infer'd from its being a Wheel; because they would know at the same time, that it was but a borrow'd word, by way of allusion, and not strictly and properly belonging to sight, nor fully expressive of it.

8. And may we not make the like allowance as to the word Person when apply'd to God? We have not a word more proper: And yet if we apply it to God, with all the properties and qualifications belonging to Men, what mistakes and even contradictions may we fall into? Which yet will not imply any contradiction in God: But what so seems arises only from our conceiving of God after the manner of Men.

9. If you then ask me, why we make use of such words? I answer, because we have no better: And (as you say p. 7. of God's being said to repent, grieve, &c.) *I shou'd not dare to use them of God, if the Scripture had not done it.* If the Scripture had not told us of three in Heaven, we had never spoke of a Trinity: But when these things are reveal'd to us, we

are oblig'd to receive them, and not to be pert in charging contradictions upon them; which after all arises only from the weakness and over-weening of our own Understanding, and our mistakes in measuring the Nature of God proportionable to our own.

10. Now, Sir, I hope you will find reason to alter the state of the question, as you put it upon me, p. 2. where you say to me, *You are not to shew that a seeming contradiction may be none (for who knows not that?) but that a real contradiction may, in some cases, be none.* Sir, I utterly except against this state of the question; it is none of mine: I never undertook to prove that a contradiction is not a contradiction; that would make me as ridiculous as you have call'd me; and you might triumph over me as you pleas'd, if you could fix this upon me. Did I ever say, that three Persons in God was a contradiction? Have I not taken pains to shew that there is no contradiction in it? And that the seeming contradiction arises only from our explaining it after the manner of three Persons among Men? And have I not given reasons against thus explaining it? Whether my reasons are good or bad is not now the question: But this is sufficient to clear me from your charge of maintaining, *That a real contradiction may, in some cases, be none.* There is no case wherein a contradiction is not a contradiction; but there may be a real contradiction in one case, which in another case may be but a seeming contradiction: And I hope these ought to be distinguish'd.

11. I endeavour'd to illustrate this by the instance of the Blind-man; which you thus retort upon me, p. 2. where you repeat these words as mine, *"Tis impossible to explain to him what sight is, so as to reconcile it from being a contradiction to him.* I answer (say you) that a true and just explication of it will not contain any real contradiction; 'tis from his mistake alone.

Now pray, Sir, how is this an answer to me? Have not I said the same? *'Tis from his mistake alone.* That's true: But whence came this mistake? Was it not from the explication was given him of sight? But you say, *that a true and just explication of it will not contain any real contradiction.* I have try'd my hand, and I confess I cannot give a true and just explication of sight to a Man born blind: Neither have you, which you ought to have done when you found fault with mine. But it is not yet too late; pray, Sir, do it; and give such a true and just explication of sight as will not contain any real contradiction to the blind Man: I mean a contradiction in your explanation, not in the nature of the thing; for the Blind-man himself does not think sight to be a contradiction; for he wishes for it, and bemoans the want of it. But he will find real contradictions in whatever explanation of it (I dare say) you can give by allusion to any of his four senses: Yet he will not think the fifth sense, which he wants, to be any contradiction, only that it cannot be explain'd to him: And he believes what he does not understand. Yet the *Socinians* make this absurd and ridiculous when we apply it to the like humbling of our Understanding as to the incomprehensible Nature of God! The Blind-man believes, what he knows not nor can understand, from the testimony of other Men, who tell him they have sight; which yet they cannot explain to him without manifold contradictions as to him: All which hinders not his belief of it; for he considers his own defect. But we will not receive the testimony of God in the revelations he has given us of his holy Trinity, because we understand it not; nor can explain it so as to be free from all difficulty according to our apprehension of things! We will consider nothing of our own defects, in seeking to comprehend what we own to be incomprehensible!

If you say, that the doctrine of the Trinity is not reveal'd in the holy Scriptures, and that this is the dispute; then let it be the dispute: That is the subject I have undertaken in these Dialogues; and that the holy Scriptures were so understood in the first and purest ages. But as to your objections about contradiction, I hope I have given sufficient satisfaction; and that it is made yet plainer by these repeated objections of yours.

If I have us'd too many words, it is from that difficulty you put upon your own Understanding to mistake my meaning, for I believe it was plain enough to others before: But I grudge not my pains to you.

12. Was it from this willingness to mistake that you charge me, p. 3. with saying, *that a contradiction is sometimes no contradiction, which is what you said*, say you to me? Now I dare say I never said it, because I never thought it: Nor can any one think it. Why did you not quote where I said so? Or else tell how you did infer it? Tho' your inferring and my saying are two things. Is this the way you take to make me ridiculous?

13. In the same p. 3. you expostulate, "Why God should impose upon a generation of Men born blind, a long Creed, of the Nature of Light and Refractions, and Colours, and a system of Opticks, &c."

I suppose, Sir, you do not mean this for an argument: And as to the reflexion upon our Creed, you will find more spite than sense in it. The doctrine of the Trinity was necessary towards that of the Satisfaction, which is the heart of Christianity, as I have shew'd in the *sixth Dialogue*, p. 353, &c. And it is reveal'd short and plain, as a great Mystery, not to be too nicely enquir'd into: And it had remain'd in the plain native Scripture terms to this day, but for the *Arians* and other hereticks, who invented new distinctions to evade this article of Faith, and forc'd the Church to follow them herein, in order to confute them, and preserve the Faith: Yet these now charge those terms and distinctions upon the Church!

14. You say to me, p. 4. "You need not pretend to wonder, *how I can deny, that what is a contradiction in one nature, may yet be none in another*:" I should wonder more, if I did not deny such an absurdity.

And yet in the same page you say to me, "You know they (the *Unitarians*) don't deny that some things may be contradictions if affirm'd of Men, which are none when said of God."

Is not this the very absurdity you wonder you should not deny? Yet don't you confess it? *That what is a contradiction in one Nature, may be none in another*. This is absurd in me! But when you say it, it is easy!

15. I had said, that it was a contradiction to Men that past or future should be present, but that it was not so with God, to whom all things are present. To which you reply, p. 4.

"That it is no contradiction for a past thing to be objectively present in the idea—— And that so it is with God, who does not behold the *Chaos* as now existing void of form, nor does he judge *Adam* and *Eve* to be now in their first innocence: I doubt some are fond of making abundance of needless contradictions, on purpose to keep some darling absurdities of their own in countenance."

Sir, this was entering upon your triumph too soon, for you are not yet quite escap'd from me: You by this make no more of all things being present with God, than that he has a good Memory, and forgets nothing. But is there no more in the case? Is his duration then by succession of time, like ours? Is part of his duration lost, and irrecoverably gone, like our yesterday? And does it now remain only objectively present in his Memory? Does he now only remember what he was many years ago? If he can remember, or has a Memory, then some of his time is past. We say Eternity is but one instant; but how it comprehends time within it we cannot tell:

tell; for we can speak of it no otherwise than in words of time: But it will be the same when time shall be no more, as it was before time had a being; there is no past or future with God, and things are present to him otherwise than by way of Memory. And if we say the same of Men, it will be contradiction upon contradiction: And so it will be if we measure his Eternity by our time. And as daring is it to measure his Nature by our Nature, or his Persons by our Persons; and to say this or that must be contradictory in him, because it is so with us: When we know, that the words by which we express him are proper only to us, and apply'd to him but by way of allusion; and as improper as when we speak of his Eternity in our words of time.

16. Your fifth page is taken up with arguments, shewing, that tho' we know not the Nature of God perfectly, yet we know so much of it, at least negatively, that we may discover contradictions to it in several particulars, which would argue Imperfection or Mutability in God, as that he should lie, or cease to be, &c. All which I readily grant. But then you insist that this makes against my position, that we are not to object contradictions in a Nature we do not understand, that is, wherein we do not understand it; as in a Blind-man's judging of Colours, by which I explain'd it. I grant there are general contradictions may be said of any thing, as that the same thing should be and not be at the same time, &c. But these are not contradictions that respect any particular Nature more than another: And my subject was concerning a contradiction in a particular Nature, and this infer'd from a seeming parallel instance in another Nature. In which case I say we must understand both Natures, else we cannot draw an inference from the one to the other; as a Blind-man cannot argue from Legs to Eyes, nor infer contradictions from the one to the other, because he understands not the nature of sight, and therefore cannot judge: Far less can we judge of the Personalities of God by the Personalities of Men, because of the infinitely greater distance and diversity of their Natures.

To this you say, (*ibid.*) "that tho' we cannot argue from the resemblance of the one to the other, yet thus much we may conclude in the general, that three Persons cannot be but one Person:" Which I never deny'd.

"Especially (say you to me) when your self had granted to the Socinian, that it is a contradiction to say, three Persons (in God) are but one Person which I represented to you was what the Socinians charg'd your scheme with; and therefore you were bound (but would not attempt it) to shew, that this contradiction is not chargeable upon you.

But, Sir, how could you say I did not attempt it? when at the same time you insist that I granted it to be a contradiction, that three Persons (in God) are but one Person: Then surely I did not say, that three Persons were but one Person, nor thought our scheme chargeable with this. In the *first Dialogue*, p. 224. you will find the contents on the margin to be, *That there is no contradiction in those terms by which we express the holy Trinity.* Did I not then attempt to shew, that this contradiction is not chargeable upon us? And your Socinian does very little understand the christian scheme, when he charges it with holding three Persons to be but one Person. How he will infer it from that scheme is one thing, but to charge the scheme with it is ridiculous, when the scheme does expressly deny it.

And pray consider whether all those arguments by which you would infer this from our scheme, do not proceed from the resemblance you make betwixt the Personalities of Men and of God? which you have granted me ought not to be done. You argue from *Peter, James, and John*, to *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*. And here it is I shew you the disparity, and that no true arguing can lie if we will carry on the comparison in all its

parts, and that strictly and properly: For those words that are proper to *Peter, James, and John*, are not so to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and yet we can use none other: But then we must not argue strictly from the one to the other, knowing that those words which are proper to the one, are to be understood but by way of allusion (and that at an infinite distance) when apply'd to the other.

You say *ibid.* (p. 5.) *I don't in this case object a contradiction in God, from a supposition that his Nature is resembled by mine.* Now I will undertake to shew, that all the contradictions you object as to the holy Trinity, do every one of them proceed from this very supposition: And if so, then you have determin'd the cause against your self. You say, that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost cannot be one God. Why so? Because *Peter, James, and John* cannot be one Man. Is not this arguing from the supposition, that the Nature of God is resembled by ours? And so it is of all the rest of your objections; there is none of them but what is built upon this supposition which you disclaim.

Now, Sir, keep from these contradictions you object merely from the resemblance you suppose betwixt the Nature of God, and our Nature; and you and I will not differ as to other contradictions may be said of God, as, that he shou'd be and not be at the same time; that he shou'd not be infinite, eternal, &c. for these contradictions are not infer'd from any resemblance betwixt his Nature and ours.

17. This will answer the absurdities you wou'd infer from our Doctrine, p. 6. As that it wou'd bring Men to Scepticism, when the *most absurd things that can be said of God are not to be confuted, because not knowing his Nature, we must not say any thing is in contradiction to it—For you can't tell whether a denial of a Trinity be not consistent with a Trinity, according to you, because it is about the Nature of God, and not understanding that, we must not object contradictions here.*

I repeat this, only to shew how wildly you run Riot; for it is answer'd above: Because I wou'd not have you infer contradictions in God from the resemblance you suppose (and yet deny it) betwixt his Nature and ours; therefore you think nothing whatsoever can be contradictory to God; that is, you will have no God at all, unless you can have such a one as is in all respects like unto Men, and whose Nature must be measur'd by their Nature: You say to me, (*ibid.*)

18. “Nay since you say we know not the Nature of Man, (perhaps he “may be three Persons and one Man) nor of Trees, or a pile of Grass, we “cannot then urge contradictions about them, and so cannot argue about “the Nature of any thing—And so we can prove or be certain of no- “thing.

“Nay, we cannot confute Transubstantiation, for we know not the Na- “ture of Bread and Flesh (for sense cannot reach that) and so may not ob- “ject contradictions in the case.

Thus you, Sir; and you are the first Man ever I heard, talk at this rate: It looks like some discomposure—But I will turn it all upon your self: Therefore tell me, do you pretend to know the Nature and Essence of these things, which you say sense cannot reach? If not, (as I presume you will say, but am not sure, considering the flights you have taken already) then Sir, it lies upon you to answer all these extravagancies you have put to me; for I am not answerable for them more than your self: As to your objection of Transubstantiation, I refer you to what I have said of it in the *first Dialogue*, p. 233, &c. And for all the rest look you to it.

19. You next object the terms in the Creed; which is answer'd before *Sect. 13.* but you add, *Why you shou'd be oppressed or anathematiz'd for*

your

your dissent from these terms, when you assent to the text whence they are infer'd?

This is the plea of all Hereticks; but it returns upon themselves: They first invent wicked and heterodox glosses upon such texts, which cannot be detected by their saying they assent to the texts, for that is still in their own sense, and they delude many: This obliges the Church to make use of terms to obviate these false glosses, and to preserve the Faith. The Devil quoted texts to our blessed Saviour, but with wicked intent: It is the meaning, and not the letters is the Faith. The Quakers can repeat the whole Creed, and yet not mean one word of it in the christian sense; but all that is said of God, and of *Christ*, his birth, passion, death, resurrection, ascension, and coming to judgment, they turn to what they call their Light within. Therefore when we deal with these Men, we must add new terms even to the Creed, to obviate their lurking heresy: Instead of *Christ* we must say the *outward Christ*, because they hold none but what is inward; that is, their Light within themselves; and so in many other cases: Therefore it is not the Church, but the Hereticks are to be charg'd with this.

20. Your third objection p. 6. is where you say to me,

“ You cou'd not confute the Pagan notions of the divine Nature
“ your way: Supposing they held many Gods, or that there is but one
“ divine Nature, and all the thousands of particular Gods but a multitude
“ of Persons in that one Nature (as you suppose many Men in but one
“ human Nature) you cou'd not confute them, by the light of Reason at
“ least, because you allow not contradictions to be an argument here.

This is still running upon your old mistake, for I do allow contradictions to be an argument here; and say, that you can find none such in the Doctrine of the holy Trinity. The *Pagans* added daily to the number of their Gods, and deify'd a Man to day, who was no God yesterday: And therefore they cou'd not think that the thousands of their particular Gods were Persons inherent and essential in the divine Nature; for then they must have been always so. And I cou'd confute them by the light of Reason, if they thought that any thing cou'd be made God, in the proper sense; for that God cannot be made. I wou'd confute them by the same argument I do the *Socinians* in the like case, who say, That *Christ was made God*, as I have shew'd in my *Second Letter*, p. 220. So that the *Socinians* and the *Pagans* come in here upon the like foot: Nay, the *Pagans* have the advantage in Reason; for they did not think those whom they made Gods to be the supreme God; but they had several ranks and classes of inferior Gods, who had particular Provinces assign'd them, under the one and supreme God. But the *Socinians* will have *Christ* to be the one and supreme God, and that he was made so: As the *Racovian Catechism* says, *Unum eundemque secum effecit*; That God made him one and the self-same with himself: On which account they pay divine worship to *Christ*, the same as to God himself; *Eo pacto quo ipsi Deo*.

Now I would desire the Vindicator to tell me, how a *Socinian* could confute a *Pagan*? For the *Pagan* might say to him, if one can be made a God, why not another, and another to the end of the chapter? And he might charge the *Socinian* with downright Polytheism; for if one be made God, he must be different from him that made him: And so there are two Gods. If you say he is the same, then it will follow that the same God was made and not made; was before himself, and made himself; was once not God, yet always was God: And many more such like palpable contradictions.

By this time, Sir, you will be sensible what advantage you have gain'd by bringing in this argument from the *Pagans*.

21. You

21. You come to your Philosophy at the end of p. 6. which is very extraordinary. You will not let the Understanding and the Memory be two Faculties, because of the parallel for which I brought it. I said that the Understanding was conversant about what was present to it. You answer, that things past may be made present to it, as when one is told of things past which he did not know before: But then this is the first time they were present to the Understanding. I see no opposition you give to me in this.

I ask'd you if the Understanding is said to forget? You answer here, as much as the Memory. But this is a language of your own: The World says otherwise. If a Man forgets a thing, it is common to say, my Memory fails me: By which is not meant that he is a Fool, and has no Understanding: On the contrary, as I told you, it is a common saying, *That the greatest Wits have the worst Memories*. And we see in old Men their Memory fail, yet their Understanding as good as ever.

But you fall unmercifully upon me, (beginning of p. 7.) and say to me, "Nay, you are so tenacious, that whether there be really three faculties in the Soul or not, you say it does as well for you if it be but thought so; right or wrong 'tis all one to you: you will hold to the Conclusion, let what will become of the premises: This is true courage!"

Not so very stout neither, for I see no danger in it: But is it really so, that you cannot find out the reason of this? Is it for want of Memory or Understanding? But I will try to clear your Eye-sight: Know then the meaning is, that Men don't use to think contradictions; therefore whatever becomes of your dispute and mine about the three Faculties of the Soul, yet if it be a common opinion, (which you will not deny) it will follow that it is no contradiction whether it be true or false: Unless you think it is common to Men to believe contradictions; and then objecting it as to the Trinity will be no great matter; it will be no more than what Men do every day in twenty other things.

I gave you another instance, of which you take no notice: Therefore to refresh your Understanding (I mean your Memory, for you know 'tis all one) I will send you to it again: You will find it p. 225. of the *first Dialogue* (which I suppose you have read, because you made Remarks upon it, tho' that does not always follow) there you see an old saying, before you or I were born, *That the Soul is all in all, and all in every part of the Body*. I suppose you have heard of *Tota in toto, et tota in qualibet parte*. Now, as to my present purpose, I am not concern'd whether this or the more modern *Hypothesis* takes place: But this is not charg'd with contradiction, it was the common and receiv'd opinion, and maintain'd by great and wise Philosophers; and it wou'd be a flat contradiction to say the same of Body, that it cou'd be in several places at once: Therefore that may be a contradiction in one Nature which is none in another. This is the use I had to make of it.

I suppose, Sir, you think that the Soul does not consist of parts, nor can be cut or slic'd in pieces like a Body, and that it wou'd be a contradiction to affirm this of the Soul; which yet is very easy as to Body: And therefore you will grant that a contradiction cannot be infer'd from the one to the other, because of the difference of their Natures. Far less, say I, can a contradiction be infer'd in God, from the Nature of Man.

Now, Sir, is this plain to you? Have I beat it into your Head at last? I wou'd not have us'd so many words to another: Was it your Memory or Understanding that forgot it?

But pray, Sir, tell me, whether wou'd you rather be thought a Man of a weak Memory, or of a shallow Understanding? It will be in vain for you

you to say they are the same; for the World makes a difference: And if you will not chuse, they will chuse for you.

Therefore be not tenacious (as you advise me,) for if it be but thought so, your work is done: And shew not your courage in despising this as an inconsiderable argument; I have all the World against you, and they will distinguish betwixt your Memory and Understanding: And if you will not let the one be a little treacherous, they will think the other very simple.

22. Of which you have given a suspicion in what you say here, that three Faculties in one Soul will be no parallel for what I brought it, *Nor will it resemble* (say you to me) *what the Unitarians object to you, how three Persons can be but one Person; unless instead of three Faculties making but one Soul, you had shewn that three Faculties make but one Faculty.* I say this is strange forgetfulness in you (for I accuse not your Understanding) when in my *Answer to your Remarks*, and the very place you are now upon, *Sect. 10. p. 389.* I say, *That three Faculties can no more be one Faculty, than three Persons can be one Person:* And you have quoted me here, p. 5. saying, *That it is a contradiction to say, three Persons (in God) are but one Person.* Yet all this you forget, and here, p. 6. you object to us Christians, that we hold *three Persons to be but one Person.* And immediately after in the beginning of p. 7. you say,—*It does not answer the parallel in that point (of three being but one in the same sense) for which I bring it.* Strange Memory again! Did I ever bring a parallel to prove, or did I ever say, *That three can be but one in the same sense?* Have I not been careful to explain my self in this, *That God is not three and one, in the same respect?* Which I grant wou'd be a contradiction: And this very contradiction I have fairly fixt upon one set of your *Unitarians*, in my *first Letters*, p. 214. Let this Vindicator rid them of it if he can: Let him read p. 224. of the *first Dialogue*, upon which he remarks, and see whether I have not fully express'd my self as to this of the *same sense* or the *same respect*; but he will not remember it; and will go on to charge contradictions, by putting those terms upon us, which we disown, and utterly condemn.

23. In the same p. 7. he is quarrelling with the word *Person*, and says,
“ If you assign to the sacred three all the various parts and distinctions of
“ Persons in a proper sense, and for that reason do give 'em these charac-
“ ters; how can considering Men think, you don't design by it, to give
“ 'em an idea of three proper Persons in one eternal He?

Sir, You have forgot again: You said, p. 5. *I don't object a contradiction in God, from a supposition that his Nature is resembled by mine.* And here you object it from nothing else but from that supposition: What else do you mean by putting the word proper to Person? Is it not intended to denote an human Person, that is, whatever is proper to it? And is not this the meaning of those parts and distinctions of Persons you speak of; that there shou'd be the same parts and distinctions in the Persons of God, as in the Persons of Men? Wou'd you then have parts in God, because it is so with Men? Why else do you put in that word? I doubt not as the Unity of the Nature of God is infinitely more perfect than the Unity of Man, so that the distinction of the Persons of the Deity is likewise more perfect than the distinctions of the Persons of Men; but in a manner ineffable, incomprehensible to us, and not to be measur'd by the various parts and distinctions of our Persons: From which method of argument, tho' you disown it, yet you cannot refrain: You may as well infer Sexes in God, whom you call an eternal He; then not a She. Do you mean this by the various parts and distinctions in human Persons? And for that reason do you

give these characters to God? Or is it because you cannot express him otherwise? Then you must not stick too close to your proper sense, that God shou'd be like our Persons in a proper sense, with all our various parts, &c. This comes too near your Friend Mr. Biddle. See *Section 2.*

24. But if these expressions of God are not proper, then you infer they must be figurative; and you quote me saying, That *the texts which speak of the holy Trinity are not figurative.* Dial. I. p. 233. where I was speaking of the comparison the *Socinians* make betwixt the Trinity and Transubstantiation, and wou'd infer the like absurdities from the one as the other. Upon which I shew'd several figures in the words of Institution of the holy Sacrament, as where the Cup is put for the Wine in it, *Continens pro contento*, and several others: But I said there was no figures in the texts which reveal the holy Trinity. What figure is there in saying, *Baptize in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost?* And that *these three are one?* And that the *Word was God?* I desire you to name the figure. Pray did you mean any figure when you call God a He? And what figure was it? But I find by this argument that you wou'd have it taken strictly and properly, as you speak: And by the various parts you wou'd have in God, and properly too, and by giving us leave, p. 5. at least to *doubt whether God be a pure Spirit, or be only a gross Body*, I cannot help doubting whether you are not an *Anthropomorphite*. I will not put it upon you: But your expressions favour it: And if I guess wrong, yet this you will see by it, that when we speak of God in words relating to Man (for we have none other) we must beware of taking those words in a strict and proper sense, else we may be betray'd into gross and fatal errors. There are words that are not proper (for want of better) as in the present case, and yet are not figurative: What figure is it to say that Eternity is an instant? Yet we are sure the expression is not proper; nor can we mend it, because we have no word that is proper whereby to express Eternity, or a perpetual duration without succession of time.

25. But you sum up the matter in the next Paragraph, and say, "So that the difficulty is no other, than how a deriv'd dependent Being can be God." Which the *Unitarians* insist on much.

To which I answer, First, That if the *Unitarians* insist on this, they must quite discard the *Socinians*, and renounce the *Racovian* Catechism, which hitherto has been their text: This is shew'd *Seet. 20.* And yet you, Sir, justify the *Socinians* and *Unitarians* in common, and use these words promiscuously, as meaning the same thing. I desire therefore that you wou'd distinguish these, and let us know what side you are of: Let not the World be confounded with two Sticks that say they are one, and yet are direct opposites, and in flat contradiction to each other. The *Socinians* say that the *Unitarians* are no Christians; and the *Unitarians* think the *Socinians* to be rank Idolaters: As I have shew'd in my *second Letter*, Num. III. p. 218, &c.

26. But now, Secondly, as to your difficulty it self, I must refer you back again to my *first Dialogue* on which you have made *Remarks*: There *Seet. III.* is a direct answer to your difficulty, which you have overlook'd. I told you, p. 227. that if it were essential to a Man to be a Father (as we say it is in God) the Son must be as old as the Father, and yet derivative from him: Of this you take no notice.

But I gave another illustration, that of Light and Heat in the Sun, which proceed from the Sun, and yet are as old as it. To which you say in your *Remarks*, p. 7. that the *Light is indeed the very Sun itself, so may well be*

be as old. To which I said in my *Answer*, p. 390. that there must be a difference, because the Light can break through a little cranny, which the Sun cannot. To this you reply in your *Vindication*, p. 7. That the Light, is not the whole Sun, only a part of it, and that this part may creep through a cranny, &c. And you make your self very merry with me upon this occasion, and tell me, I have derided you to my cost! But, Sir, I must have a little of your help still. For if a part be taken from a Body, it is less than it was: And considering what vast parts of the Sun (if Light be a part) have been taken from it by its continual shining ever since it was made, it must needs be much less than it was. One wou'd think it should have been worn out by this time! And the parts it has lost by all the Light that ever has been in the World, must be much greater, and many more than what remains! Besides all the Heat too that has come from the Sun—— For I suppose you will allow the Heat to be a part of the Sun as well as the Light. And then here has been consumption enough to have wasted a hundred Suns! And the Sun had sweated himself to death long before this by all these *Effluvia* you speak of! You say, the *streams of Light are a part of that huge luminous mass*: But if it had been ten times as huge, those streams (if parts of it) had run it dry, for they are much more than the fountain! And the river is bigger than the ocean it runs into!

Then again, if a Man takes the dimensions of any Body, does he not measure all the parts of it? Else it is not a true survey. Now if the Light be a part of the Sun, what a vast Body will this make! Even as far as the Light of the Sun extends! And by this the Sun will be as big as the Firmament in which it moves, and contains not only the Sun, but the Moon, and innumerable Stars which all receive their Light from the Sun, besides the whole Earth, and all the Air. And they say there are some Stars bigger than the Sun itself—— But that must be only bigger than that small part of it we see in the Firmament! And it must be much the smallest part in comparison of those other parts of it which fill the whole Firmament!

And will not the same reason make the light of a candle a part of the candle? And then when a candle is lighted, it encreases wonderfully, and can fill a great Hall! And when it is put out, it loses more parts than would make ten thousand candles, and yet is never the lesser, but just the same candle it was before!

Sir, suppose I light you down stairs with a candle in my hand, is part of that candle in your hand because you have a handful of the light of it?

And will you rather struggle with all this, than admit of any parallel which may reconcile the doctrine of the holy Trinity to the apprehensions of Men, and save it from those contradictions you charge upon it?

You despise the parallels I have made use of, and have taken a great deal of pains to fix absurdities upon them. But whether you have not fallen into greater to avoid them, I leave to your cooler thoughts; and whether you have not derided me to your own cost: And if you have taken from me the occasion yet to say, O subtle *Socinian*! And to return to you the advice you give me, when in the conclusion of your Farce you say to me,

“ I heartily wish, Sir, you would entertain the Coffee-Houses for one year with a course of your Philosophy; I dare promise you many admirers: And when that has prevail'd, no doubt but your Divinity will go off.

27. After this you say (for I would miss none of your arguments) that there is one text, *Psal. xlv. 7.* where the word *Elohim* is us'd in the singular

lar number, (for which I will take your word at present) but you deny not that it is generally taken in the plural: Which is sufficient to overthrow your objection, that God is always spoken of in the singular, as *I, Thou, He, &c.* And as to his being mention'd likewise in the plural, you put it off with the modern style of Princes, who say *We* for the greater majesty, as it is now thought. But I believe you will not find this fashion of style to have been so old as *Moses*: I remember it not in all the history of the Bible. And can any imagine that God at the Creation should take the plural style to himself, and say, *Let us make Man in our Image, after our Likeness*, in prospect only that the like plural style would be taken up by worldly Princes? Is it not much more probable that the Princes should rather take it up and think it more majestick, because it had been us'd by God himself? But by this defence you own that God is spoken of in the plural as well as the singular number.

28. In your last paragraph, p. 8. you, who are against imposing terms and for keeping strictly to the Scripture language, take upon you to impose new terms of three infinite Minds; and this so peremptorily, that you say, *Till I state my notion* (in these terms) *all my comments on other texts are arrows shot at no mark*: And as a general answer to them all, you say to me,

“ Your expositions are precarious, or go no higher than *Arianism*, or
“ are obviated oft in the *Socinian* comments; and in answering their texts
“ you are as modest as if you had said nothing.

Sir, I was not asking your character of my performance: If you had given any answer to what I have said, you should be welcome; but this only shews you are angry, and that I have said enough to give you disturbance.

29. Your last demand of me, p. 8. is in these words, “ Pray, Sir, tell us
“ whereabouts your answer is to the text, *of that day knoweth my Father*
“ *only*, which some cannot find among your answer'd texts— And no text
“ is more urg'd by the *Unitarians*.

Sir, I will gratify you all I can: Tho' if you had read but the first page of my *fourth Dialogue*, you might have satisfied your self; for there I give one general answer to those texts which speak of the human Infirmities of *Christ*, as his being passible, improvable, rewardable, &c. Where by improvable, I meant the text you mention, and that when he spake those words that Day might not have been reveal'd to him; for he knew not all things at once. It is said *Luke* ii. 52. *Jesus encreased in Wisdom and Stature, &c.* All which shew his state as to Man, but have no relation to his divine Nature, which communicated to his human as he thought fit.

30. You conclude thus to me,

“ I assure you I am acted herein by no passion, except it be a passionate
“ desire of seeing our holy christian Religion rescu'd from the burden of con-
“ tradictions.

Sir, if you think the *Socinians* concern'd in Christianity, or Christianity with them, and have so passionate a desire to see it rescu'd from the burden of contradictions, you would do well to consider *Seet. 11.* of my *Preface* to these Dialogues; for there you will find more flagrant and irreconcilable contradictions among the *Socinians*, and among the *Unitarians* too, than any they charge upon our doctrine: And then chuse which you think most free from contradictions.

31. But I have one word more. If you were acted herein by no passion or prejudice, what needed that sly insinuation you give, p. 4. of my being

Author

Author of that Book call'd the *Regale*, and coming in with that mob-objection of endeavouring to reconcile the *Gallican* and *English* Churches? I wish I could reconcile all the Churches in the world; but this was going out of your way to reach a blow at me: This had no relation to the dispute in which you and I were engag'd; it was hall'd in perfectly by head and shoulders: But you have told me I must not lay it upon passion or prejudice, and so I forgive you.

32. And now, Sir, I have gone over your whole *Vindication*: I think I have left nothing in it which I have not answer'd; because you complain'd I had not answer'd your *Remarks* fully enough. I have us'd many more words than I thought necessary to intelligent Readers; but I was resolv'd to make things plain, that you might not mistake my meaning (if possible) another time: And I shall be very willing to hear from you again, how this pleases you.

I have divided mine into Sections, that I might not ramble, but keep close to one thing at once: If you did the like, it would save you many repetitions.



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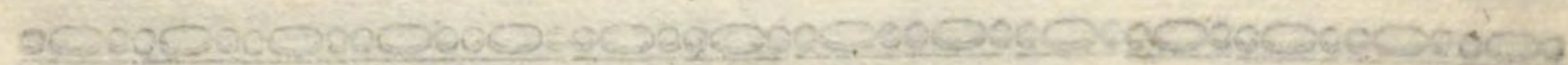
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A N S W E R
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E X A M I N A T I O N
O F T H E
L A S T D I A L O G U E,

Relating to the
Satisfaction of *JESUS CHRIST*,

I N A
LETTER to the AUTHOR:

W I T H A
S U P P L E M E N T

In Answer to
Mr. *CLENDON*'s Treatise of the Word *PERSON*.



AN ANSWER

TO THE

EXAMINATION

OF THE

LAST DIALOGUE

Relating to the

Satisfaction of JESUS CHRIST

IN A

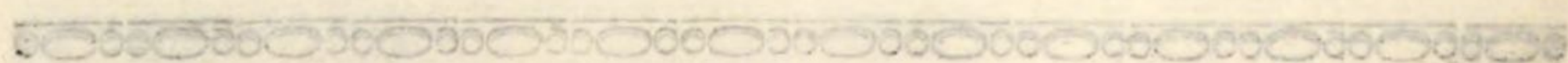
LETTER to the AUTHOR:

WITH A

SUPPLEMENT

In Answer to

MR. CLEWDON'S Treatise of the Word PERSON.





An ANSWER *to the* EXAMINATION
ON *of the last* DIALOGUE, &c.

SIR,



INCE you still continue your rude treatment of me, I will mind you no more of it, because I see you cannot help it.

I. Therefore without more prefacing I come to the point. Your great Objection against the Doctrine of the Satisfaction is its seeming inconsistency with the free Grace of God: For thus you say in your first page, which is mark'd p. 3. *They (the Socinians) can bear with any notions here, which don't subvert the Justice of God, or sully the glory of his free Grace in the pardon of sin.* Again you say at the end of p. 7.

“ It may perhaps appear, that the honour of God's Government, and
“ the ends of Piety, are at least as well provided for by free Pardon, as
“ by an equivalent Satisfaction. Certain it is, that love to God is the no-
“ blest root of all pious endeavours; and as certain that the less free Grace
“ we believe there is in God's Pardon the less we shall love him: For *to*
“ *whom little is forgiven, the same will love but little*, Luke vii. 47.

Now, Sir, if this argument proves any thing, it will infer, that if any condition be impos'd towards our forgiveness, or any punishment, tho' never so little, be inflicted upon us for our sins, then we shou'd love God the less; for it is the less a free gratuitous Pardon: Nay, it cannot be perfectly free and gratuitous, if any thing at all be requir'd of us for it; and so, to use your own words, *it will sully the glory of God's free Grace in the pardon of sin.*

How then came you to give this account of the dispute betwixt us and the Socinians, as you set it down p. 3. where you say,

“ The most pinching and obvious argument which the Unitarians in-
“ sist on, is, the inconsistency of a strict, equivalent, meritorious Satisfac-
“ tion, with free gratuitous Pardon.

In this you are pleas'd to call me very ignorant, and that none ever ma- nag'd the matter more feebly, or more unfairly, and that *I have but just*

dipp'd into the Controversy, and don't so much as understand the true state of it.

But this shall not put me off: I will pretend to understand so much, that a free gratuitous Pardon (in the sense you mean it) is not only inconsistent with a strict equivalent meritorious Satisfaction, but with any Satisfaction, Condition, or Punishment whatsoever.

II. I think that the strict meritorious Satisfaction of *Christ* is no ways inconsistent with the free Grace of God in the pardon of sin: For that as the Justice of God did require such a Satisfaction, because less is no Satisfaction (for what is not a compleat Satisfaction, is not a Satisfaction;) so God's giving *Christ* to us to make this Satisfaction, was perfectly free and gratuitous in him, without any merit of ours, or claim that we cou'd lay to it, and so we attribute our Pardon to his free Grace: Thus the Satisfaction is compleat, and yet the Grace perfectly free.

III. I come now, Sir, to the answer you give to this: You say, p. 12. *Tho' all conditions are not inconsistent with free Grace; yet all strictly meritorious are so*: This you barely say, but offer not one word of proof: And I am not so ignorant as to accept your naked assertion, without some reason for it. You bring in the case of ransom, and say, p. 13.

" And even, where a ransom in the most proper sense is given, it does
" not suppose an equivalent, but whatever shall be agreed on: *Exod. xxi.*
" 30, 32. *Thirty Shekels of Silver* was the ransom of the most precious
" valuable life, if it happen'd to be forfeited by the Law there mention'd;
" which was next to no consideration, if lives were as precious then as
" now.

But, Sir, your next to no consideration will not do; for there was a consideration, and any consideration is inconsistent with a free gratuitous Pardon: If I am oblig'd to pay thirty Shekels to save my life, or to discharge a debt of ten thousand Talents, no Man can say, that I was freely forgiven; because if I have not the Shekels to pay, I must die the death, and am liable to the whole debt.

Sir, You do me a great credit to join me with the learned Dr. *Stillington* in this argument; and I must excuse your treatment of me, since you use him little better: You repeat an argument of his in these words, *That Pardon was not inconsistent with Sacrifices of atonement, and why shou'd it be more inconsistent with the Sacrifice of Christ?* To this you answer p. 12. and say,

" 'Tis not inconsistent with *Christ's* Sacrifice, but with his meritorious
" equivalent Satisfaction; and therefore Pardon agreed with the legal atone-
" ments, because they were not a meritorious infinite Satisfaction: And if
" *Jews* or *Gentiles* had thought so, and yet own'd a gratuitous remission,
" they were as inconsistent as others now are.

Neither do you, Sir, own a gratuitous remission, when you confess that legal atonements, and our paying part of the debt is necessary. But it seems the less meritorious the Satisfaction is, it is the better with you: You quarrel not the Sacrifice of a Beast, because it is not equivalent to the demerit of sin; but you cannot bear the Sacrifice of *Christ*, because it is equivalent: How differently do you argue from St. *Paul*? Who said it was *Impossible for the blood of Bulls and Goats to take away sin*; and therefore that it was necessary a more noble Sacrifice shou'd come, which shou'd be worthy to take away sin: And that the Law was taken away for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof; for, that if a Law had been which cou'd have given life, verily righteousness had been by the Law, and there had been

no need of the Gospel: None at all by your account, if any bargain wou'd have done it, thirty Shekels, or half a one, if so agreed, or the lifting of a straw, which wou'd have made the remission more gratuitous. This I insisted upon at large in my *last Dialogue* to which you now answer, but have not taken the least notice of what I made the strength of the cause: And if you will read that *Dialogue* over again, you will find it a direct Reply to this Answer of yours; and that I was aware of all the Objections you had to put, notwithstanding my ignorance in this Controversy.

And here I might end my Answer to your long Examination, which, besides many repetitions, has nothing material in it that I have not already taken notice of, either in this, or in the *last Dialogue*.

IV. But for your own information (if you are willing) and of others who are led away with these pretences of the *Socinians*, I will discover to you the false foundation whence all your arguments and objections flow: Which is this; that you will argue strictly to the Nature of God, from that resemblance of it which is found in the Nature of Man. This you own'd to be unreasonable, and not fit to be done, in your *Vindication* of your *Remarks* on my *first Dialogue*, and of which I minded you in my *Reply* to your *Vindication*, and you have not thought fit yet to rejoin: But you fall into the same error again in this your *Examination*, and measure that Justice which is in God, by the faint resemblance of Justice in Man; and reckon of sin no otherwise than as a debt of Money betwixt Man and Man. Which because a Man may remit without any Satisfaction, thence you argue that there is no need of any Satisfaction to be made to God for all our sins: Tho' as I told you, your comparison will fail even in this, because when a Man remits a debt due to him, it is call'd an act of Mercy, not of Justice; for Justice will require the uttermost farthing: And God being Justice, in the abstract, consequently must exact, even by the necessity of his Nature, whatever Justice does require; because he is not only just, as we say of Men, that is, has some Justice in him, but he is Justice itself, and whatever belongs to the Nature of Justice, belongs to the Nature of God: And sin is contrary to his Nature, far otherwise than a debt of Money is to Men: So that we cannot argue strictly and thoroughly from the one to the other. Yet there is a resemblance betwixt them in many things, and of use to us.

And as in a debt of Money, if any part be exacted, such debt cannot be said to be freely forgiven; so cannot we say, that sin is freely forgiven, while we feel the punishment of it in all the miseries and afflictions of this life, in painful sickness and death at the last.

Nor is there any other way whereby the Pardon of our sin may be call'd perfectly free and gratuitous, but only in the perfectly free and gratuitous gift of God, in sending his Son to be a Propitiation for our sins.

V. And there is no other reasonable account can be given for the Death of *Christ*, but as a propitiation: For neither as a Teacher, or Example, or as a Mediator and Intercessor, was there any necessity for his dying. You say it was to confirm the truth of his doctrine; but that does not confirm it, for some have died for errors: And the proof of that can go no farther than that a Man is strongly persuaded of the truth of what he teaches. And it is not to be suppos'd that God wou'd have sent his Son to suffer so cruel a Death, when there was no necessity at all for it! This I call'd the mill-stone of *Socinianism*, and insisted upon it in my *last Dialogue*; but you take no notice of it.

VI. You

VI. You throw away a great deal of your wit in your p. 17. and 18. in talking of the Persons of God as of the Persons of Men, (which as I have before told you, you your self condemn, and pretend not to argue at this rate.) You infer ridiculous consequences from one Person paying a debt to another, and yet being the same Person himself: This is measuring the Nature of God by our own; which you confess to be a false and very fallacious way of reasoning: Besides mis-stating the question, as if we affirm'd several Persons to be the same Person, which we do not, and I have told you of it sufficiently before in my *Reply* to your *Vindication*; and that there was no absurdity you would infer from the doctrine of the Trinity, but what arose from concluding of the Nature of God by the Nature of Man, which you your self confess not to be just, yet you have no other argument.

There are similitudes and parallels from one Nature to another, whence several inferences may be drawn, as betwixt Body and Soul, of which I have spoke largely before; but if we will run the matter to an absolute equality, and make them answer in every thing, we shall fall into manifold contradictions, as that the Body may be in several places at once, because it is said of the Soul, that it is all in all, and all in every part of the Body at the same time.

Such a pursuing of parallels there is in your comparing the Satisfaction made to God for Sin, with one Man's paying money to another, or a Man's being said to satisfy himself, by enabling another to make the Satisfaction: This is arguing strictly from the Persons of Men to the Persons of God, which you own to be unreasonable, yet cannot leave it. Did any ever say or think that there was an exact parallel betwixt the Persons of Men and of God, so as to answer in every point? And without this suppos'd, all you have said comes to nothing.

Let me shew you an instance nearer hand. I gave you an Image of the Persons in the Godhead, by the three several and distinct Faculties in one and the same Soul. Now not to soar so high as the unfathomable Nature of the Deity, suppose you should explain the operations of the Faculties of the Soul in this way of a debt of money betwixt Man and Man, and say how the Memory is indebted to the Understanding for all it has, because it can remember nothing but what is presented to it by the Understanding; and then again, how it pays this whole debt to the Understanding, by preserving the same objects for the Understanding to work upon, without which it could understand nothing; and how the Understanding may be said thus to enable the Memory to pay the debt, and so in effect it is paying it self, and making Satisfaction to itself: Then again, how the Will is indebted to the other two Faculties, without which it could neither love nor hate, and how it pays them again the full recompence, by adding delight to their operations, without which they would be dead.

I suppose, Sir, you would find many inconsistencies and absurdities in this way of arguing; and can you think then that such a metaphor can be carry'd on to the full in relation to the incomprehensible God? Tho' there may be found some likeness and resemblance in many particulars, and of use to us by way of illustration, betwixt a debt to God and to Man, of money and of sin. But to argue strictly, as you do, and think to make the parallel square perfectly in every particular, I hope I need not use arguments to convince you of the weakness and fallacy in this way of reasoning.

You accuse me of making use of parallels, yet you argue from nothing else: I draw parallels from Man to God, but you bring down God to Man: I use them only for illustration, you bring them into solid argument: I own all

all parallels as to God to be weak, and at an infinite distance from his Nature, you will have them exact and the same, and draw up your accounts with God by way of Creditor and Debtor and Balance! And make Justice as precarious in God as it is in Man! It is not necessary to Man that he be exact in his Justice, thence you infer that it is not necessary in God! A Man may depart from his just right in a debt, therefore you think that God may as easily dispense with the inherent Justice and Rectitude of his Nature, and his abhorrence of sin! Reparation may be made to a Man for a fraud, by giving him money equivalent to his loss: Would it not be gross to conceive thus of God? And what equivalent can we give to infinite Justice offended? Is there a Satisfaction or Penalty due to the least Injustice to Man, and is there none due to Justice itself? Or is it unjust in God to require that Satisfaction, or inflict that penalty, which is just with Men?

Sir, that exact parallel your argument requires betwixt the Justice of God and of Man, will fail you in many points. Let me name one. What we call the Attributes of God are only the different manner whereby we apprehend him: Thus we make many Attributes, as his Justice, his Wisdom, his Mercy, &c. But these are all one in him, (tho' we cannot comprehend it) who is one simple and uncompounded Nature: Upon which when we look by that image of it in our selves, we cannot conceive of these Attributes but as of different, nay, sometimes even contrary things, because they are so with us: For example, Justice and Mercy are opposites with us; we may sometimes exercise our Justice, and sometimes our Mercy, but never both together in the same act, because they are incompatible: If I forgive, it is Mercy; if I exact the rigor, it is Justice: And I cannot do both at the same time, and in relation to the same debt; I cannot both forgive and exact it: If I exercise my Mercy, it bars out my Justice; and if I execute my Justice, it excludes my Mercy. But it is not so in God: He is all Justice, and likewise all Mercy; and is not compounded of these, but is each in the abstract: They are not contrary in him, tho' they are with us: And we cannot explain these things, nor argue strictly from the one to the other, from the Justice in Men to the Justice of God, or to that Justice which is God: But we may admire and adore it in that wonderful instance of it in the oeconomy of our Redemption by *Christ*, wherein the Justice of God is shewed to be infinite, by the infinite Satisfaction that is made to it: And his Wisdom is infinite in contriving such a Satisfaction: And his Goodness equally infinite in affording it to us. This is the great Mystery of God manifest in the Flesh, which the Angels desire to look into: But you lewdly blaspheme, p. 11. at the end, and p. 12. and talk of complementing the Father, and make sport with the other Persons of the holy Trinity, by measuring them after the manner of Men; and think your self very wise and witty upon this occasion!

VII. But in your *Explanation* you destroy all difference betwixt Justice and Mercy, even as it is understood among Men. In your p. 4. you say to me,

“ You ask, p. 355. *Does Justice require full Satisfaction?* And are so
“ disingenuous as to make your *Socinian* answer, *Yes*; when no *Socinian*
“ will ever say it in the sense your question intends, but on the contrary
“ they would always answer, *No*.

You say to me again in your p. 5.

“ You ask, p. 355. *If Forgiveness without Satisfaction be called Justice?*
“ And you make your *Socinian* answer *No*, when he would say *Yes*, if he
“ might speak for himself: But he is in your hands, and you make him speak
“ what you would have him, to make you sport.

Now, Sir, I profess to you I meant no sport in the case; nor did I think I did the *Socinian* any wrong to make him answer as I did: For it is the same answer I would have given my self to these questions, and I thought it impossible for any body to give any other answer: I'm sure if I had made him answer as you have done for him, I should have thought I had done him a great injury, and made him speak contrary to the sense of all Mankind! For I never heard Man before you say, but that to forgive was an act of Mercy, and not of Justice; and that to exact the utmost was the rigor of Justice, and not Mercy: For otherwise this must confound all the notions that ever I had (or I believe any body else) of Justice and Mercy.

Therefore I come to the reason you give for this so seemingly strange a position: Which follows your assertion in p. 5. the last paragraph, where you say,

" I say then, that free Pardon is Justice, as our alms is call'd Righteousness in Scripture; for this reason, among others, say some, because they must be given of such things as we have a Right to: So God's pardoning Mercy is Righteousness, as much as his Bounty is, as being the exercise of his just right: Punishing is one act of Justice, and pardoning another; either way God uses his own right with equal Justice.

I own my self at a loss to answer this, for I confess I do not understand it: And you your self, Sir, seem somewhat perplex'd, and set it down with fear and caution. You give this as a reason, among others, as if the stress did not lye here, and put it with a *say some*, that it may not appear to be your own. Then you make a difference betwixt the Mercy of God and his Bounty, and say, that God's *pardoning Mercy is Righteousness, as much as his Bounty is*. Which will be easily granted you, because his Mercy is his Bounty to us. But what you mean by this is not easy to guess: You jumble things together in an odd way. Alms is Righteousness, because they are given of such things as we have a right to—— And Righteousness is Justice, because it is just to do what I have a right to do, for just is right: And thus you say, that pardoning (as well as punishing) is an act of Justice, for none can pardon but he who has a right to pardon—— And so Justice and Mercy are the same thing!

Sir, this is very extraordinary! But I find that this jingle or punning upon the word Right does not satisfy your self, and you soon forget it; for at the end of your p. 13. speaking of the Blood of Atonement sprinkled on the Mercy-seat, you add, *This plainly taught, that 'twas by an application to Mercy from Justice*. But why to Mercy from Justice, if Justice and Mercy are the same? For if pardoning be Justice because it is right, then punishing is Mercy for the same reason! Thus you, Sir, have brought a new language into the world, because plain and easy speaking is natural to the *Socinians*.

VIII. You make your self merry with me, p. 3. for finding the word Satisfaction in that text, *Isa. LIII. 4. He shall see of the travel of his Soul, and shall be satisfied*. And you say it means only a complacence or complacential delight. Well, Sir, and where is the great difference here? For when a debt is paid to a Man, and he is fully satisfied, may he not be said to have a complacential delight in this, that Justice is fulfilled or satisfied? And may we not say, that God is pleas'd, or has a complacency when Justice is done? Are not such expressions frequent in Scripture?

But you say, this was spoken of the complacential delight which the *Servant of God*, (that is, *Christ*) *should have in the issue of his undertaking*. And you say, *I am not quite so happy as ridiculous*, in pretending to find any Satisfaction to God here. Well then, I will set down the text according

ing to your sense of it and mine, and see which is the most happy or ridiculous. Your sense is this, *Christ shall see of the travel of Christ's Soul, and shall be satisfy'd*: Mine is, *That God shall see of the travel of Christ's Soul, and shall be satisfy'd*. You understand it as spoken of the same Person, that *Christ was satisfy'd with his own travel*: I take it as meant of two Persons, that *God was satisfy'd with the travel of Christ*: And the context is wholly on my side. See the verse before, *It pleased the Lord to bruise him, he hath put him to grief: When thou shalt make his Soul an offering for sin—And the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand: He shall see of the travel of his Soul, and shall be satisfy'd*. Here the *He* and the *He* spoken of throughout are plainly two Persons, and you wou'd have them one in the last sentence only. I will not return your complement of ridiculous, but I may say that yours is no happy interpretation, it is not quite so easy as mine. But you have answer'd nothing to what I have said upon this text in my *sixth Dialogue*, p. 370. which expressly confutes this exposition of yours.

IX. Having thus thrown off the word Satisfaction as unscriptural, by your ingenious turn of this text, you come next to account for those terms which you own to be scriptural, and which indeed mean the same thing; and I love not to dispute with you about Words: And you seem to allow that they do mean the same thing, for you say in the next words, p. 3.

“ Neither the unscriptural term Satisfaction, nor the scriptural terms Redemption, Propitiation, Atonement, Sacrifice, &c. are the matters of this dispute. The Unitarians can allow all these, and the very *Racovian Catechism* expressly allows *Jesus Christ* to be our Expiatory Sacrifice, Chap. VIII. and that in the same sense as, nay, *in a fuller than the Sacrifices under the Law, were such*. So that they have said what is false, who tell the World, that the *Socinians* in general deny *Christ* dy'd a proper Sacrifice for sin: Much less do the *Arian Unitarians* decline the expression: Nor shall the Phrase of *Nostro loco*, or his dying in our stead, make any difference: So that the *Antinomian* sense of his sustaining our legal Person, be excluded. The *Racovian Catechism* asserts it, that *Christ* dy'd, as *Victima Succedanea*. And I think he that suffers with a design to prevent our suffering (which is granted) truly suffers in our stead.

Here one wou'd think we were perfectly agreed; but you except afterwards, and say, that this Compensation which *Christ* made (and is not Compensation as unscriptural as Satisfaction, and means the same thing?) was not equivalent to the sins of Men, and strictly meritorious of their Pardon, nor were his sufferings infinite in value. And you own the reason why you say this to be, that otherwise it wou'd infer his Divinity: So that your first error in denying his Divinity, makes you stick out in this of the Satisfaction; and you wou'd allow of any Satisfaction, which wou'd not infer his Divinity: Therefore you plead for a Satisfaction that is insufficient, and make your pretence, that it wou'd be more for the free and gratuitous Mercy of God; of which I have spoke already.

But why shou'd *Christ* undertake to make a Satisfaction or Compensation for sin, if he cou'd not make one that was sufficient, and meritorious or deserving the Pardon of sin? And how is he our atonement, if he cou'd not atone for sin.

X. You resolve all this, p. 4. into his Intercession for the Pardon of our sin, *not as a thing strictly merited, but sought of the divine Favour and Mercy*.

But

But what need then was there for his suffering? This belongs not to the office of an Intercessor: A Man may intercede for another, without dying for him.

You say for that, that his sufferings were the *Tryal of his Virtues*, viz. of his *patience, humility, submission towards God, and transcendent charity to Men*.

But God knew all this already: And *Christ* was as dear to him before as after his sufferings. Wou'd God then put him to such sufferings and cruel death, because he knew he wou'd bear them patiently!

This is the *Socinian* account of the sufferings of *Christ*! And will in no ways answer *Christ's* being our Atonement, Propitiation, and Sacrifice. Must an Intercessor be sacrificed? But *Christ* does intercede for us, on account of the Sacrifice of himself which he offer'd to God for us, and in virtue of that Sacrifice he is our Intercessor: He was an Intercessor for us before he dy'd, but not so as since, else he needed not have dy'd: But he was not our Propitiation and Sacrifice before: And how did he suffer in our stead (which you confess) if he dy'd only to approve his own virtues, as you say?

And you lay no stress upon his death: You say in the same p. 4. That *we are brought to turn from our sins to God, by Christ*. But how? You explain it, *by his Law and Example*. But here is not a word of our sins being purged by his death, by the blood of his Cross, as the Scripture expresseth it *Col. 1. 20*. That is no part of the *Socinian* Creed. You have told us in what sense you can use the words, Redemption, Propitiation, Sacrifice, &c. without any relation to his sufferings or death: You say he became all these things to us, by being an example of good Life to us, and giving us a good Law, and interceding for us

XI. But it is said, That *without shedding of blood there is no remission*, Heb. ix. 22. You say that means no more than intercession! It is said, That *God made Christ to be sin for us*, 2 Cor. v. 21. You say, he was not made sin for us, nor was our sin imputed to him! It is said, *He bore our sins in his own Body on the tree; and by his stripes we are healed*, 1 Pet. ii. 24. That is, say you, by his intercession! When was intercession call'd stripes before? *Reconciled to God by the death of his Son*, Rom. v. 10. Here intercession is death too! These are the easy expositions of the *Socinians*.

In my *sixth Dialogue*, Sect. xxii. Num. 7. p. 369. I exemplify'd this in the types that went before of *Christ*, as the High-priest bearing the iniquity of the Congregation upon him to make atonement for them, Lev. vi. 26. x. 17. To which I might have added that the sins of all the People were to be confessed over the Scape Goat on the great day of Expiation; and put upon his head, *to bear them away to a land not inhabited*, Lev. xvi. 21, &c. And the reason given for the prohibition of eating blood, because *it is the blood that maketh atonement for the Soul*, Lev. xvii. 11. These as types of *Christ*, and *Christ* consider'd as fulfilling them by bearing our sins, and making atonement for them in shedding his blood for us, cannot be put off with his being only an example of holy living, or a giver of good Laws, or even by being barely an Intercessor for us. But of all this you take no notice.

And the reason I take to be, that you cou'd not here so easily play and jingle with a word, and screw it into what meaning you think fit. For the types of *Christ* represent him as in a Picture. There we see him shedding his blood in the Sacrifices and bearing the sins of the People, and making atonement for them in the Person of the High priest, not barely by making intercession, but by carrying the blood of expiation into the holy of holies,

holies, and offering it there for the sins of the People. Which *Christ* fulfilled by entering into Heaven with his own blood; and in virtue of that to make intercession for us. The parallel is largely insisted upon in the 9th and 10th to the *Hebrews*. And here your Criticisms upon this or that word will not do: There is a whole scene laid before us, and we read actions not words.

XII. You cannot here torment a text, as you do p. 10. that of *Act. iv. 27, 28.* *For of a truth against thy holy Child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and the People of Israel were gathered together, for to do whatsoever thine hand and thy counsel determined before to be done.* Instead of which you wou'd have it read thus, *Both Herod and Pontius Pilate were gather'd together against thy holy Child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed to do what thy hand and counsel determined.* And what was that? You send us to know it to *Act. x. 38.* where it is said, that *Christ went about doing good.* And this is what you say was determined in this text, and not that he shou'd be put to death: Because this wou'd lay too much stress upon his death, of which you make so little, and of which you say in this same page, *Col. i. was made to look like an accidental thing.* And indeed it was no ways necessary, according to your scheme of christianity: For you are not of his mind who said, *That it behoved Christ to suffer.* There was no need of it at all for his being an example of holy life, or a teacher, or an intercessor: But for being a sacrifice and ransom, a propitiation and atonement, there was absolute necessity for it, and it behoved him to suffer, if he wou'd redeem us with his blood; without shedding of which we are told there cou'd be no remission, and that his death must be of necessity: *Christ said, This is the New Testament in my blood.* And the Apostle said, *where a Testament is, there must also of necessity be the death of the Testator.* Whereupon the *first Testament* (which was but in type) *was not dedicated without blood.* For without shedding of blood there is no remission. It was therefore necessary that the patterns of things in the heavens should be purified with these (that is, the typical blood of the Old Testament) but the heavenly things themselves (that is, the New Testament) with better sacrifices than these, that is, the sacrifice of Christ himself. And this Testament cou'd be of no force while Christ did live, nor could take effect till after his death. He was, *The Lamb slain from the foundation of the World.* Did this look like an accidental thing? This is *what the hand and counsel of God determined before to be done.* And to avoid which you have, I say not misinterpreted or wrested this text, but you have made a quite new text out of it: You have taken a sentence out of *ŷ. 27.* and put it to *ŷ. 28.* and apply it to a new and quite different subject from the whole context, which begins *ŷ. 23.* with the severe threatening given to the Apostles, thence goes to the persecution of *Christ* himself, and begins with the Prophecy of it in the second *Psalms*, how the Rulers and the People should conspire against *Christ*, there called *the anointed of God*: Then shews how this was fulfilled in the Rulers, &c. conspiring against this same anointed, to perform what God had before determined and prophesied should be done by these wicked Rulers, &c. But you say, this does not relate to the Rulers, but to *Christ*, who was anointed to do good; tho' there is not a word in the whole context of what *Christ* did, but of what the Rulers, &c. did. Well, it must be own'd, that the *Socinians* interpret Scripture the most naturally of any!

But you give a reason; for, say you, *God did not determine them* (the Rulers, &c.) *to murder Christ.* This betrays the weakness of your Philosophy

2 Sam. xii. 11.

Axs ii. 23.

Gal. iii. 13.

Isai. liii. 6.

x. 5.

x. 10.

x. 10.

phy as well as your Theology: You cannot distinguish betwixt God's disposing of events, and approving of the actions: God said to *David*, *I will take thy Wives before thine Eyes, and give them unto thy Neighbour*. Did God therefore approve of *Absalom's* going in to his Father's Wives? Does not God often make use of the wickedness of Men, to bring to pass the events which he has determined? God did determine to deliver *Christ* into the hands of the *Jews*, and he knew their wickedness, that they would crucify him. And thus he accomplished his all-wise counsel: As *St. Peter* said to them, *Him (Christ) being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain*. And did they not do in this what God had before determined should be done? Is not this the very same with that other text Chap. iv. 28. which we are upon? And you may turn the one as well as the other not to relate to the wicked Rulers, &c. but to the good things that *Christ* did, for *Christ* signifies *anointed*, so he is called *anointed* in both texts, which may equally afford room for your sharp Criticism, to turn one word in the text into a quite different meaning from all the rest! This is easy and smooth; is it not?

XIII. But, Sir, your labour and grief is yet behind: For in the same p. 10. you pursue this matter till you come to that crabbed text for *Socinians*, of *Christ being made a curse for us*. And here you take true pains again; for this will by no means agree with limiting the office of *Christ* to that only of an intercessor: For does interceding make one a curse? Therefore you prove at large that *Christ* was not accursed to God: No surely, for he was always his well-beloved: So you might have sav'd all that pains. Well then, how do you understand this text? You say, *The Jews made him a curse*. I suppose you mean that they only thought him so. And did that make him a curse? Then evil Men may make good Men accursed when they please: But the text gives a reason for his being made a curse, for it is written, *Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree*. Was this only what the *Jews* or any other thought? Is it not a curse in it self to be hanged on a tree? It is a curse of punishment, not always of guilt: But there was guilt here too, not of *Christ* himself, but the guilt of our sins which he had taken upon him, as it is written, *The Lord hath laid upon him the iniquity of us all*; or as our Margin reads it, *The Lord hath made the iniquities of us all to meet on him*. And he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities, the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed. And thou shalt make his Soul an offering for sin. And again, he bare the sin of many: It is added, *And he made intercession for the transgressors*. And his suffering for them was a good ground of his making intercession for them: But bare intercession without suffering will not fill up the meaning of these Scriptures; for does God lay the iniquity of the transgressor upon the intercessor? Does a Man who intercedes for another, make his Soul an offering for him? But it is said, *Thou shalt make his Soul an offering*, &c. Does God make the Soul of the intercessor an offering for the sin of the transgressor? And your Criticism upon x. 11. of which I have spoke before, whereby you construe, *He shall see of the travel of his Soul*, to be meant of the same Person, will not do here, unless you will read, *Thou shalt make his*, to be *I shall make mine*. And this is in x. 10. and the same sentence with the other, in x. 11. and speaking of the same Persons; yet you call'd me not so happy as ridiculous, in not allowing that there was but one and the self same Person here spoke of.

But

But *Christ* did not only freely offer himself, but God did also make his Soul an offering for sin, and laid our iniquities upon him, that they might not be imputed unto us: It was the work of God, and of *Christ* too, as it is said, *God hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, to wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the World unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them.* And thus it is that God made *Christ* an offering, and sin, and a curse for us. 2 Cor. v. 18, 19.

And here I think the cause of *Socinianism* upon this point to be determined; and the sorry salvo you, Sir, have for all this being only, that the *Jews* thought *Christ* to be a curse, will make it so appear to every body: For there is nothing said nor imply'd of what the *Jews* thought, but of what God did. It was God who made the Soul of *Christ* an offering for sin: It was God who made him to be sin for us, *that we might be made the Righteousness of God in him*: Which is the conclusion drawn from what I just now quoted of *God's reconciling us to himself by Jesus Christ, and not imputing our trespasses unto us.* Why? Because *he hath made him to be sin for us, &c.* And the same is the meaning of *Gal. iii. 13. Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the Law, being made a curse for us.* Is there any thing said here of what the *Jews* thought? Nay it is certain that the *Jews* neither thought nor believed any of these things; for if they had, they must have been converted, as all of them were who did believe it: And till the *Socinians* come to believe it, they are not Christians. 2 Cor. v. 21.

XIV. But to save *Christ* from being a curse, you will not allow that God's Displeasure or Wrath against sin was shewn at all in his sending *Christ* into the world. You say, p. 21. *We are not so much as once called to take notice of God's Severity in this affair.* His Mercy indeed was great to sinners in sending *Christ* to redeem them, this you enlarge upon; but you wou'd not have it thought that *Christ* underwent any Severity to redeem Men. He did undergo great Severities: What was it for? You say (as I quoted it before) it was only to try whether he could bear them patiently, tho' God knew that he both could and would. So here was an experiment try'd to no purpose, but to the terrible afflicting an innocent Person! And to lay the more upon him because he was willing to bear!

But, Sir, when God tells the reason why *Christ* was thus grievously afflicted, and poured out his Soul unto death, and that it was for our sins, *for the transgression of my People was he stricken—All we like Sheep have gone astray, we have turned every one to his own way, and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all;* does not this shew God's high displeasure against sin, and that this was the cause of his sending *Christ* to suffer for our sins? For *Christ* also hath once suffered for sins, the Just for the Unjust. Having made Peace through the Blood of his Cross. Justify'd by his Blood. The places of Scripture are infinite which attribute our Redemption from our sins to the Sufferings, the Blood and the Death of *Christ*, as an Atonement, a Sacrifice, a Propitiation for them. *Reconciled to God by the Death of his Son—By whom now we have received the Atonement.* —*Christ* our Passover is sacrificed for us.—*When he had by himself purged our sins.—Whom God hath set forth to be a Propitiation, through Faith in his Blood for the remission of sins.—God sent his Son to be the Propitiation for our Sins.—You being dead in your sins hath he quickened having forgiven you all trespasses—Blotting out the handwriting, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his Cross.—Ye who were sometimes afar off, are made nigh by the Blood of Christ. You that were sometime alienated—Yet now hath he reconciled, in the Body of his Flesh through Death.* So that our sins had alienated us from God; Isa. liii. 1 Pet. iii. 18. Col. i. 20. Rom. v. 9. Rom. v. 10, 11. 1 Cor. v. 7. Heb. i. 3. Rom. iii. 25. 1 John iv. 10. Col. ii. 14. Eph. ii. 13. Col. i. 22.

and

and we were reconciled by *Christ*. But how? By his Blood, by his Death in the Body of his Flesh. All along through the New Testament the stress is laid here; but this the *Socinians* have wholly laid aside, as of no use or import to our Salvation, nothing at all to us, only to shew his own Patience, &c. which is all the use they can find of his Sufferings or Death; to recommend himself to God (it seems they think there was need of that) but without any respect to us. So that they make him suffer for himself, not for us. *He suffered for Sin*, says the Scripture: No, say the *Socinians*, no more than *Job*, only to shew his Fortitude, and thereby make himself more acceptable to God! You will say, it was to make himself more worthy to be our Intercessor; but was he not as worthy before? Or did not God sufficiently know him before? Afflictions are sent to us either for the punishment of our sins, or to amend us and make us better: For which of these ends were they sent to *Christ*, or what other that you can name, besides that senseless one you have nam'd already, for a tryal only of skill?

Heb. viii. 3.
Heb. x. 10.

You have totally forgot the Office of *Christ* as a Priest, which is not only to intercede, but also to offer Gifts and Sacrifices; *Wherefore*, as the Apostle says, *it is of necessity that this Man* (Christ) *have somewhat else to offer*. And this was the *Sacrifice of himself, by which we are sanctified, through the offering of the Body of Jesus Christ, once for all*. This is what you despise and deny: You deny that he offer'd up his Body, or that it was any Sacrifice at all: You say, it rather seems to be purely accidental, but at most, that it was only to approve his own Patience, Obedience, and Humility, yet not as any Sacrifice for us, or that we receive any benefit by it, unless as an example, that we also may be patient in Sufferings: And such an example no doubt it is: But that is not the Faith in his Blood which is made necessary for our Salvation. I pray God you may think of it in time.

When I say, that you deny that *Christ* was any Sacrifice, I do not forget that you use the word, nay as I have quoted you already, you own it, p. 3. to be a *proper Sacrifice for Sin*, and in our stead too. But then in explaining it, you reduce it all to intercession only, or example, and quite go off the proper notion of Sacrifice, as I have shewed: So that it is not your words I regard, but the meaning: And the *Socinian* subtilty lies chiefly in this, to deceive with words.

XV. But you come, p. 13. to a popular declamation, where by measuring the Justice and Mercy of God by those qualities in Men, you ask whether we are bound to forgive others, more than God has forgiven us? And he having receiv'd full Satisfaction for our sins, consequently we ought not to forgive unless full Satisfaction be made to us. Then you bring in the Lord's Prayer, and please your self to make the notion of Satisfaction to God appear ridiculous: Yet not without some check in your own mind of the fallacy of this argument, for you conclude it thus, *Whatever difference of circumstances there may be in the method of God's Forgiveness and ours, it must not be in any thing that subverts the nature of free gratuitous Pardon*.

Thus having (as you think) secur'd your main point, you are less solicitous what becomes of the rest; for you cannot but be sensible that there is a very different method of God's Forgiveness and ours: What God forgives is wholly and solely upon his own account, and therefore is to be measur'd by the inherent Rectitude of his own Nature; and he being Justice itself, consequently must take care that this Attribute be not hurt or lessen'd by any other: Of this I have spoke before. But among Men the case is quite different; for no Man is the measure and standard of Justice: So that Justice in itself is not hurt whether any Man be just or not; but an alteration of it in God would alter the very nature of Justice itself.

And

And as all Injustice is in erring from the rule of the essential Justice, and must be referred to it; so there is neither Justice nor Injustice, strictly speaking, betwixt Man and Man: For there is no sin against Man, but as it is a sin against God: Therefore *David* said, *Against thee, thee only have I sinned.* ^{Psal. li. 4.} And the Forgiveness of Man ought to be grounded on this, that he has nothing in himself to which any reparation for an injury is due, for the injury is to Justice, that is, to God; and for my part of it, as there is nothing due to me, so I ought to refer it to him that is injured, that is to God; and after our blessed Saviour's example, when reviled not to revile again, nor threaten, but to commit my self, and refer my cause to him who judgeth righteously. If the practice of the world be urged against this, it may be reply'd, that there are too many in the world who think themselves the measure of Justice, and think every thing good and evil as it is so to them: And there are infirmities in the best Men, which must not be made the standard of Justice.

But I have another answer, which is, that the Pardon of sinners is most free and gratuitous on the part of God, tho' his Wisdom has found out a method whereby his Justice may be entirely satisfy'd: (I have explain'd this before:) And therefore no pattern of Forgiveness can be so great, so gratuitous, as the Forgiveness of God. As to that point of the satisfying his Justice, we have no pretence to it, nor is it propos'd as a pattern to us.

But now, Sir, see how you will be catch'd in the snare that you laid for others: For I have before told you that your scheme of the Forgiveness of God is not gratuitous, because several conditions are required which are difficult to Flesh and Blood: And moreover we are often severely punished, besides that some Affliction, Sicknels, and Death abide all. Now to turn your argument; if we are to forgive others (in your way) as God forgives us, then cannot our Forgiveness be free and gratuitous: And there will be scope for our malice, to inflict upon those we forgive all that God inflicts upon us, even Death itself. But in my way the Forgiveness will be complete and entire, as in the œconomy of God for our Redemption, when we were enemies, and without any merit or deserving whatsoever on our part: The Mercy was wholly owing to himself, and the Glory is only his: And following this example, we shall not only be willing to forgive, but to die for our enemies.

XVI. But, Sir, you go on to lessen the efficacy of the Death of *Christ*, and say, p. 14. *That the Scripture is so far from appropriating Christ's Atonement to his Death, that it gives more virtue to his intercession.* For proof of which you quote *Rom. viii. 34.* and repeat it thus, *Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather that is risen again, who maketh intercession for us.*

But, Sir, the *rather* is put to the Resurrection: And there is an interval in the text betwixt that and the *intercession*, which you have omitted, to bring the *intercession* nearer to the *rather*; as likewise the *also* which shews that the *intercession* is spoke of as a thing by itself, and is not brought into the comparison, or meant in the *rather*: For thus the text runs, — *Yea rather that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us.* The climax or transition here is very easy. Who is he that condemneth, that is, pronounces condemnation to us for our sins? It is *Christ* who died for our sins; this was undergoing the curse of sin, entring into the prison allotted for sin, making himself the debtor, as our Surety, (*Heb. vii. 22.*) *yea rather*, who is *risen again*, who has opened the prison doors and come out, to shew that the whole debt was paid, and he could no longer be detain'd there: And to shew that this was no illegal

escape, he ascends into Heaven, to appear before his Father the Creditor, who places him on his right hand, to shew his acceptance of him; and moreover, or also, receives him as our Intercessor or Advocate for us, on account of his meritorious Death and Passion, which he there pleads on our behalf.

But is it a natural inference hence to say, that more virtue is attributed to his Intercession than to his Death? Or that the Atonement is rather to be placed to the account of his Intercession than of his Death? Whereas the Intercession is on account of his Death. But if it was not on account of his Death, as you say, and that the efficacy is in the Intercession itself, then to what purpose was his Death? Might he not have interceded without that? Or would it not have been so prevalent? Here you are pinch'd, you enemies to the Cross of *Christ*, and despisers of his Death!

But to go on with your argument. You say in the next words, *His Resurrection being so requisite to his Intercession for Pardon*—Requisite indeed! For if he had continued dead, how could he have interceded? But if that had been all, he might have sav'd it by not dying, then there had been no need of his Resurrection: And he did intercede before his Death, with strong crying and tears: But his Death must intervene before he could intercede on account of his Death, as past and done: And towards this indeed his Resurrection was absolutely necessary. And here you may learn the difference betwixt his intercession before and after his Death: If you see no difference, then you make no account of his Death at all!

Well, but his Resurrection being thus requisite to his Intercession, you infer, that the same Apostle says, *If Christ be not raised, we are yet in our sins, notwithstanding his Death: And the reason of it is, because he rose again for our Justification.* All this you say to lay aside the virtue of his Death. But if you had set down the whole verse, *Rom. iv. 25.* it would have defeated your design; for the words are, *Who was delivered (that is to Death) for our offences, and rais'd again for our justification.* Here the necessity and efficacy of his Death appears: But we could not be justified by it, or our debt discharg'd till his Resurrection, because if he had remain'd always in the prison of Death, he had been a fellow-Prisoner with us, but this would not have discharged us: But by opening the prison doors and coming out, he shewed the debt was discharged. And therefore the Apostle said justly, *If Christ be not raised, we are yet in our sins:* The debt is not paid, *Christ* is still a Prisoner: And his Resurrection had been of no more use to us than that of *Lazarus*, if he had not died as a Sacrifice for our sins. But as you place no virtue (as to us) in his Death, so you make nothing of his Resurrection, but as a requisite towards his being our Intercessor, as he was, (and no otherwise than) before his Death. And on this (his Intercession) it is (say you) that the Apostle lays the stress of a Christian's hope of Salvation by *Christ*: That is, *He ever liveth to make Intercession for us.* And God forbid any good Christian should not always lay stress upon it: But not as you do, to depreciate and lessen the efficacy of his Death for the remission of our sins.

1 Cor. xv. 17.
Rom. iv. 25.
Heb. vii. 25.

You understand not the œconomy of our Salvation, and therefore set up one part to beat down another: And you take away that which the Scripture makes the ground and foundation of all, that is, the Sufferings and Death of *Christ*; of which you make no more than the example of the patience and resignation of a good Man: But you put all the efficacy upon the Intercession alone. His Intercession on account of his meritorious Death and Passion, includes the whole œconomy; but without that, what can you make of Intercession alone? Can any reasons or motives be used to God that he does not know already? I oppose not the Intercession of *Christ* to his Death,

Death, they come both into the same; but where the Intercession of *Christ* is mentioned once in the New Testament, his Death is a hundred times: I can remember but two texts that speak of his Intercession for us, that is, *Rom. viii. 34.* and *Heb. vii. 25.* both which you have named, and I believe you can name none other: And the Intercession of the Spirit for us is as often mentioned, *Rom. viii. 26, 27.* Do you, Sir, understand *Christ* by the Spirit here? Or God the Father, that he maketh Intercession to himself? Or what other Person is meant here? For it must be a Person that maketh Intercession: And if I should put the word Intercession instead of the word Satisfaction, and run all those divisions you do upon it in your p. 17. and 18. you would think me not only a trifler, but a blasphemer. But this by the bye.

Now for the twice that the intercession of *Christ* is mentioned; see, among many others, the following texts, that you may reflect where the Scripture lays the main stress, that it is upon the sufferings and death of *Christ*.

The Gospel is call'd *the preaching of the Cross*. *Suffering persecution for the Cross of Christ*. *Glorying in the Cross*. *Having abolished in his flesh the enmity—Reconciling by the Cross*. *Made peace by the blood of his Cross*. *Reconciled to God by the death of his Son—We are baptized into his death*. *Reconciled in the Body of his flesh through death*. *That through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the Devil, and deliver them who through fear of death, were subject—The blood of Christ purge your conscience—That by means of death, for the redemption of transgressions—Through the offering of the Body of Jesus Christ*. *My blood of the New Testament—For the remission of sins*. *The Church of God which he hath purchased with his own blood*. *Whom God hath set forth, to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood—Justified by his blood*. *Redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins*. *By his own blood he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us—To enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus—The blood of the Covenant wherewith he was sanctified—Sanctify the People with his own blood*. *Through the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ—Redeemed with the precious blood of Christ*. *The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin*. *Washed us from our sins in his own blood—Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood—Washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb*. *Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us*.

I Cor. i. 17,
Gal. vi. 12, 14.
Eph. ii. 15, 16.
Col. i. 20.
Rom. v. 10.
vi. 3.
Col. i. 22.
Heb. ii. 14, 15.
ix. 14, 15.
x. 10.
Mat. xxvi. 28.
Acts xx. 28.
Rom. iii. 25.
v. 9.
Eph. i. 7.
Col. i. 14.
Heb. ix. 12.
x. 19, 29.
xiii. 12.
I Pet. i. 2, 19.
I John. i. 7.
Rev. i. 5. v. 9.
vii. 14.
I Cor. v. 7.

I cou'd bring many more texts to the same purpose: It is the constant strain through all the New Testament; whereas the intercession is but twice transiently nam'd thro' the whole: Upon which then does the Scripture lay most stress?

I have sufficiently caution'd before, that I say nothing in derogation to the all-sufficient intercession of our Lord *Jesus*; but only to detect the subtilty of this *Socinian*, who under colour of that wou'd take away all the merit of the sufferings, and death of *Christ*, as to us, and will let them be no part, or a very slight one, in the oeconomy of our redemption.

XVII. You make very much of the instance of *David*, p. 14, 15, who was pardon'd without offering or sacrifice: But your self gives the reason, because there was no sacrifice under the Law for murder or adultery. Well then, you infer from thence, that repentance is sufficient to expiate greater sins than sacrifice. But, Sir, repentance was requir'd to go along with their sacrifices, else they were often told that their sacrifices should not be accepted. There was no sacrifice appointed for Blasphemy, Murder, Adultery, or other capital crimes, but they must die the death. And the *Jews* had a tradition,

“ from the ordinary Tryals of the Saints, as to the ground of his sufferings, and loses its true use.

Sir, this is making very free with the methods of providence, that if they be not just as you fancy, they lose their use! But *the folly of God is wiser than Men*: And tho’ we understand not his designs in all his dispensations, yet we are to reverence them, and believe them wise and good. You durst not thus prie into the Cabinet of Princes, and censure their actions.

It is said, *That if they had known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory*. Now, Sir, would you have had God forc’d their Will to do so very wicked a thing? This would have been to alter the Nature of Man, and take free Will from him; by which as he could not be guilty of sin, so neither had he been liable to punishment, unless you think it just to punish Men for what was not in their power to help: And this would have made God the sole Author of sin. This is the method in which you would mend providence. 1 Cor. ii. 8.

And this you think more reasonable, than that they should do it ignorantly, and these Builders should reject the corner stone, through their own default: And it was prophesied that it should thus be brought to pass, as the Apostle tells them, *For they that dwell at Jerusalem, and their Rulers, because they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the Prophets which are read every Sabbath-day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him* — *And they fulfilled all that was written of him*. But you think all this was wrong, and that God should have commanded the *Jews* to have crucified him, if he intended him as any sacrifice or propitiation for sin, else that all he did loses its true use. Acts xiii. 27, 29.

Does not God often punish sins, and yet does not by a voice from Heaven tell us for what particular sin such a Judgment was sent? He leaves that to our own application.

And he makes use of the wickedness of some, to punish the sins of others, as the sin of *David* was punished by the Rebellion of *Abalom*.

And as God doth govern all events, so *there is no evil in the City which the Lord hath not done*: And it is said, *The Lord delivered him unto the Lion*: And thus it is said that *Christ* was deliver’d (to the *Jews*) for our offences: And that *God spared not his own Son, but deliver’d him up for us all*. Therefore this was God’s doing, but in a more righteous way than by commanding the *Jews* to do a wicked thing, as you think would have been more reasonable! And does it not fully shew God’s wrath against sin, when he deliver’d his Son unto death, to make atonement for it? Or do you think that God would not have spared his own Son, if there had been no need of his suffering? You make it only the pleasure God took to see him suffer, to try how patiently he could suffer, tho’ he knew all that before! This is the rational sense you *Socinians* put upon the sufferings of *Christ*, while you reject that of his being a sacrifice for sin as unreasonable! Amos iii. 6.
1 Kin. xiii. 26.
Rom. iv. 25.
Rom. v. iii. 32.

XIX. You make another effort against his being a sacrifice for sin, by endeavouring to prove that the sacrifices under the Law had no relation to him: For this purpose you suppose, p. 15. that those sacrifices did not relate to conscience, but were a political institution, and a rite only by which they sought pardon for their political guilt from God as their State Ruler; and that this was the reason why no sacrifice was allowed for those crimes which were made capital by the Law, because they had no signification but to excuse from temporal punishment, or temporal or civil crimes. And you say, p. 16. that otherwise, if they had any respect to the purging of

conscience from sin, or to the death of *Christ*, *If it had been so* (say you) *I think it had not failed to have been mentioned in the Epistle to the Hebrews.* But you were aware that in that Epistle they are frequently call'd *types of Christ*, and of his death. But this you easily put off saying that by type no more was meant than some sort of allusion. But Sir, tho' every type is an allusion, yet every allusion is not a type: We may make allusions in many things, but a type is something ordain'd of God to be such an allusion: But what is the allusion you mean? You say, *That Christ's death had the like efficacy for eternal pardon, as the legal offerings had for external and temporal pardon.* But this allusion is no more a type than the Laws of *Numa*, *Solon*, or *Lycurgus*. Whereas throughout this Epistle to the *Hebrews*, the necessity is urg'd of *Christ's* fulfilling every circumstance of his types under the Law of *Moses*, even to his suffering *without the gate*, because the Body of the expiatory sacrifice was *burnt without the camp*.

Then this Epistle argues in a quite different strain from you: For it supposes all along, that the sacrifices under the Law were for the expiation of sin; and thence infers, that there must be a more noble sacrifice, because *it was not possible that the blood of Bulls and Goats should take away sin. Wherefore when he* (Christ) *cometh into the World, he saith, sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a Body hast thou prepared me, &c.* Now where is the argument here, if the legal sacrifices were not ordained to take away sin? Was it not possible for them to take away the external or temporal punishment, if they were nothing else but rites (as you say) appointed by God for that end?

Then what was the great day of expiation appointed for? It was not to excuse any Man from death or temporal punishment, but to atone for the sins of the People which were all put upon the head of the Scape-goat, to bear them away: And we find no temporal punishment for the neglect of many of the sacrifices, as those appointed after Child-birth, &c. And they were not rites to procure pardon for any civil or political crime; but to shew the impurity of our corrupted Nature, and that we are born in sin.

But, Sir, you are got in with the Men of the *Rights*, who consider God only as the State Ruler of the *Jews*, and his Laws to have no other than a political meaning, without any respect to sin or a future state. And I suppose you are of their opinion too, that God had this authority deriv'd to him by the People, and gave them Laws by virtue of the *Horeb Contract*! Great part of their Artillery came out of your Forge.

But, Sir, you have slip't an expression here, in your zeal to make the legal sacrifices only allusions and not types: You say, *That Christ's death had the like efficacy for eternal pardon, as the legal sacrifices had for external and temporal pardon.* Quite forgetting that you make nothing of the death of *Christ* as to propitiation, but place all in the intercession only, of which I have spoken sufficiently. But that wou'd not have answer'd the types or allusion (if you will call it so) of the legal sacrifices, which did not intercede at all; but had respect only to the death of *Christ*: Therefore you were forced to make use of that word. It is hard for error to be consistent with it self.

XX. But you strike home, and quote authorities, p. 17. you say, " Besides, how can one infinite sacrifice (if it be supposed) be an equivalent for so many Myriads of infinite sins? As a great Prelate of the age has observ'd in one of his four Discourses. Will not each crime need an infinite sacrifice? If you say one infinite is as much as many of the same kind, because it can have no addition—Then a whole course of debauch-

" cries

eries ought to fit as easy on the conscience, as one single infinite fault; and will not this be a fine way to make your Doctrine of Satisfaction a comfortable Doctrine?

Sir, I will not ask who your prelate is, or if you quote him right; but to the argument. It is all built upon mistake, and a poor jingle on the word Infinite. There is none infinite but God: And we cannot frame an idea of an infinite Nature. No sin can be infinite in its nature; but we call it infinite, as being an offence against an infinite Being: And the guilt of an offence rises according to the dignity of the Person offended: Thus an affront to a King is a greater offence than the same affront if offer'd to a private Person: And measuring by the dignity of the Person, what can we call a sin against God, but an infinite offence? And we cannot make any Satisfaction for it, as we may to a Man, even to a King offended. But to say it will follow from hence, that there cannot be greater provocations, or more sins in number, because nothing can be added to infinite, is playing with a word, and not understanding because we will not understand: I dare leave it to any common Reader, whether this is not a mere cavil; and as such I pass it.

XXI. But p. 19, 20. You accuse me for injuring another great Prelate, and making him a *Socinian*. In what? Because of his Sermon concerning Hell Torments, that it is not certain they are everlasting, because as he says, God is not oblig'd to inflict threatenings, tho' he is to perform promises which are to the benefit of those to whom they are made: I name neither Person, nor Prelate, nor Sermon: And where you see I avoid reflexions, you ought not to bring them in. They lye then upon you: But is this of Hell Torments any part of *Socinianism*? How was this then making him a *Socinian*? You endeavour to clear the *Socinians* from it, p. 19. by saying that the *Racovian* Catechism, and other of their writings, expressly own eternal punishments, and that Dr. *Stillingfleet* cites them as asserting, that *God's Veracity is concern'd in the execution of those threatenings on the impenitent*.

Thus, Sir, you have clear'd the *Socinians*. And yet at the end of your p. 6. you argue with some warmth against the eternity of Hell Torments; and use the very argument in that Sermon. You say,

"That whatever the certain natural consequences of sin may be, to render an incorrigible sinner miserable, and whatever engagements may be upon his (God's) Truth on other accounts, to exact the threatened punishment on the irreclaimable sinner; yet the bare threatening does not, I conceive, engage his Truth, because threatenings are not like predictions, nor are wont to be understood to signify what shall certainly be, but what may be expected: They are not given as a pledge of the divine Veracity: Death was threatened to the Murderer, and yet God said to *David*, without being false, *Thou shalt not die*.

By this, not only the Eternity of Hell Torments, but any Hell at all is render'd wholly precarious; for the one is threatened no more than the other.

I see now, Sir, what made you so displeas'd at any contradiction to that Sermon. I will not enter into the argument now, having said so much of it before: This only I would ask you, that since the Sermon does grant that God intended Men should believe the Eternity of Hell, to deter them the more from sinning, to what ends of Religion this contrary doctrine is now set up? If believing the Eternity of Torments will not restrain some Men, will making them doubt of any punishment at all persuade them? And if God design'd Men should believe it, why would you or he persuade them

not to believe it? But this we must say, that we cannot have greater assurance of it, than by God's telling us that so it is.

You ask me, p. 20. "Whether I intended to slur that illustrious Archbishop (whose noble Parts, great Integrity, and sweet Temper, render'd him one of the greatest ornaments of the Church and Age) by telling the world he was a *Socinian*?"

Sir, where have I told the world so? Unless you think that his opinion concerning Hell is *Socinianism*. And I was so far from intending to slur him, that I only gave my thoughts as to his opinion, without naming either himself or his Sermon.

And I must tell you, Sir, that your high commendation of him will not contribute much to clear him from the charge of *Socinianism*, if any lays that upon him: You should have dealt as tenderly with him as I did, and not have nam'd him upon this occasion: But I suppose you thought it a credit to your cause to have him, and the other great Prelate you quote, suspected of favouring it.

But all this is foreign to our present dispute; only you would hale it in; and I thought it civil to give you an answer.

XXII. It seems all I touch is defil'd, not excepting the Holy Scriptures: For just before this attack upon me, p. 19. you ridicule some Scripture expressions which I use, and say to me,

"As to your wild *Antinomian* suggestions scatter'd up and down, about *Christ's* Suretyship, his being the Reconciler of Angels, who never offend-
ed, as well as of Men; your pretty Metaphors about being cloathed in the garments of our elder brother, (a bold word to use of almighty God, for as *Christ* was Man, you'll not say but there were elder brethren than he) your talk of darning and cobling, rubbing and scrubbing, patching and scouring, the *filthy rags of our righteousness*, &c.

This last was a simile I made of a Man cloathed in filthy rags, coming to court, to sit down with the King at his table, at the marriage of his Son, and not putting on a wedding-garment, but thinking it well enough to patch and clean his filthy rags, which I compar'd to those who trust in *their own righteousness*. And as to my words, you may make as free with them as you please, but do you not know, that *our righteousness* is compared to *filthy rags*? Isa. LXIV. 6. Is not *Christ* called our *Surety*? Heb. VII. 22. And is it not said that *all things* in *Heaven* as well as on *Earth* are *reconciled* by him? Col. I. 20. And does not the Apostle use the metaphor of our being new *cloathed* and *cloathed upon*? 2 Cor. iv. 2, 3, 4. which he explains Phil. III. 9. *That we may be found in him* (*Christ*) *not having our own Righteousness* (that is, our *filthy rags*) *but that which is through the Faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by Faith*. And as to *Christ* being our *elder Brother*, is it not said Rom. VIII. 29. that *he is the First-born, among many brethren*? And if you understand it not, you may see it explain'd Col. I. 15, 18. where he is called the *First-born from the Dead*, and the *First-born of every Creature*. But how came you to fancy that I meant this of almighty God, and not of *Christ* as Man, and that I called God our *elder Brother*? This shews your great sagacity and skill in the holy Scriptures.

And, Sir, remember, that the dispute is not here about the meaning of these expressions, but you turn the expressions themselves into ridicule, and spend your wit upon them: I hope not knowing that they were the words of Scripture!

You say, "That the poor Dissenters have been jeer'd out of these expressions, by them of the Church, as nauseous cant."

Sir, I dare say, you are much mistaken: The meaning they put upon these expressions might be found fault with. But if any said, that the expressions were nauseous cant, they have fallen into your error: And the Dissenters were in the right not to be jeer'd out of them.

XXIII. I have not taken your p. 17, and 18. in course, because I spoke to them before: And I did not intend to have gone over your Paper, most of it being digressions; but having begun, I am drawn in. I will now only add this, That as your whole banter (for I can call it no other) proceeds from your speaking of the Persons of God as of the Persons of Men, thence asking, if the Son made Satisfaction to the Father, who made Satisfaction to the Son, &c? So now to shew you, that the same may be turn'd upon your scheme, I ask you first, whether we are baptized into the Faith and Worship of Creatures? If not, how will you defend that Party of the *Unitarians* among us, who acknowledge the Son and the Holy Ghost (in whose names we are baptiz'd) to be truly distinct Persons, but to be Creatures? As *John Biddle* and his followers. But on the other hand, others of you do suppose that by the Son and the Holy Ghost no Persons at all are meant, but only some of God's Attributes, as Wisdom, or Power, &c. Then they make this sense of our Baptism, to be in the name of the Father, and of his Power, and of his Wisdom, which are the same with the Father; and that we are not baptized into the names of Persons, or have our Faith in Persons, but in Attributes or Qualities, which are nothing in themselves, only School-terms to express our apprehension of things, and so we are baptized into the Faith and Worship of School-terms, which you so much abominate, and lay all the errors in the Church upon bringing them into our Creeds; to which of these Classes of *Unitarians* you belong, I will not examine, but leave you to make your choice.

XXIV. I told you before, that intercession for us is as often attributed to the Spirit as to the Son: Is the Son therefore no otherwise our Redeemer than as the Spirit is? It can be no otherwise to you, who place all in intercession only: But to us who believe that the intercession is grounded upon the sacrifice of the Cross, the answer is easy, that the Son only took Flesh, and suffer'd for us, tho' the Spirit also maketh intercession, and also upon the account of that sacrifice.

Now supposing as most of you do, that the Spirit is no Person distinct from the Father, how might I ring all those changes upon the intercession that you do upon the Satisfaction? The same Person to intercede with himself! Is not that as absurd (in your view) as to make Satisfaction to himself?

But then supposing that the Son and the Spirit are Persons, (but Creatures) distinct from the Father and from each other, as the *Biddleit-Unitarians* hold, might I not ask as you do: What! Is the Spirit more compassionate and more exorable than the Father? And if we owe our redemption to his intercession, then we owe more thanks to the Spirit than to the Father, who but for the Spirit had doom'd us to eternal destruction! Thus you argue against the Satisfaction; grossly measuring the Persons of God by the Persons of Men. And now I shew you how this will turn upon you, in what you allow and contend for, the intercession of the Son, as also of the Spirit, which you cannot deny is likewise as expressly in Scripture.

And suppose a *Jew*, *Mahometan*, or *Pagan*, or one of our Deists shou'd ask you, what need there is of intercession? Can any inform God of what he knew not before? Or has any more goodness than God, to prompt him

to shew more mercy than he was otherwise inclin'd to? Or can the value and deserving of any Intercessor be more prevalent with God, than his own innate and essential goodness? Wou'd he give his glory to another, and let the sinner be obliged to any but to himself for his pardon, nay, more to the Intercessor than to himself, according to your argument against the Satisfaction? This you insist upon, p. 18, 19. that it wou'd make the Son more gracious than the Father. And you say,

XXV. "How can poor People forbear, by this rule, to think and speak more kindly of *Jesus Christ* than of God? Is this one reason that makes so many bow at the name of *Jesus*, who yet stand stiff at the name of his God and ours? Or that teaches others to call a Sermon of loving *Christ*, &c. spiritual preaching, while one of loving and obeying God is relish'd as dry morality?"

Sir, in answer to this last point, I with reverence were always shew'd at naming the name of God, even in private conversation, by uncovering the head, rising from ones seat, or bowing the Body or the Knee: It wou'd hinder that awful name to be so frequently in the Mouth upon every slight occasion. And it is not preferring the name of *Jesus* to that, which is the reason of bowing at the name of *Jesus*; but it was used as a characteristick to distinguish a true Christian from the pretended, and from all others. For bowing at the name of God, did not distinguish from an Heathen, a Jew, or a Mahometan, who all own a supreme God: And bowing at the name of *Christ*, wou'd not distinguish from a Jew, who own and expect a *Christ* yet to come, but deny that our *Jesus* was the *Christ*. The same said *Cerintus* and his followers in the days of the Apostles, that *Christ*, by which they meant the holy Spirit of God, did dwell in *Jesus*, and inspire him, but not that he was the *Christ* or God: They denied that he took Flesh, or was made Man, only that he dwelt in that Man *Jesus*, and resided in him, as in other good Men, but in a degree more than ordinary. This was the Doctrine of *Simon Magus*, whose Disciple *Cerintus* was, and likewise all you Socinians who hold the same. In opposition to this the Apostles, particularly St. *John*, who lived the longest, and had seen *Cerintus*, laid the stress of the christian Faith not only in believing in *Christ*, but that *Jesus* was the *Christ*, and not only dwelt in Flesh, but was made Flesh. And he concludes his Gospel, *These things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ*. And in his first Epistle, *Who is a Liar, but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ?* And again, *Every Spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh, is not of God, and this is that Spirit of Anti-Christ, whereof ye have heard that it should come, and even now already is it in the World.* (So that, Sir, you see your Doctrine is very ancient!) And this may be the reason why it is said, *That at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow*. That is, that all should confess *Jesus* to be the *Christ*. And this is confessed by us when we bow at that name, in opposition to all Heathens, Jews, and Anti-Christes (as the Apostle calls them) who deny this *Jesus* to be the *Christ*, or that he was really made Flesh, only that he was inspired of God, and God might be said in a metaphorical sense, to dwell in Flesh, as in *Moses* and the Prophets, &c.

Hence the Quakers (your true Disciples) have taken the name of *Christ* and of God too to themselves, and have paid divine adoration to each other, that is, to *Christ* or God dwelling in them.

But you care not to distinguish yourselves from any of these, and ridicule us for owning that *Jesus* only and none other is the *Christ*, by bowing at his name.

XXVI. Sir,

John i. 14.
chap. xx. 31.
chap. ii. 22.
chap. iv. 3.

Phil. ii. 10.

XXVI. Sir, I am now near a conclusion. You complain of me p. 20, 21. for not allowing the *Socinians* to be Christians; but you answer not a word to the reasons I produced for it: So that it wou'd be perfect repetition for me to go over them again here; therefore I must refer you back to my *second Letter*, p. 216, &c.

But to prove them to be Christians, you say, p. 21. *Do they not Worship the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob?* To which I answer, *Do not the Jews and Mahometans the same?* But you add, *And the same God the Apostles worshipped.* Why was this any other God? But you go on and say, *Nay, do not they Worship the same God that our Lord Christ himself worshipped?* To which I still say, and do not the *Jews and Mahometans* the same? I might add the *Heathens* too, who worshipped the same God, tho' ignorantly, *Acts xvii. 23.*

But here is the difference; the Apostles and Christians did worship *Christ* as their Lord and their God; which is own'd by the *Racovian Catechism*, and all excluded from the name of Christians who do not the same, and give not the same Worship to *Christ* as to God himself, as I have plainly set down in my *first Letter* p. 219, &c. and to which you have answered nothing; so that you should have blamed your own *Racovian Catechism*, and not put all your objections against me: But you wou'd not quit your founders, tho' you have departed from their Doctrine—that you may appear not to be upstart indeed.

You wou'd shew a difference betwixt your selves and the *Mahometans*, where you say, p. 20. *That they deny the Apostles Creed in the very Letter.* But, Sir, this is not true; do they deny the first Article, of believing in God? Nor do they the others: You say (*ibid.*) that they deny *Christ* to be the Son of God; I say, no more than you do: They say that *Christ* was born of a Virgin, without the touch of a Man, by the immediate operation of God. See the *Alcoran*, Chap. iii. p. 44. of the *English Edition* in *Octavo*, 1688. And in this sense they deny him not to be the Son of God. And you allow it in no other sense than this; there they say, “Remember thou how the Angels said, *O Mary*, God declareth unto thee a Word, from which shall proceed the *Messias*, named *Jesus*, the Son of *Mary*, full of honour in this World, and that shall be in the other of the number of Intercessors, with his divine Majesty.”

And this is all that you attribute to him, the office of an Intercessor, as is fully shewed before.

But you say, (*ibid.*) That they deny he was crucify'd, dead and buried, and that he rose from the dead.

This is all only that he did not die, for then he was not buried, nor rose again: And this is no more than what some christian Hereticks have said, that he died only in appearance or shew. And they wou'd have taken it as ill as you do, not to be reckon'd Christians: For they thought they did this for his honour, and as not thinking it consistent with the Justice of God, to suffer so innocent and excellent a Person to be thus treated: They were ignorant of the reason you give for his sufferings, only to try how much he cou'd suffer, tho' God knew it all before; yet he wou'd try the experiment! And tho' his death was not necessary to his being an Intercessor. Therefore *Mahomet*, who was but a degree removed from an *Arian*, thought he improv'd upon the matter when he cou'd save the death of *Christ*, without any hindrance to his being an Intercessor: And *Mahomet* seem'd to be as good a Christian as you in this, who make the death of *Christ* of no manner of effect, as to our redemption.

Especially considering what you say in the words immediately following, *That in the subjection to the Laws of Christ the very essence of a Christian lies; more than in right systems of Faith.* So that if a *Mahometan*, *Jew*, or *Pagan* leads a good moral life, he has the very essence of a Christian, and then no doubt is a Christian, let his system of Faith be what it will!

Joh. vi. 28, 29.
v. 53.

viii. 24.

But, Sir, there are other good works besides what we call good moral works, as of Justice betwixt Man and Man. Thus when the *Jews* said to *Christ*, *What shall we do, that we may work the works of God?* He gave them this answer, *This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent.* And again, *Verily verily I say unto you, except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no life in you.* This must at least be meant of believing in his Death and Passion. And, *For if ye believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your sins.* Here is something given us to understand as to the purging of our defects, and making an atonement for our past sins. This is beyond morality, and to be found only in Christianity; which you wou'd reduce back again to plain morality, by making that (and not Faith) the essence of a Christian: Whereas morality being common to all Men, tho' improv'd by *Christ*, is not to be call'd Christianity, notwithstanding it is enjoin'd by Christianity; but Faith only is the essence of Christianity, and by this only is a Christian distinguished from other Men, from Heathens, *Jews*, and *Mahometans*, and I will add from *Socinians*, who, as you have shewed, have no Faith in the sacrifice and atonement made by the death of *Christ* for sin, and openly plead the no necessity of it, as to remission; and now you have dwindled it down to nothing but a system of morality, wherein Faith is not essential! For surely all that morality might have been taught us by a Prophet or an Angel, without any need of *Christ*'s coming, far less of his dying.

But to make an end of this comparison betwixt you and the *Mahometans*, I desire you to shew me which of our present *Unitarians* now among us have given so great honour to *Christ* as what you will find in the *Alcoran*, at the end of chap. iv. p. 82. of the edition before quoted, in these words.

“The *Messiah*, *Jesus*, the Son of *Mary*, is a Prophet, and Apostle of God, his Word, and his Spirit, which he sent to *Mary*.”

Here *Jesus* is call'd the Word of God: Which our *Unitarians* expressly deny, only say that the Word or Spirit dwelt in *Jesus*, as in other holy Men. See my *second Dialogue* from the beginning, to p. 253. So that here the *Mahometans* are much better Christians than the *Socinians*.

But, Sir, I think you had not reason to take it ill that I compar'd you with *Mahometans*, considering that you take the liberty to make us as bad as *Pagans*: For proof of this I quoted one of the late *Socinian* Treatises, entituled, *A Letter of Resolution concerning the Doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation.* Which he calls *modern Christianity*, and says of it, p. 18. *That it is no better nor other than a sort of Paganism and Heathenism*: And he represents the *Tartars* as acting more rationally in embracing the more plausible sect of *Mahomet*, than the *christian Faith*.

For this you fall foul upon me, p. 21. and say to me, “Whether the *Unitarians* ever said, *Paganism is preferable to the christian doctrine*, as you assert in your *Preface*; and it will concern you to shew, that you make some conscience of what you write, by making that heavy charge good; if you cannot do it—

There is no more of it in my *Preface* than what is above quoted, which you will see there, p. 217. and p. 218. And there are not the words

words you quote as mine: So that I may return upon you, *making conscience of what you write*: Especially quotations ought to be exact.

But you cannot deny that you make *Mahometism* preferable to Christianity, by calling it more rational and more plausible: And you put Heathenism upon the level with it, when you say, that our *Christianity is no better nor other than a sort of Paganism*: This is the utmost moderation you pretend to.

And pray what do you say less in this same place? You say, "I know they (the *Unitarians*) may have said, that the doctrine of the Trinity, of real Persons or Minds in the Godhead, is like the *Pagan* plurality of Gods.

Sir, you put in here the word *Minds*, which was made use of by one Doctor only, by way of explanation, as he thought, but has met with no approbation among us, nor ought to be charged upon the christian Faith, there being no such word in any of our Creeds. But however you your self here make our christian Faith like the *Pagan* plurality—And will you own us then as christian Brethren?

XXVII. But you have another *like* for me too: You say to me in the next words, "And I think you have shewn something like it (the *Pagan* plurality of Gods) in producing the testimony of Heathens to a Trinity.

This, Sir, is indeed like your self! Your great objection against the doctrine of the Trinity is, that it is against Reason, even to a contradiction; and therefore was a stranger to all the world, till of late years invented by the Christians; and therefore is a stumbling-block to *Jews* and Heathens, to keep them from Christianity: Which objection I turn'd into an argument, that it could not be of human invention, it being so much above reason, but that it must come therefore from that revelation, which I shew'd was made of it from the beginning, but more obscurely than as it has since been declared in the Gospel: That the *Jews* therefore retain'd a dim idea of it: And the Heathens learned it from them: Whence *Plato* and their more refin'd Philosophers endeavour'd to reconcile it to Reason: Which I quoted to shew, that it was not wholly unknown to the *Gentiles*, at least to the most learned of them; and that they found no contradiction in it, for they measured it not grossly, as you do, by applying it to the persons of Men.

Having thus gain'd the point upon you, you now turn the tables, and put the objection in the quite contrary way: And whereas the doctrine of the Trinity was before nothing short of a contradiction, and impossible to be believ'd by Men of Sense or Reason; now it is the invention of the Men of the most refin'd Reason in the world, who being *Pagans*, the Trinity must be a *Pagan* plurality!

But, Sir, the *Pagan* plurality had nothing to do with the notion which the wiser of them had of the holy Trinity, and center'd it in the Unity, not to make a plurality of Gods: Whereas the Gods they commonly worshipped were divers Persons separated and divided from each other, of different interests, and often fighting with one another; they made Gods of Men, and therefore measur'd them wholly according to the different Persons of Men: And you, following their example, have accounted for the Trinity just after the same manner: Whence come all the contradictions and absurdities with which you have involv'd your self, and would put upon others, not being willing to understand their true meaning.

XXVIII. After this, p. 21, 22. you seek to make advantage to your cause by the explanation Dr. *Sherlock* lately adventur'd to make of this great My-

stery: And from the Polytheism charg'd by some as a consequence of his explanation, you would infer Polytheism in some Christians, at least in the opinion of others: And you would equal this with the *Pagan* plurality.

But, Sir, no Man is to be charg'd with consequences he does not see or own; for at this rate every sin may be improved by argument and consequences up even to Atheism: Yet it would not be just to call every sinner an Atheist. Dr. *Sherlock* held the doctrine of the Trinity as professed in the *Athanasian* Creed: And if he had been convinced that his explanation had been contrary to this, no doubt he would have retracted his explanation. But is this the case of those who openly and professedly deny the doctrine itself, and dispute against it? This only shews a mind to cavil, and catch at every advantage!

XXIX. You next, p. 22, 23. make the same use of all parties taking to themselves the name of the Church. But, Sir, they all say, that Truth likewise is on their side. Is there therefore no such thing as Truth to be found in the world, as you wou'd have no such thing as Church?

I hope I have shewed in my Dialogues what the current sense of the Church was, even before the first Council of *Nice*, concerning the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation. And if this has met with great opposition, it is no more than other Truths have suffer'd. Must we believe no revelation, because we have Deists; nor any God, because there are Atheists? And must we believe no true Church, because there are many false pretenders?

Sir, these sort of topicks shew only that your cause is destitute; they tend only to scepticism, which is no more on your side than ours: And whoever use it are bewilder'd, and have a mind to hide themselves, and avoid arguments they cannot answer: It is raising a dust, that we may not see our way: It is like scoffing *Pilate*, who ask'd *what is Truth?* But would not stay for an answer.

XXX. You end with a declamation against persecution; but can instance only in your self, (among all our *Unitarians*) and that by the *Presbyterians*, and in a countrey where there is no toleration for *Socinians*. But since you have come under the protection of our Laws, you have had City-Halls for your Meeting-Houses, and free liberty to preach till you were weary, without making any recantation, but to gain what profelytes you could: Nor have you met with any disturbance that I hear of, unless you think that my writing against your principles is a persecution! And yet I run more hazard by it than you do!

You confess the *Arians* (your predecessors) were persecutors in their turn; but you think the *Socinians* would not be so now.

Sir, if you were to take a Man's picture for likeness, would you have it drawn when he was in full health, or when he was alter'd by Sicknes? My meaning is, that what Men would do is best known when they are in power: Then you must take their likenesses: Neither their voice nor their looks are the same when they are under hatches: Nay, their minds sink too: You know not how you would alter if you had another *Arian* Emperor, and the Laws on your side.

Wou'd you then think it proper to give toleration to open blasphemy and idolatry, as you think our system of Christianity is? Wou'd you not urge that these were made capital by God himself, under the Law, and Kings severely punished by God for suffering these? Wou'd you not say, it was the Magistrates Duty to see that God shou'd not be dishonour'd, more than the King? Wou'd you not think your self answerable (if you were a King) to give licence to all vile heresies to spread, and corrupt the Faith? Nay,

if

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if you were a Bishop, wou'd you not be afraid of the Judgment pronounced against the Bishop of *Thyatira*? *Because thou sufferest that Woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a Prophetess, to teach and to seduce my Servants.* And against the Bishop of *Laodicea*? *Because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my Mouth.* Wou'd you not consider that all the good works, wherein you put your trust, and think them the essence of Christianity, wou'd not avail in this case? For thus saith the Son of God to the Bishop of *Thyatira*, *I know thy Works, and Charity, and Service, and Faith, and thy Patience, and thy Works, and the last to be more than the first: Notwithstanding, because thou sufferest that Woman, &c.* Wou'd you not be afraid when all these good works cou'd not excuse for suffering any to teach and to seduce the Servants of the Lord? When this one negligent act in the Governor of a Church shou'd outweigh the greatest personal holiness, which cou'd not make amends for the mischief of his remissness or moderation, far greater than all his holiness, in suffering the Servants of God to be seduced by false teachers? Will any good act a Shepherd can do, countervail his not watching, and suffering the Wolves to come in among the Sheep? Will not their blood be requir'd at the hands of such a Watch-Man, who blew not the Trumpet, tho' he was saying his Prayers all the while, or giving all his goods among the poor, or his very Body to be burnt? Can he do any thing so acceptable to God as to maintain his post, and take care of the Souls committed to his charge?

You say, p. 23. "It is the inviolable unalienable right of a reasonable Being to worship and profess, according to his Conscience, so long as nothing is done to the injury of the Common-wealth in its proper concernments. Have not the *Unitarians* a God and a Conscience, &c?"

And have not Kings and Bishops Conscience too? And what if these interfere?

But how come you to limit Conscience here? You put an exception to the plea of Conscience, That *no Injury be done to the Commonwealth in its proper concernments.* And what are these concernments? And who is judge which concernments are proper to the Commonwealth? It may assume concernments which are not proper to it.

But in the next place, is not Religion a concernment that is proper to a Commonwealth? And are not diversities of Religions found to be hurtful to Commonwealths, especially where they all claim a share in the administration? Why else have we excluded the Papists, and *Holland* all that are not of the established Church, from being Members of the States?

But may Conscience be ty'd up in these concernments, and not in that which is far greater, the eternal concernment? And if endangering a Commonwealth is a sufficient reason to restrain the plea of Conscience, lest it do hurt to others, in temporal things; must that plea be allow'd to seduce as many as it can in what concerns their eternal welfare?

Come, Sir, speak out, wou'd you, if you were a Governor either in Church or State, give free toleration to Infidels and Heathens, and see them seduce before your face all your Subjects from Christianity? Wou'd you think this a good account of your stewardship?

If you say, that you are in the right and they in the wrong, you give up your whole cause: Where is then that *inviolable unalienable Right of every reasonable Being to worship and profess according to his Conscience*?

I have said thus much upon this head, because it is the most plausible topick, whereby unthinking People are seduced to give disturbance to any establishment either in Church or State. What! Not to give a Man the liberty

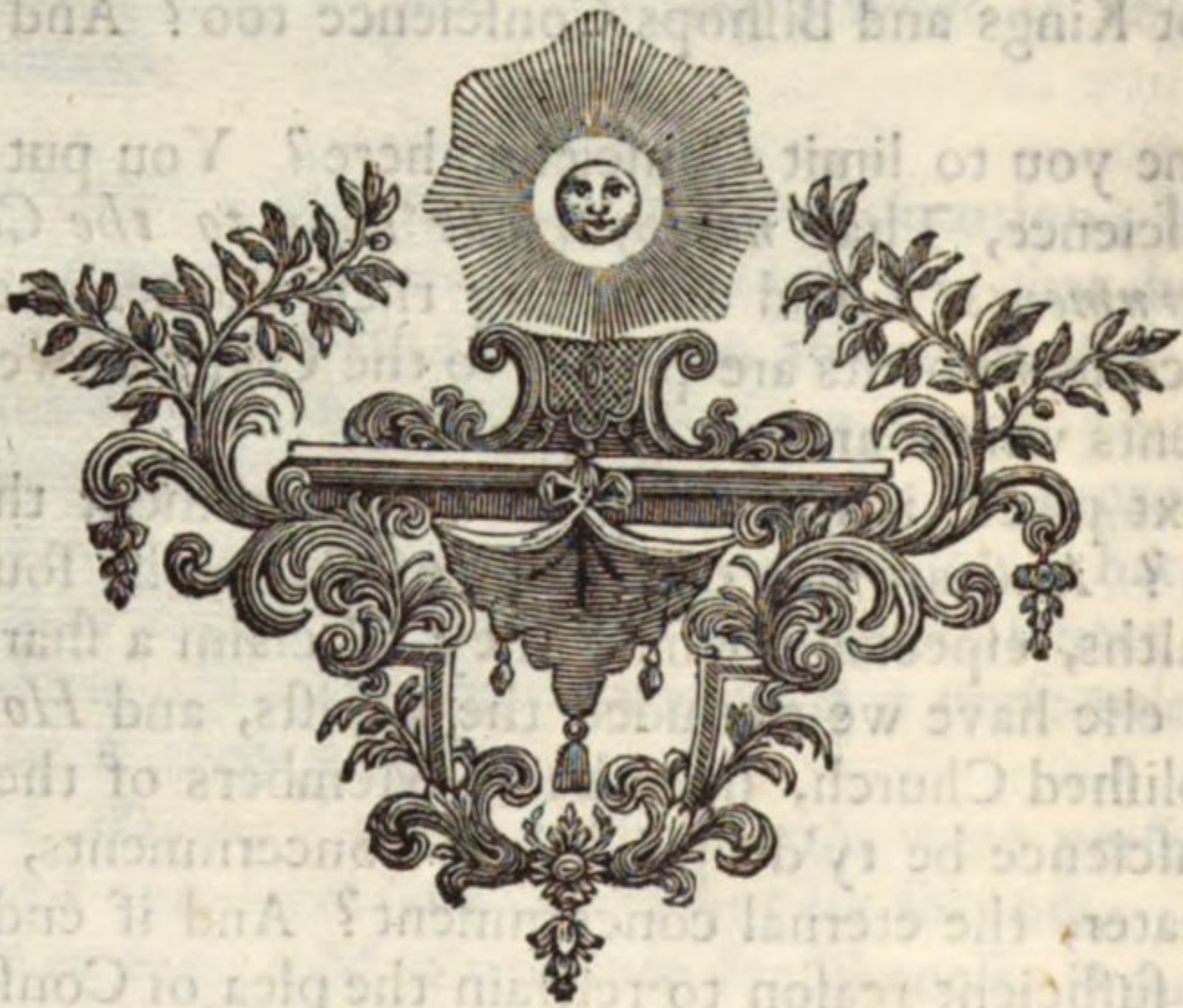
liberty of his Conscience! And they see no harm at all in this! And yet not one of them wou'd allow it, if they were in power; they wou'd then soon see the mischief of it.

If any think I reason not aright, I will put it to the test of fact. Shew me then that Church or Society of Men in the World who have not persecuted (as they call it) some time or other, when they had the power.

All restraint is call'd persecution by those on whom it is laid: And they wou'd desire to be freed from it. There is not a Sect in *England* but wou'd be the established Church if they cou'd; and no doubt will be, whenever it is in their power: Therefore it cannot be safe to let them have votes in our Legislature. And this is so far from being a persecution, that it is a necessary caution in every wise establishment; and whoever complain of it for persecution, have designs in their head.

You have led me out of the way of our subject by following you: However I hope this digression will not be unserviceable.

I pray God give us a right Understanding in all things; those especially which concern our eternal peace.





A
S U P P L E M E N T
 I N
A N S W E R

T O
 Mr. CLENDON'S *Tractatus Philosophico-Theologicus:*
 O R, A
Treatise of the Word P E R S O N.

Blessed is the Man that hath not walk'd in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, and hath not sat in the seat of the scornful. Psal. i. 1.



man accomplices of that sort of triumph: If it have not the happy effect of inducing them to repentance; which is the victory I desire over them; and I pray heartily for them, that God would open their Eyes, and let them see his glory in the face of Jesus Christ: To whom be all Honour, Might, Majesty, and Dominion, from all Creatures, converted Sinners especially, now and for ever. Amen.

SUPPLEMENT

IN

ANSWER

TO

Mr. CLENDON'S Tractatus Philosophico-Theologicus:

OR A

Treatise of the Word PERSON.

Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, and hath not sat in the seat of the scornful. Psalm. i. 1.



P R E F A C E.

THE censure of this Book of Mr. Clendon's by the Parliament, with the order for his being prosecuted for it, shews how much he has mistaken his text, the Act of Parliament which he took for his foundation of the Doctrine of the blessed Trinity.

This might have saved my pains as to the explanation of that Act: But these Papers were wrote (all to Sect. x.) before the late Tryal of Dr. Sacheverel, which occasion'd that sentence upon Mr. Clendon, among other blasphemous Writers of the age.

My publishing them now, is that sort of persecution which only I have aimed at; to convert if I can, if not, to confute these enemies of Christianity. If the latter be the case, it will be a greater mortification to Men conceited of their own Wit, than any legal penalties: And they are apt to say, that this is all the confutation can be given them, and to glory in their own Confessorship to the vilest of heresies!

This then is to disarm Mr. Clendon and the rest of his Socinian accomplices of that sort of triumph: If it have not the happier effect of inducing them to repentance; which is the victory I desire over them; and I pray heartily for them, that God would open their Eyes, and let them see his glory in the face of Jesus Christ: To whom be all Honour, Might, Majesty, and Dominion, from all Creatures, converted Sinners especially, now and for ever. Amen.



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A SUPPLEMENT, in ANSWER to Mr. CLENDON.

I. **S**INCE the foregoing Sheets were printed off, an old *Socinian* in the *Temple* has enter'd the Lists against me. I therefore stopt the Publication of them, till I had read over this *Tædulus*, intituled, *Tractatus Philosophico-Theologicus de Personâ*, or, *A Treatise of the word Person*, by *John Clendon* of the *Inner-Temple* Esq; Printed for *John Walthoe* in the *Middle-Temple Cloisters*, 1710. to find whether there were any new matter in this, which should require a distinct answer by it self; or that it might be dispatch'd in a Supplement to what goes before: And I easily determin'd to the latter, for tho' it is a large Book of 224 Pages, besides two Epistles Dedicatory, and one to the Reader, all the sense, or argument in it might be put into a Nut-shell. Nor had I thought it worthy of any notice, but that it seems the last effort, and exposes this baffled cause even to contempt: And because I heard some lay stress upon it, and say it had gain'd a vogue about the Town.

II. In the beginning of his Epistle to the Reader he falls upon me with a great deal of Wit, calling me Brute, and such like names for a whole Page together, and concludes, that *my Socinianism Discuss'd is not worth answering, and that he scorns to answer it!*

I. Yet he gives one stroke at me, and quotes my *fourth Dialogue*, p. 330. where I brought an allusion, that God is named in the Creed as a Nature or Species to Individuals, and then that the three Persons are named, *the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*, whence he wou'd infer that I meant God to be a Species, and the three Persons to be really and truly Individuals in a strict and proper sense; tho' I have frequently through these Dialogues guarded against any allusions to God being so taken; and here I word it with an *as*, to shew it was but an allusion; as it is express'd in the *second Dialogue*, p. 250. *as it were a Species*. Yet he takes no notice, but proves it to be Tritheism by this strong argument, *Now, what plainer and more impudent Tritheism than this, can be asserted by Man?—Surely nothing can be more.* And thus it is proved!

2. I have told you often (but you will not mind) that God is neither Genus, nor Species, nor Individual, nor Person, in the sense these words are taken, and as they are us'd among Men: And therefore that we must not argue strictly from them with relation to God, nor infer contradictions from them in God, because we find it so among Men; for these are only allusions, not proper words as to God, tho' the best we have; as when God is called Light, if we shou'd argue strictly from thence, what contradictions might we find? Yet this is the whole *Socinian* topick, to find contradictions in the Trinity of God, from the acceptation of the word Persons as apply'd to Men. How often have I told the Remarker upon my Dialogues of this? And he was forced to yield my observation to be just, and that it was no fair way of argument, and pretended he did not do it; yet they cannot refrain it: Here is now come out a whole Book *de Personâ*: And all, as it is apply'd to Men, by Orators and Logicians. And thence Mr. *Clendon* musters up his arguments against the Trinity, applying the word *Persons*, to *God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, in the same manner as to *Peter, James, and John*.

3. The *Socinians* pretended to the Scriptures; and published their *Brief History of the Unitarians* upon most of the texts from *Genesis* to the *Revelations*, which are usually brought for the Doctrine of the holy Trinity: They likewise asserted that the Fathers before the first Council of *Nice* were on their side. In answer to both which pretences, I published these Dialogues, and upon most, if not all of these texts, I not only argue from the general and known acceptation of the words, supported by other parallel texts, but give the interpretation of the Fathers before the first Council of *Nice* upon each text controverted, and shewed them to be intirely on the christian side of the question, and against the mis-representation of the *Unitarians*, or *Socinians*.

4. Now when I saw this great Book come out against me, and begin with my Dialogues, I thought to have found some reply to these things: But all the notice he takes of them in his p. 62, 63. where he quotes a few other texts which I had not named, and says, that these he names do not prove the thing.

III. But p. 56. he throws at all our Scriptures as deficient, and says, *The Gospel of the twelve Apostles, and other writings of those holy Men, were most of them either rejected as spurious, or suppressed, or otherwise apocryphated: And those few only were allowed of as canonical, which were of such notoriety that they could not be concealed, and which remain now to us at this day: This was one necessary piece of artifice they used.* This *they* was the Church, which he bespatters every where and here accuses of vitiating, concealing, and rejecting the true Scriptures: By which he means those false Gospels and other Pseudo-Scriptures, which the Predecessors of the *Socinians* had forged in those early times, to support the same heresie. This I shewed in the same *fourth Dialogue* he quotes, but four Leaves (as in the first Edit.) after what he quotes, p. 335. and tell from *Eusebius* and *Theodorit* how these Hereticks, then called *Nazarens*, were detected in forging new Scriptures, and corrupting the old, which some of them had the impudence to own, and called it mending the Scriptures; others of them rejected the Law and the Prophets, and other parts of the holy Scriptures, as they thought fit: But of this Mr. *Clendon* takes no notice (may be he never read it) but trumps up again the pretences of these condemn'd Hereticks, in opposition to the whole Catholick Church which he despises, as I come to shew more fully.

IV. In his *Dedication* to the Lord Chancellor, he says, p. 9. *My Lord, I have had no regard to Fathers or School-Men, nor to Councils or their Creeds.* And in his Book, p. 170. he says, *The notions of God, and God the Son, and God as the Son of God, is what we have from the Fathers and their Philosophy, and not from Revelation.* And p. 173, 174. *And this hath been the Doctrine of the Schools and the Catholick Church hitherto—* And since the animadverter had swallow'd thus much, which doubtless he did upon the authority of the Catholick Church, and so never consider'd it—p. 175. *And this Doctrine of the School-Men and Catholick Church—must be utterly impracticable, &c.* p. 194. *Nor ought we in this case to be fobb'd off with Mystery, nor with the authority of the Church: And what Church is it they mean at last, do you think? Even the Catholick Church.* And p. 195. *'Tis the Catholick Church they are so fond of, for the support of whose authority forsooth, we must be kept in ignorance, all they can, and the truth conceal'd from us.* Again, p. 215. *The three Hypostases of the Fathers, construed three Subsistences, and three Persons by the Schools, is the Doctrine of the Catholick Church.* And so it is in many other things. All this ado is to support the Authority of a Catholick Church. The Reader (if any other but my self, must undergo that penance) will find abundance of the like contempt of the Catholick Church throughout this tedious Book: And I suppose others will be content with what is here produced.

1. But it is not only in words he expresses his rage against the Catholick Church, he gives his reason, and excludes all *Gentiles* from christianity; he allows none to be true Christians, or to have had the Faith, but the *Jewish* converts only, and these he supposes to be extinguish'd in the reign of *Adrian* the Emperor; after which he says, the *Gentiles* came in and corrupted the Faith, *And they were fain to bid a perpetual adieu to the true Apostolick Doctrine of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ.* Thus he expresses it, p. 51. And again p. 69. he repeats it again, and says, “After *Adrian's* time, when the Christians of the Circumcision were wholly extirpated with the *Jews*, and no Bishops to be but of the *Gentiles*, the Christians became no more than another Sect in Philosophy: They called themselves Christians indeed, but as *Melito* there says, their Doctrines were the same Philosophy that had been among the *Ethnicks.*” And p. 70. *Thus it was* (says he) *that the old Evangelick Apostolick Doctrines concerning our Saviour were lost.* And how has Father Clendon found them again? In *Simon Magus*, *Cerintus*, *Sabellius*, and *Socinus*, and in the Gospel of the twelve Apostles and other Writings of those holy Men, which have been lost these one thousand five hundred years!

2. He says (as I have before quoted him) that it was one necessary piece of artifice the Church us'd, to admit none of these holy Writings into the Canon of the Scripture, but those few only which were of such notoriety that they cou'd not be gainsaid: And was not this an honest artifice, to admit nothing dubious into the Canon? But they were not dubious, for, as I quoted *Eusebius* in my *fourth Dialogue*, p. 435. there were notorious marks of imposture upon those he calls holy Writings, which were set up by these Hereticks in the names of the Apostles; as that all the copies they produc'd were in their own hands; and they cou'd shew no original whence they were transcrib'd; and that even the copies which went about among them did not agree with one another.

3. But he says that those Books in the Canon are a few only: And yet he thinks they are too many. I have taken notice before how the *Socinians* have endeavoured to invalidate several Books of holy Scripture, particularly all the writings of St. *John*, because he speaks most expressly of the Trinity

Trinity and Divinity of *Christ*, he having wrote the latest of any of the Apostles, and after *Cerintus* and others had broach'd their heresies against both these doctrines. And Mr. *Clendon* does not conceal his contempt of *St. John*, he calls him *poor St. John*, p. 75. and says of him, p. 42. *The good Evangelist was not skill'd in their Philosophy, and so was not a match for them.* Again, p. 46. *He, good Man, notwithstanding his great age, for the Peace of the Church, undertakes to write.* And to help out this poor old Man, Mr. *Clendon* ventures to mend his text for him! as you will see p. 33. where instead of our literal translation of *John* v. 26. *As the Father hath Life in himself, so hath he given (ἔδωκε) to the Son to have Life in himself.* Mr. *Clendon* renders it thus, *So shall be given to the Son, &c.* that is, in the *Socinian* notion, that it should be given him after his Resurrection, but not that he had Life in himself before: It is frequent with the *Socinians* to take this liberty with the texts of Scripture, as I have shewed in many instances in my Dialogues.

V. Mr. *Clendon* having thus made bold with the Scriptures, and quite thrown off the catholick Church, let us see what foundation he gives to the doctrine of the holy Trinity, and his account how it came first into the world. With this he begins his chap. ii. and makes it a mere heathenish invention: He mentions the *Τριάς* or Trinity of *Plato*, consisting of the three Hypostases or Persons in the Deity, and that in these three principles of origination the whole *πλήρωμα*, or *Fulness* of the Deity did consist. And this (says he p. 24.) *I take it was the first news that the world had of a divine Trinity.*

1. But, Mr. *Clendon*, those texts out of the Old Testament which are consider'd in my *second Dialogue* were long before *Plato*; therefore he might take it from them: It was impossible they could take it from him: And you should have clear'd up these texts better than I have done before you had thus confidently made *Plato* the original of this doctrine.

2. And what is now become of that master argument of the *Socinians*? That the doctrine of the Trinity is contradictory to all common Sense and Reason, and brought in by the Christians upon their mistake of some texts of Scripture, which the *Socinians* pretend to explain better: Yet now they would make it the invention of the Heathen, of their principal and most celebrated Philosophers, Men of the most refined Reason; and that the Christians did learn it from them!

3. But it was not the invention of either *Jew* or *Gentile*: No Reason of Man could have searched so far into the abyss of the Nature of God. It was at the first made known to Man by revelation; and it has descended down through all ages by tradition; chiefly of the *Jews*, who had the lively Oracles committed unto them, wherein this divine mystery was contained; and from whence, in all probability, *Plato* and the most acute of the heathen Philosophers did take it, for the Old Testament was known unto them: And the Fathers of the Church did quote the Old Testament for this doctrine of the Trinity, (as appears by what I have quoted of them upon the texts of the Old Testament) not the Philosophers, or the *Cabala* of the *Jews*, as Mr. *Clendon* foolishly imagines. I have insisted upon this in my *second Dialogue*, Sect. 15. N. 3, 4. but Mr. *Clendon* repeats the objection here over again, without taking any notice of the answers there given.

4. I have told before how Mr. *Clendon* throws off the *Greek Church* and the whole catholick Church ever since the *Jewish* Christians were extirpated in the Reign of *Adrian*, who only (he says) held the Faith uncorrupted: For that the *Greek* and *Gentile* converts brought in the *Pagan* Philosophy,

and corrupted the christian Religion by it. But forgetting this, he, p. 27, 28. makes the *Jews* the first who took this Philosophy into reveal'd Religion, and by this had establish'd the doctrine of the Trinity before Christianity began: And p. 28. he quotes Mr. *Dodwel* shewing how *Moses* became of authority among the *Gentile* Philosophers, and was quoted by them by the name of *ὁ προφήτης*, the Prophet. They who advance new Systems had need of good Memories.

VI. Well, but Mr. *Clendon* will have Philosophy to be the corrupter of reveal'd Religion, take it how you will. He says, p. 216. *That the christian doctrine was eclipsed and obscured by the darksome cloud of these mish-mash doctrines of Fathers and School-men, which make up the doctrine of the catholick Church.* And how does he set about to cure this? Even by entring into the very dregs of this mish-mash! His whole Book is nothing else but a fullsome and tedious repetition of *quoddities* and *quiddities*, and shewing his parts upon the difference betwixt Ens, Essence, and Existence, betwixt Substance and Subsistence, Accidents and Adjuncts, Suppositum, Person, and Personality; besides Modalities and Suppositivalities, &c. as different from all these! And out of this deep fountain of learning he has extracted (as he thinks) the true notion of the Word Person, which gives the title to his Book, *de Persona*, or, *A Treatise of the word Person*. And then he applies this to the word Persons as used in relation to the holy Trinity, and crys *Εὐρηκα*, he has untied the *Gordian* knot!

VII. Now let us see what he makes of this: This is the *jugulum causæ*. And here you will find a performance worthy of himself! He begins, p. 12. with giving the definition of the word Person, and of Personality: And this he makes to consist in whatever accidental thing distinguishes one Man from another, the colour of his hair, his phyzz, p. 13. his features, complexion, or countenance, his dress, p. 15, 16. address, mien, deportment, &c. As likewise any accidental accomplishment of the Mind, as Wisdom, Learning, Religion, &c. *Of this sort of accidents* (says he) *also are all honours, dignities, offices, and employments of trust, power or profit, and the like:* Every one of these he makes to be a Personality which does constitute the Person.

I. And by the same rule he says, p. 16. *The same one Man may be several Persons in those several respects; viz. as he is a wise Man he may be one Person, as he is a learned Man another, and as he is a religious Man another.* And by the foresaid description of phyzz, mien, dress, &c. when his beard grows he is one Person, and when he is shaved he is another; when he has a black coat on he is one Person, and another Person when he has a colour'd coat; he is different Persons when he looks sour or sweet, when he makes a mouth, walks, dances, or stands still; when he sleeps, walks, &c. For these are several Personalities, and it is the Personality makes the Person. *And hence it is* (says he, p. 17.) *that one particular essence may from the several Personalities be as properly call'd several Persons, as several particular Essences, can from their several Personalities be several Persons: For that in the one case as well as in the other, we contemplate the entire particular Essence in conjunction with the Personality that makes the Person.*

And so it is also of Personalities that result from dignities, offices, professions, employments, and the like. Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, as she is Queen of England, is one Person; as she is Queen of Scotland, she is another Person; and as she is Queen of Ireland she is another Person.

2. " And for this (says he p. 18.) I think I shall need no better authority than *M. T. Cicero*, whom all must allow to be a competent Judge of the Latin Tongue: 'Tis he that thus expresseth himself, *viz. Exiit homo Personam amici, quando induit Judicis*. And again, *Sustineo unus tres Personas, mei, adversarii, Judicis*. And they are frequent Phrases in Latin Authors, *viz. Personam agere, sustinere, induere, exuere deponere, &c.*—So that *Persona*, as to the true Latinity of the word—&c. Thus Mr. Clendon.

The word Latinity here was well found out, for it chimes more with the School terminations of Identity, Substantiality, Personality, &c. than plain Latin wou'd have done! But, Mr. Clendon, you needed not have gone so far for these deep Observations, for even in the Englishity of the word, to personate another is taken in the same sense, as when you mimick another, or a Player acts or personates a Pedant upon the Stage, &c. Does this really make him another Person than he is? Does he hereby become a Bencher of the Temple, or Reader at the Trumpet-Clubb?

3. You fall foul (p. 124.) upon Mr. Samuel Hill Rector of Killmington, as a zealous Defender of the Greek Fathers, as appears (say you) by a very unmannerly Book he wrote some time since against the Bishop of Salisbury: But what you have to say to him is touching his notion of a Person. Which he thought he cou'd explain without your cramp words of Suppositums, Subsistences, &c. and says, as you quote him, p. 138. *That from that true, vital, substantial Union that is between the Soul and the Body results the Person of Peter, who is compounded of both*. This you call a new notion of a Person: Tho' I dare say it is the commonest in England, and what every Man means by a Person, who is not so Book-learned as Mr. Clendon: But you ridicule it thus. p. 139.

" No need now of Subsistence or Suppositum to help out the notion of
" of a Person. *Peter* as compounded of a Soul and Body by a vital Uni-
" on of both, is a sufficient Person: He can eat, and drink, and walk, and
" understand, and that's a Person sufficient.

But you reply smartly upon him, *A Man sufficient, good Mr. Examiner, but not a Person*. So you distinguish betwixt the Man and the Person: So that when *Peter* eats, drinks, &c. a Man eats and drinks, but not a Person. And why? Personality neither eats nor drinks; no, nor the Man-nality neither. But *Peter* cannot be a Man without being likewise a Person; and the Person of *Peter* does every thing that the Man of *Peter* can do. O rare Philosophy! Is not this what you just now called 'mish-mash, Mr. Clendon? And what shameful use do you make use of it, to confound common sense and manner of speaking? You made so slight of a Person before that a pair of new Shoes made a new Person: And now you are so strict, that you will not let a Man be a Person with himself, but thrust in Personalities and Suppositivities between them!

4. But you stick close to your parallel of the Queen and the Trinity, which I have quoted; you are so fond of it that you repeat it again, p. 142. and say,

" Thus 'tis (as I instanc'd before) of the triple Personality in the Queen's
" Majesty, with respect to the triple Diadem she wears; in respect of one
" of them, she is one compleat Person; in respect of another, she is ano-
" ther compleat Person; and in respect of the third, she is a third Person:
" And yet she is in her self but one compleat, individual, numerical, Es-
" sence or Being.

But that it may be yet more conspicuous, he puts it in again near the end of his *Epistle Didicatory* to the Earl of Sunderland, thus, *And really, My Lord, I would not prophane the Deity to flatter the greatest and best*

best Prince in the World. But I do think the Queen's Majesty, with respect to her three Kingdoms, to be a most apposite Emblem of the personal triplicity in the divine Unity. She is in each respect a particular Person, and yet in every respect she is one and the same particular royal Essence.

5. Mr. Clendon, will you let me philosophize a little with you? Is Royalty an Essence? I took it for a personal thing. But if it be of the Essence then surely no King or Queen can either forfeit or abdicate: Unless you say, it is of the Essence of the Personality. And will that be good Philosophy? How then will Essence and Personality be distinguish'd? Or has a Man as many Essences as he has Personalities? You have given him so many Personalities, that he cannot continue one Person an hour together, if he open or shut his Mouth, make a wry Face, or alter any thing of his phyz, mien, or dress. And does he lose one Essence, and gain another, upon every one of these changes of his Person? Essence is Substance, and the Personalities you have named are Accidents, you call them so; tell me then what is the substance of an Accident? And how then do they differ?

6. If you call this cavilling, I will readily grant it, for I know your meaning: But then it will answer all your Book: For the *Hypostases* of the Greeks, and Persons of the *Latin* and *English* mean the same thing, and they have sufficiently explain'd themselves, not to mean three Gods: And all you have said against this, is such poor cavilling upon words upon Substance, Subsistence, and Accident as I have now shewed you.

7. But to go on with your Dedication: You after address the Queen by her Secretary of State, to give Peace to Christianity in this vexatious point of the Trinity. And how? Even by the great instance of her Royal self, as you have explain'd her Trinity, and so put an end to the long wrangling Polemicks of the learned. That who think otherwise of the holy Trinity of God than of this Trinity of the Queen, may be silenced!

And to make this your emblem of the holy Trinity more apposite, you tell his Lordship in the next words, that her Majesty has been lately graciously pleased to drop one of her Personalities, by the Union of *England* and *Scotland*; so that she is now but two Persons, one for *Great Britain*, and one for *Ireland*: So that if the Personalities be no more essential in the Deity, than in the Queen, as you say they are not, then these Personalities in the Godhead may be dropt too in time, which you hope, and have thus endeavour'd to bring to pass!

8. If Persons were answerable for Dedications to them, or suppos'd to see them before, or to approve them afterwards, or to patronize such Books inscrib'd to their names, what a terrible reflexion wou'd it be to these two noble Lords under whose protection Mr. Clendon has presumed to utter his Book into the World?

And no doubt the Piety of the Queen (if she knew of this Book) would resent with indignation that blasphemous Emblem made of her and her three imaginary Persons, to the holy Trinity of the most high God!

9. But, Mr. Clendon, tell me, could one of these Persons of the Queen be a Maid, another a Wife, and another Widow? Could her Person in *England* have a Son, and her Person in *Scotland* have none? I ask this because it fully explains your emblem of the holy Trinity: For by Persons you mean (with *Sabellius*) only several Manifestations of God. And you might make three thousand or three hundred thousand of such Persons; for every Act of God is a Manifestation of God, and shews his Power, Wisdom, &c. every Star in Heaven, and every pile of Grass, every Man, Bird, Beast, Fish, &c. in short, every Creature: And you might multiply the Persons of the Queen into as many Countries, Parishes, Families, or Men, as she commands;

commands; and into as many variations of her phyze, mein, dress, &c. as you please to imagine: Then add the many endowments of her Mind; then all her honours, dignities, offices, &c. all which you make several Personalities, and you may make as many Persons of her, as *Hobbs* does of his *Leviathan*!

10. But now, Mr. *Clendon*, I must mind you of your Philosophy again: For a Manifestation is nothing of itself, it is only a word whereby to express our conception of the thing that is manifested to us. Thus your several Persons of the Queen are only several Manifestations of her Power in several places, and in different manners: And this is all you make of the Persons of God. But, Sir, a Manifestation, as it is no Person, so it can do no personal action: A Manifestation cannot eat and drink, marry and beget Children: It cannot send or be sent of an errand. Was it only a Manifestation then that was made Flesh, that was sent of God to do such things upon Earth, to suffer, die, and be buried? Was it the blood of a Manifestation only that is call'd the *blood of God*, *Acts* xx. 28. Are we baptized into the Faith and Worship of Manifestations only, that is, of nothing but imaginations of our own, or the conceptions of our mind? For God is not named in the christian form of Baptism, but only the three Persons, which you call Manifestations only. Do you not worship then your own Imaginations? For you can make nothing else of Manifestations. And is it not strange that *Christ* should command us to be baptiz'd in the name of Manifestations only, without a word of the Person that was manifested to us? And this must be, if what Mr. *Clendon* calls the Manifestations were not the Persons of the Deity.

11. But he calls them Persons too: For he cannot (through the multitude of his Philosophy) find out the difference betwixt the Actor and the Action done by him, but calls the Action the Actor or the Person that acts. He says, p. 181. *That the Apostles Creed does plainly assign the Personality of the Father to be the Maker of Heaven and Earth.*

Why? Mr. *Clendon*, was he not a Person before? Or did he become a new Person by the Creation he made? And where does the Creed call this his Personality? Your assurance is not a little!

You say, p. 180. *And the Act of our Redemption must surely be the Personality of the Son.* But was he not a Person before that act? Else how could he do it? Or did he change his Person by that act? Then it was not the same Person that died who rose again, for Death makes a greater alteration in the Person than any of these Personalities you have named, of phyze or dress, &c.

But you go on and say, p. 181. of the third Person, *And the gracious act of our Sanctification must be the Personality of the Holy Ghost.* Then he was not the Holy Ghost before. But you make these three acts of Creation, Redemption, and Sanctification, the several Personalities of God, as you say, p. 183. *The Personalities of Creation and Redemption, &c.* And you explain what you mean by Personalities, that is, only Manifestations of God, as you say, p. 181. *The one true God, under these three gracious Manifestations of himself, in our Creation, Redemption, and Sanctification.* And p. 186. *These external acts of our Creation, Redemption, and Sanctification, are taken for the Personalities.* And p. 188. *These Personalities are extra Essentialities.* What are they then? Are they *Accidentalities*? No, (say you *ibid.*) *There are no Accidents in God.* Where are we now? What? Are they neither *Essentialities* nor *Accidentalities*? You say they are *Modalities*. And what are these *Modalities*? You say *It is and must be agreed in all philosophical reasoning, that Accidents, Adjuncts, and whatsoever doth modify Essence, must be extrinsic to the Essence*

Effence modified. Then these *Modalities* are something less than Accidents. They are nothing but a thought in our brain of the manner how an Accident does modify an Effence: Of which we know not one tittle; for an Accident itself is only the like imagination of ours, that because we find there are things hard or soft, therefore we fancy such a thing as hardness or softness, and so discourse of these words as if they were real things: And these we call Accidents, which in themselves are nothing at all. And if Accidents are nothings, what are the *Modalities* of Accidents? These must be nothing of nothing! And if there are no Accidents in God, how can there be *Modalities* of Accidents in him?

We see now to what Mr. Clendon has brought the Persons of God, by his Philosophy, to be nothings and less than nothing! Is not this Philosophy of his very charming and edifying! O happy Club where these Lectures are daily read!

12. But I must not conceal the reason he gives for all this *Jargon*. You have it p. 188. *For that there ought to be some Analogy between the divine Personalities, and Personalities among Men.* Here is what I have so often told the *Socinians*; that they will measure God by Man, and his Persons by our Persons, because we have no words that are proper whereby to express God, but all borrowed from terms we use as to one another. Hence they bring all their contradictions as to the Trinity, from what the words will bear in relation to Men: And yet in this they fall into contradictions in their own way; as Mr. Clendon in this same page 188. *There are no Accidents in God* (says he) *but nevertheless these Acts that I propose to be the Personalities, and to constitute the divine Persons are sufficiently analogous to the Personalities among Men, in that they are extra-essential, as the Personalities among Men are.* First, it is not so among Men; for the Personality of a Man is essential to the Man, that is, he is a Person by the Union of his Soul and Body, and when these are separated, he is no more that Person: This is the acceptation of a Person among Men, in all common sense, and as generally understood. And your making the change of a Wigg or a Coat to be putting on a new Person, is most ridiculous, notwithstanding all your Philosophy.

13. But you have made it thus, that, by way of your Analogy, you might make the Persons of God to be Accidents like the other, nay, mere Modalities of Accident, that is, the nothing of nothing! And tho' you say there are no Accidents in God, yet you say, *Nevertheless his Persons are Extra-essential*, that is, *Accidents!* And cannot you see so staring a contradiction as this, usher'd in with a *nevertheless*, that tho' it be so, it shall not be so! And why? That the Personalities which you propose to constitute the divine Persons, may be sufficiently analogous to the Personalities among Men!

14. But yet, Mr. Clendon, you will not suffer others to use any analogous expressions, or to call *Christ* the Son of God, or the natural Son of God, to distinguish him from Sons by adoption as we are call'd in a larger sense: No, but you inveigh against those, *Who* (say you) *methinks almost to a degree of prophaneness, call God the natural Father of our Saviour, and our Saviour the natural Son of God, as if the Deity did propagate after the manner of Men:* Thus you, p. 179. As if there could be no Analogy, unless God did directly propagate after the manner of Men! This is the superfineness of the *Socinians*, and their sagacity beyond all other sort of Disputants! It is said *Luk. III. 38. Which was the Son of Enos, which was the Son of Seth, which was the Son of Adam, which was the Son of God.* Did God therefore beget *Adam*, just as *Seth* begat *Enos*? Else it wou'd not be

be (as you call it) sufficiently analogous to the Personalities among Men! O my dear Father *Clendon*!

15. Opening your Book by chance just now, I find another sort of Personalities which I did not take notice of before, that is, the Personality of *Ubi*, or Locality, that a Man becomes a different Person from every new place he is in. And *from hence* (say you at the end of p. 160.) *results the different Personality of John at Noke from John at Style.* But if *John* committed a robbery at *Noke*, would you hang *John* at *Style* for it? For tho' it is the same Man, yet it is not the same Person! Or cou'd you hang the Man and save the Person? Come, Mr. *Clendon*, you are a Lawyer (or should be) you have considered the classical and philosophical meaning of the word Person, what think you of the legal? If you were a Judge, how wou'd you correct a silly manner us'd of giving Evidence? When a Country Fellow came into Court at *Noke*, and swore that the Prisoner at the Bar did rob him at *Style*, and that this was the same Person: How wou'd you rebuke the ignorance of that Clown, and tell him it was not the same Person, for the Man was now in another *Ubi*, and had left the other Person behind him! How mazed wou'd the poor Fellow look, and run back to *Style* to find the Person that robbed him! This brings me to ask from you, Mr. *Clendon*, what becomes of all the dead Personalities? For since a Man changes his Person every step he takes, there must be an infinite number of these cast-off Persons in the World! And what becomes of them? Are they nothings or somethings? Are they Substance, Adjuncts, Accidents, or Modalities? Let this be the subject next Clubb-night; and add, that since God has Ubiquity, and is in every place, how many Personalities he must have? And why then he should be confined, to three Persons only! Your Philosophy will make work with this! And let the result of your *Divan* be sent to the Tattler, that he may publish it to the World, for he is acquainted with your Clubb.

16. If you think this making too merry with your Mastership, I must tell you, it is as serious as all your Philosophy; which plays a thousand Monkey tricks, but like that grave animal keeps his countenance when he shews his naked——climbing up the Porphyry Tree. Your dumfounding pleases you mightily, and tho' upon a serious subject, you bring it in often: p. 27, 111, 165, &c. It is youthful and gay, and I suppose makes a good jest at the Trumpet! To see Children play is a diversion; but to see an old Man bestride a Hobby-Horse has something monstrous in it! And yet (as you say well p. 110.) *we see how big some Men look, and even in their elder years value themselves upon their skill in this sort of Theology, which is in truth vain Philosophy.*

VIII. But I have not done with you yet, Mr. *Clendon*. To compleat your banter upon the holy Trinity, you have founded it upon an Act of Parliament of 9 and 10 *William III.* better to you than an hundred Councils to settle points of Faith! And you call your Book an *Exposition of this Act of Parliament*——That you might keep within the verge of your own profession. It had been better for you if you had: But you wou'd be good at something!

1. You say, p. 223. “The explication therefore of these words Person and Personality, to such a sense as was intended by this Act of Parliament, is what I have essayed in this Discourse——It is an old saying, *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*, which if it ever be true, must be so of our most august parliamentary Assembly——And there is no doubt but the same holy Spirit that guided the Pens of our inspired Writers, did conspire with our Legislators in making this Law.

2. But that we may not mistake what you, Sir, mean by our Legislators, you explain it in the foregoing page, p. 222, where you say, *That it was high time for our Lay-Legislation to take the matter in hand.* Here you take care to exclude the Bishops from having any share or concern in settling the Doctrine of the holy Trinity. If they had been included, you would not have attributed to the Parliament such a direction of the holy Spirit as was given to the Pen-Men of the holy Scriptures.

3. The Church of Rome never did or could assert the infallibility of her Popes or Councils in an higher strain than this: And if this Gentleman's word went for any thing, their argument against us would be unanswerable, that ours is a parliamentary Religion.

4. But I suspect him not of Popery, tho' he thus favours it. I rather think he is a Deist, and serves that Cause not a little, in making our Parliaments (but without the Bishops) to be infallible, and the foundation of our Faith, even in the holy Trinity! Who sees not this to be a banter upon Religion, Church, and Parliament?

5. He pleads for his notion of the Trinity, as being now a Law, since the 9 and 10 of William III. And says p. 223. *This is what our Act of Parliament hath rightly established for Law, and not to be denied: And this it hath done with a Lenity peculiar to Lay-Legislation: No direful Anathema denounc'd, &c.* Here again he excludes the Bishops, they must have no hand in any good thing! Lenity is peculiar to Lay-Legislation! And was it not great Lenity that this Lay-Legislation did not denounce Anathema's? No doubt he thinks they have as much right to do it as all the Bishops in the World! For it is *Vox Populi*, that is, *Vox Dei* with him; and the rather because it was the voices of the People that prevailed, when they cryed *crucify*—

6. *It is high time therefore* (says he, p. 218.) *for us, of the Laity I mean, to think for our selves, and not depend upon those scanty guides (of the Clergy) for our instruction in matters of so great importance.*

7. But he is very civil to the Church of England, all this notwithstanding! For he makes her, as well as the Parliament, to teach the same Doctrine as to the Trinity that he has set down; and, on that account, would fain complement her out of the Catholick Church: He opposes them to each other, and takes part with the Church of England. He says p. 194. *The Catholick Church, and the Catholick Doctrine, is the usual dialect they talk in; and why not the Church of England, I'd fain know?* Then he prefers what he calls her Doctrine (that is, his own) to that of the Catholick Church: And says, p. 195. *Her purer faith and Doctrine have the holy Scriptures for their authority, and the Laws of England for their establishment: The highest Sanction that can be given by human Power.* What, Mr. Clendon, higher than the Sanction of the Government in any other Country? But you only mean higher than any ecclesiastical Sanction of all Councils or Bishops, tho' of the whole Earth; for you have declar'd your self to be only for Lay-Legislations, tho' in matters of Faith or Doctrine. You go over again this of distinguishing the Church of England from the Catholick Church, p. 183, 186, 216, 218, &c. You thought this a pure touch, to persuade her to depend for her Faith upon the Sanction only of an Act of Parliament!

8. But after all, the words in that Act are sound words, and the Penalties are against any who shall deny any one of the Persons in the holy Trinity to be God. And the directions you mention (p. 1.) to the Bishops are, *That none shall presume to deliver any other Doctrine concerning the blessed Trinity than what is contained in the Scriptures.* And where will you find there your Quoddities and Quiddities, your Modalities and Personalities?

sonalities? So that you have manifestly gone against these Directions: And you have philosophized the Persons in the holy Trinity into mere Manifestations, which are no Persons at all; and therefore have directly incurred all the Penalties in that Act of Parliament.

9. And for the Church of *England*, she abhors and detests as heretical your wild opinions. Do you not know that both the *Nicene* and *Athanasian* Creeds (which you battle) are in her Liturgy, and that every word of that Liturgy is confirmed by Act of Parliament?

Does not the second Article of the Church of *England* declare, that *The Son which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God of one Substance with the Father, took Man's Nature, &c.* And do you not expressly deny the eternal Generation of the Son, or that he had any existence (besides ideal in the divine intellect, as all other Creatures had) before his Incarnation? This you assert, p. 169, 170, and 211.

Do you not know that the Church of *England* owns the four first general Councils, which establish those Doctrines you have disputed against? And they were long after *Adrian*, since which time you bid adieu to the true Faith, and the Catholick Church.

10. You are sunk below *Arianism*, into the very dregs of *Socinianism*; you allow the Son of God no existence with his Father before he took our Nature upon him in the Womb of the blessed Virgin.

And betwixt *Socinianism* and Deism the partition is very thin, as betwixt that and *Atheism*: Of which your parliamentary infallibility, equal to that of the holy Scriptures, smells very rank. It is directly denying the divine authority of the holy Scriptures, which comes expressly under the Penalties of that Act you have chosen for your text. As likewise your bantering *St. John*, that he was not a match for the Philosophers, and yet that the poor old Man must write! And that he borrow'd his notion of the *Logos* or Word of God from *Plato*; and you make it mere Heathenism: Is not this *denying the christian Religion to be true*? Which is another Article in that Act; and what christian Religion do you think they meant? Only that before *Adrian*: And what Catholick Church is it which the Church of *England* prays for daily in her Liturgy? Is it that which has been extinct ever since *Adrian*?

This is Mr. *Clendon*'s first offence against this Act, that is, in print: And the Penalty of that (as he sets it down, p. 2.) is, to be *incapable of any office or employment*. But this will do Mr. *Clendon* little hurt, who is better known in *Sheer-Lane* than in *Westminster-Hall*. And if they leave him but his office of Reader at the Trumpet to propagate his Religion, he is in his Kingdom!

11. But to compleat his character he lets us know that he is a Whigg too: But that is no great news, for all Deists are so; I will not say all Whiggs are Deists, but the exceptions are not many, and I will not be bound to name them. He brings high and low Church into this dispute, p. 216. and speaking of those who adhere to the Primitive and Catholick Church, he says, *Surely they must be the high Church that is so much talk'd of*. Then he brings in those whose Doctrine is *authenticated by the Laws of the Land*, and calls these *our Mother the Church of England*, and says, *these must be the low Church*. If they gave him a fee to plead thus for them, he has well deserv'd it!

12. But he singles out some to commend more especially, those particularly who have had the honour to be suspected of *Socinianism*. He says, p. 201, 202. That *Dr. Tillotson, the late excellent Arch-bishop of Canterbury, the good Man was reflected upon, because he was so ingenious as to own the Socinian*

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nian Writers to be fair and civil Adversaries, and to argue with smartness and subtilty, &c. And he says, That these Catholick Church Men had their fling at the late pious and learned Bishop of Ely, Dr. Patrick for the first part of his Witnesses to Christianity.

But he spends from p. 202. to p. 207. Upon the present Arch-bishop of Canterbury, his Grace, who (says Mr. Clendon) in his younger time wrote a most excellent Discourse of Idolatry, which he goes on explaining to p. 207. where he says, And his Grace tells us further, that they who stiffly opposed the ministration of the $\Lambda\omicron\varsigma$ or Son, gave suspicion to jealous heads, as if they looked towards Racovia. Then adds, To come at this has been the occasion of my digression all this while; that I might take notice that his Grace in those days did observe and was aware of the then common Calumny of Socinianism, as well as others. And, Mr. Clendon, if you had thought there had been nothing of it in those words of his Grace, which you have been at so much pains to pick out, we had not heard of it from you: But you think these words of his do look as if he stiffly oppos'd the ministration of the $\Lambda\omicron\varsigma$ or Son of God, in the Creation of the World, and the Manifestations or Appearances of God in the Old Testament, particularly that upon Mount Sinai at the giving of the Law, contrary to the current of the Primitive Fathers; only that as you say in the following words, His Grace manag'd that Discourse with so much learning and caution, that he was proof against all their reproaches of that kind. What Service you have done his Grace by this Vindication, I know not; but you think it for his honour! And you are fond of it, you are at him again, p. 212. and say, As for the other matter of the $\Lambda\omicron\varsigma$ delivering the Law to Moses, his Grace tells us it was branded by Grotius for an error. Now to the next: You go on p. 214.

“ I will add but one instance more touching this so frequent Calumny of Socinianism. The present great and learned Bishop of Sarum, because in his Discourse to his Clergy, and in his Exposition of the 39 Articles, he dropt some expressions that were out of the common road of our systematical Divines, how fiercely was he attack'd by the Rector of Kil-
“ mington on the one hand, and the Examiner of his second Article on the other, and by both charged with Socinianism?

He says nothing in defence of this good Bishop, but leaves him to himself; and goes on to lessen the prejudices against Socinianism.

13. But to any who speak against Socinianism, you shall see how he keeps his Patience, and spends his Wit! Thus he treats the Reverend Mr. Hill of Kilminster, p. 133. for his daring to oppose the Bishop of Sarum as to Socinianism; he says of him, His sour crabbed Aspect, apparent in his insolent and abusive Language to that great Bishop, whose Books he is not worthy to carry after him—The old Man is angry! But I must give you a whole Paragraph of his upon the same subject, p. 134. because it is singular for Wit and Temper, and variety of Thought: Thus,

“ Next, we have in his looks and lineaments, and gravity of feature, which speaks him able for profound Theory and penetrating Thought, by which he can see as far into a Mill-stone as any Man, and comprehends the three Hypostases as well as those that lived fourteen or fifteen hundred Years ago, or more. Add to this, that he has withall a sharpness and sagacity of Phyz, from whence he is able craftily to secrete and conceal his three Hypostases under his technical or artificial term, Persons. Thus is his Discourse a perfect copy of his countenance, and so doth truly signify his own Person, (for you know Phyz is Person.)

“ I will add but one word farther, and that is what the Gentleman says of himself in his Preface, (viz.) That these points had then employ'd his

“ Theories for above seven and twenty years. Alas for him, poor Gentleman! He spent his time to good purpose, did he not?

You are cruel sharp upon him, Mr. Clendon! Besides your *Hey-day*, *Hey-day*, which you often give as an answer to his arguments; as p. 129, &c. and was not his twenty seven years as well spent, as if he had employ’d seventy to lose common sense in your Philosophy! But after all, his *Phyz* is better than your own, Mr. Clendon, and therefore he is a better Person by your Philosophy: And you come off the severity of your character; for p. 133. just after his *sour crabbed Aspect*, you add, *But this is not without somewhat of a soft and pleasing Air*. This was to shew how sweet and how sour you could be!

14. And as you justify the Bishop of Sarum against Mr. Hill with a *Hey-day*, so you defend him against the *Animadverter* upon his *Exposition* of the second Article with a *Hab-ha-ha*. The *Animadverter* had own’d that there was a Mystery in the Trinity of God, at which you break out into a loud laugh, p. 153, and cry *Ha-ha-ha! Is it come to this at last?* As you say, p. 194. *We must not be fobb’d off with Mystery*. You have made the Trinity of God as plain as that of the Queen, without any Mystery at all in it! And all this by your wonderful account of the word *Person*.

IX. But, Mr. Clendon, you have made no discovery with all your pains. For who knows not that the word *Person* (like other words) may be taken in different senses? That Orators and Logicians speak not in the same strictness of terms? Yet from *Cicero* you wou’d confute the Schools! In whose restrained sense you take those words which were in use before such restraint or limitation was put upon them. Thus the *Hypostases* among the *Greeks* was not understood with respect to the after niceties of Substance, Subsistence, &c. upon which you ring all your changes, and wou’d infer Tritheism from the three *Hypostases*: Tho’ you cannot deny but that they sufficiently declared themselves against it. And again, the broaching of fresh heresies still occasion’d more and more restriction of the sense of words relating to those questions, to new and different meanings.

X. And no Man takes greater latitude in this matter than your self: As at the end of p. 109, and beginning of p. 110. where you come to answer that text, *Col. II. 9. In him (Christ) dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily*. You say, p. 110. *I cannot but think there is more Rhetorick than Metaphysicks imply’d in the Phraseology, and that a Metaphor from House-dwelling was plainly intended*. This was to bring it to the *Socinian* notion, That God the Word was not *made Flesh* (as it is said *John I. 14.*) or took our Nature upon him; but only that he dwelt in Flesh, in the Person of the Man *Jesus*, as a Man dwells in an House, which makes not the Man to be the House, nor the House to be the Man: And this will make *Christ* to be no more God than any Prophet or Apostle or other good Man, in whom God, by his holy Spirit, is said to dwell. I will grant you that the word *dwelling* or *in-dwelling* is here a Metaphor: But, Sir, the stress lies in the word *fullness*; and to pursue the Metaphor, if you cou’d find an House or Habitation which could contain all the fullness of the Godhead, that House would be God, because nothing that is not infinite can contain infinite, And therefore such expression was never used of any Prophet or Apostle, or of any Angel in Heaven, but of *Christ* our Lord only.

But when you are pinched here, you come off with calling this only a piece of Rhetorick! And yet at the same time you will allow no latitude for the word *Hypostases* or *Person*, as differently understood at several times,

times; but restrain them to the modern niceties of the Schools: And yet you battle these with the latitude used by Orators, who you are sensible did not oblige themselves to that strictness of Phraseology as the Philosophers and Logicians. So that you play fast and loose; sometimes you are upon the high rope, and nothing can stop your swing; then Phraseology and Rhetorical solves the most express texts can be brought against you! At other times you straiten the terms to the utmost rigour, and dance all your changes upon them, and give them different Airs as they make for or against you. Your whole Book and all the Philosophy in it is nothing but playing with words: Which if they may be understood in the plain and common acceptation, as used by all the World, and in all other matters; the *Socinians* must give up the cause, and yield to those many and express texts of holy Scripture, which assert the Divinity of *Christ*, and the adorable Trinity of God; and were so understood by those to whom the Apostles deliver'd these Doctrines by word of Mouth, as well as in writing, and who therefore were most capable to know their true meaning; and who delivered down these Doctrines to the after ages of the Church, which are still retained in all christian Churches to this day: All which I hope I have made fully appear in the foregoing *Dialogues*; and that it will appear more plain to all judicious Readers, upon the detection of these poor shifts made use of by the adversaries to the christian Doctrine; and which they confess they never would have made use of, nor would have thought of them, but for the seeming contradictions they apprehended were contained in these Doctrines. And therefore were forced to struggle with all their wit against the plain, very plain revelation of them in the holy Scriptures, so plain, that they themselves do own, they would have received them as the christian Church does, and has done from the beginning, but for the contradiction they conceived in them: And that for this only cause they have put those constrained meanings upon the words of the Scriptures, in this matter only, and different from the use of these words upon any other subject whatsoever: And likewise after having in vain attempted to gain to their side the Primitive Fathers before the first Council of *Nice*, now lastly, as Mr. *Clendon* does, to throw off Fathers and Councils and all Church Evidence or Authority: And this their notion of contradiction in these divine Mysteries, arising merely from their applying to God the words used among Men (for we can understand none other) and that strictly and properly as belonging to Men, and in this sense adapting them to God, and measuring the infinite by our finite Nature. For this reason I began my *Dialogues* with removing this Objection, and shewing the unreasonableness (and in several instances there produced) of inferring a contradiction in a Nature we do not understand, from the like being a contradiction in another Nature which we do understand. This was battled in the *Remarks* upon my *first Dialogue*; but I hope it has stood its ground in the defences I have made: And the more, for that after all this contest, they cannot now shew any contradiction, but in this same method I have detected, and which I have forced the Remarker himself to confess is most unreasonable and absurd: And yet they still stick to it, tho' at the same time they deny it! Which is giving up the argument; for it is apparent; because they cannot (after all the provocations given them) find out any other way to shew a contradiction in these Doctrines: And they have labour'd it with all their skill, but cannot find it: And I think no cause can be reduced or detected to a greater degree than this; for it is proving against them out of their own Mouths!

I hope now I have ended my labour upon this most important subject. If I have said any thing to confirm the Faith, the Glory is to God: And let my infirmities be excused, that I could do it no better.

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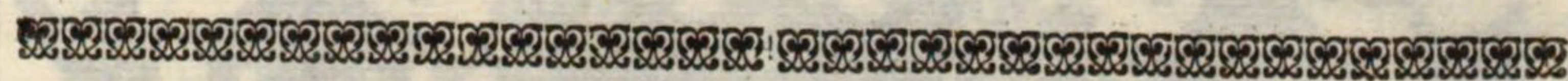
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16. *His dumfounding.* ibid.
- VIII. *He grounds the Doctrine of the Trinity upon an Act of Parliament of King William.* ibid.
1. *Which he makes as infallible as the holy Scriptures.* ibid.
2. *Excluding the Bishops.* 451.
3. *He makes ours a parliamentary Religion.* ibid.
4. *Yet he is no Papist.* ibid.
5. *Lenity is only in Lay-Legislation.* ibid.
6. *The Clergy are scanty guides in Religion,* ibid.
7. *He complements the Church of England, out of the Catholick Church.* ibid.
8. *He plainly incurs the Penalty of his own Act of Parliament.* ibid.
9. *And is damned by the Church of England.* 452.
10. *He makes himself an Atheist.* ibid.
11. *He is Wigg and Low-Church.* ibid.
12. *He vindicates Arch-bishop Tillotson, Bishop Patrick, the present Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of Sarum, for being suspected of Socinianism.* ibid.
13. *He claws off Mr. Hill very wittily, for writing against the Bishop of Sarum.* 453.
14. *And answers the Animadverter upon his Lorschip with a Ha-ha-ha.* 454.
- IX. *Words alter their meaning by disputes.* ibid.
- X. *He plays fast and loose with them.* ibid.
- A summary account of the design of my Dialogues, and of the answers made to them.* ibid.



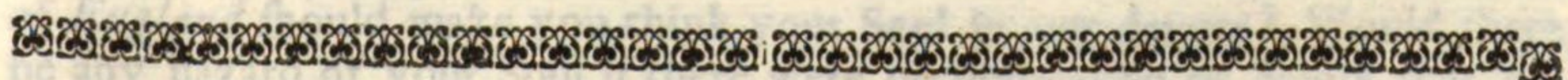
THE
CASE
STATED,
BETWEEN THE
Church of ROME
AND THE
Church of England;

Wherein is shewed,
That the DOUBT and DANGER is in the former, and the
CERTAINTY and SAFETY in the latter Communion.

For their rock is not as our rock, even our enemies themselves being judges. Deut. xxii. 31.

LORD. If I thought I could save my Soul in the Church of England, I would think my self obliged to preserve my Right and Possession.

GENT. Pray, my Lord, what is there in the Communion of the Church



dead, in the publick offices of the Church: No Pictures or Images of God to be seen there: No elevation of the Host, which was but of late Years brought into the Church: No Prayers for Souls out of Purgatory: If the publick Prayers were in the vulgar Tongue: And if the Sacrament were given in both kinds? For these are all the differences you will find between your publick Offices and ours.

LORD. But I must keep in the Communion of the Church, else I think I cannot save my Soul.

XX

THE

CAS

STATED

BETWEEN THE

Church of ROME

AND THE

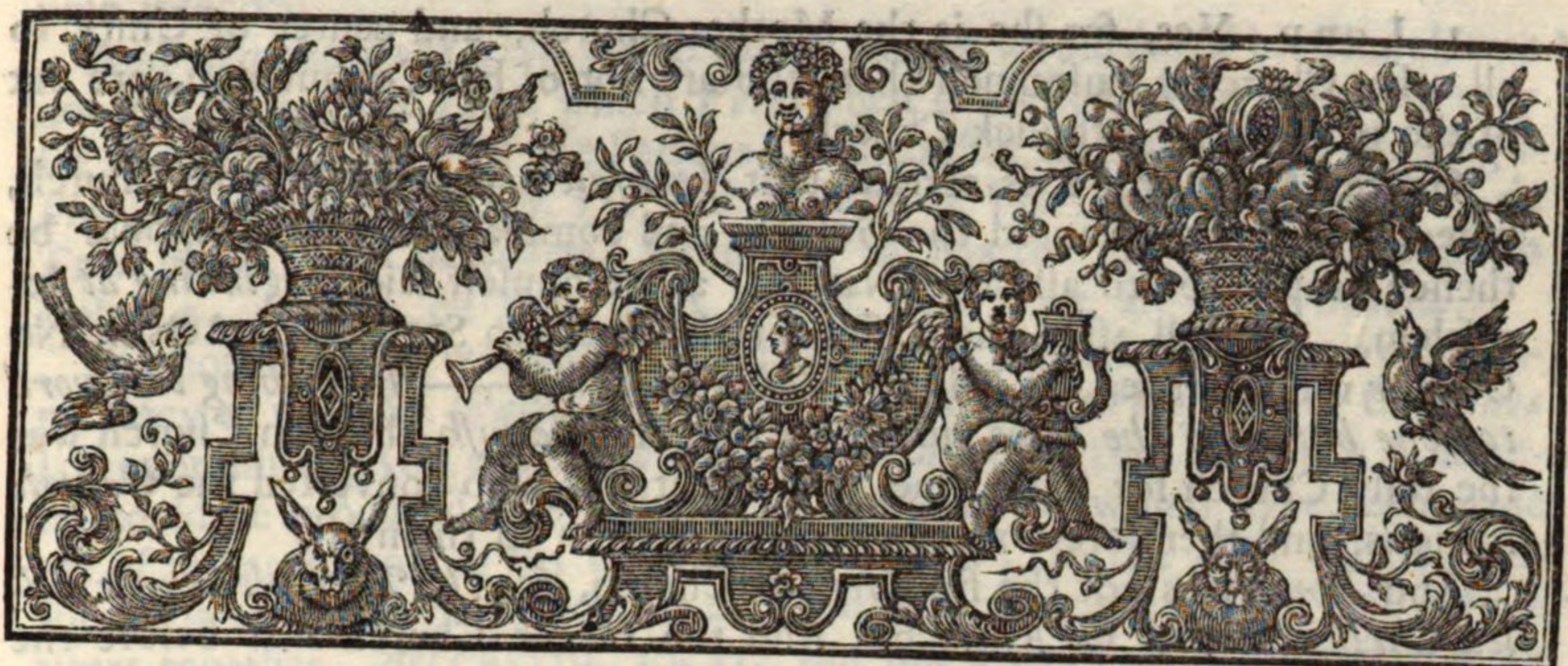
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That the DOUBT and DANGER is in the former, and the
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XX

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XX



A

CONVERSATION

BETWIXT AN

English Roman Catholick NOBLEMAN

AND A

GENTLEMAN his Friend

OF THE

CHURCH of *ENGLAND*.

LORD. **I**T is hard that by your late Act of Parliament, I must either lose my Estate or change my Religion.

GENTLEMAN. I think your Lordship ought not to lose your Estate, till you have first considered how far your conscience will allow you to conform to what is required of you.

LORD. If I thought I cou'd save my Soul in the Church of *England*, I would think my self obliged to preserve my Right and Posterity.

GENT. Pray, my Lord, what is there in the Communion of the Church of *England* should make you think your Soul in any danger? Would there be any hazard of your Soul if there were no invocation of Saints that are dead, in the publick offices of the Church: No Pictures or Images of God to be seen there: No elevation of the Host, which was but of late Years brought into the Church: No Prayers for Souls out of Purgatory: If the publick Prayers were in the vulgar Tongue: And if the Sacrament were given in both kinds? For these are all the differences you will find betwixt your publick Offices and ours.

LORD. But I must keep in the Communion of the Church, else I think I cannot save my Soul.

GENT. Your Lordship means in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*.

I. LORD. Yes, for she is the Mother Church, and center of Unity to all other Churches, insomuch that who are not of her Communion, are out of the pale of the catholick Church.

Luke xxiv.

47.

Acts xi. 19.

GENT. My Lord, it is certain that *Jerusalem* was the Mother Church, where *Christ* first planted the Gospel, and commanded that it should be thence propagated to all other Nations, as he himself said, *beginning at Jerusalem*. And till after the Vision of the Sheet to St. *Peter*, Acts x. No *Gentile* was admitted, as it is said, *They travelled—Preaching the word to none but unto the Jews only*. So that the *Jewish* christian Church was the only Church for some time, and she it was who converted the *Gentile* Nations, and therefore was the Mother Church to them all.

Acts xi. 26.

And *Rome* was not the first *Gentile* Church, for the *Disciples* were called *Christians* first in *Antioch*. And the *Greek* Church was before the *Latin*; the New Testament was wrote in *Greek* for their use, therefore the *Greek* Church cou'd not be the Daughter of the *Latin* Church, which was born after her.

2. LORD. But St. *Peter* having been Bishop of *Rome*, and *Christ* having constituted him to be the head of the catholick Church throughout the whole World, the same must descend to his Successors the Bishops of *Rome*.

GENT. This will not make her the Mother Church: You may call her Supreme, Absolute, Universal, or what you please, any thing but the Mother Church, to which it is impossible she should have any title.

In the conversion of the *Gentiles* to Christianity, one Man and one Nation must receive the Faith before another, they were not all converted on a day: And as when one Man converts another, so it is of Churches and Nations, it gives the one no superiority over the other, except that of gratitude and esteem, but nothing of Authority.

1 Pet. v. 13.

But whatever the privilege of the Mother Church may be, if it can be translated from the Mother to the Daughter, from one Church to another, from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch*, and thence to *Rome*, as you must be obliged to say; then it may be translated from *Rome* also to some other Church, unless some positive command of *Christ* can be produced, first to fix it at *Rome*, and then a promise that it shall never thence be removed: But the Church of *Rome* is not once named in all the New Testament, unless she is meant by the Church at *Babylon*. Nor is there any promise whatsoever made to her, or any the least intimation of her being the head of the Churches, the standard and center of Unity to them all. Strange! if that be the *Summa rei Christianae*, as *Bellarmin* calls it (in the Preface to his Book *de Romano Pontifice*) the *Summ and Foundation of the christian Religion*.

And as silent are the Scriptures concerning the supposed universal Supremacy of St. *Peter*, or that he ever was at *Rome*, or Bishop of *Rome*. Some after-Writers have mentioned it; but that is far from such an universal Tradition as is sufficient for the mighty super-structure which is raised upon it. But let it be granted it signifies nothing, because all is founded upon some words said to St. *Peter*, such as, *Thou art Peter—Feed my Sheep, &c.* which cannot be strained to such an universal Supremacy as the Popes have claimed, nor were so understood in the primitive Church: For which I refer your Lordship to a Book I know you value, and favoured me with the perusal of it, the learned Monsieur du Pin his *Traité de la Puissance Ecclesiastique & Temporelle*. Printed at *Paris*, 1707. where p. 495. to p. 501. and p. 754. to p. 765. you will find all these texts urg'd for the Supremacy

macy of St. Peter, answered in the same manner as is done by the Protestant Writers, and it is shewed how very foreign they are from the purpose intended.

And that the *Rock upon which Christ said he would build his Church* was not Peter, but the Faith which Peter then confessed, your Lordship may see the current sense of the Fathers, and consult at your leisure St. Augustine, de Verb. Dom. Ser. 13. Nazianzen de Vet. Testam. St. Cyril, de Trin. lib. 4. St. Chrysostom, Hom. 55. in Matth. St. Ambrose, com. in Ephes. 2. Hilary, de Trin. lib. 2. cap. 6. And there are many others.

But nothing that was said of St. Peter is so express for an universal Supremacy as what St. Paul said of himself, That *the care of all the Churches* lay upon him. And again, *So ordain I in all Churches.* If such a decretal could be produced of St. Peter's, I doubt not it would have been made use of towards proving his universal Supremacy: In the *Acts* of the Apostles it is told that St. Paul was at Rome preaching the Gospel two whole years together, *Acts* xxviii. 30, 31. But not a word of St. Peter's being there: And as St. Paul planted the Gospel at Rome, so he wrote to the Church there as his particular charge; for he says, *I speak to you Gentiles, in as much as I am the Apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify mine office.* But St. Peter was the Apostle of the Jews, they were his particular charge; and he himself allowed, *that the Gospel of the uncircumcision was committed to Paul, as the Gospel of the circumcision was to himself:* And accordingly he directed his Epistle to the Jews of the dispersion who were *Strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia.* But he wrote not to the Gentiles, particularly not to Rome, which would seem strange if he had been Bishop of Rome, and that had been his chief and principal charge. And St. Paul's *withstanding him to the Face* before the whole Church of Antioch, in behalf of the Gentiles whom he had mislead, *fearing them who were of the Circumcision,* shews the care St. Paul took of those who were more particularly his charge; and seems a behaviour not very suitable to the supreme head of the Church both Jews and Gentiles, if St. Paul had known any thing of St. Peter's being so constituted by Christ.

And as little had it become the other Apostles to send their Sovereign upon business, as they sent Peter to Samaria.

But if, as some say, St. Peter was Bishop of the Jewish Converts at Rome, and St. Paul of the Gentiles there, St. Paul would have had a much greater flock than St. Peter, and the Successors of St. Paul, and not of St. Peter, must have been Bishops there, because the Church of Rome is now, and has long been all of the Gentiles.

But the surest way to find out the truth is by fact, and not straining expressions, which may have several meanings: The eastern Monarchs have used to give themselves mighty titles, as Son of the Sun, and Brother of the Stars, and King of all the Kings of the Earth, &c. but will any believe that any of them was the universal Monarch for all this, contrary to plain fact?

Pray, my Lord, let me ask you, do you think one could write the History of a King? Suppose of King Charles the II. and in all the History neither call him King, mention his Restoration, Coronation, or tell of one regal act ever he did, as calling a Parliament, or presiding in it, sending or receiving an Ambassador, or granting a Commission, &c. And so of a Pope, could his History be wrote without calling him Pope, or telling of one papal act of his?

LORD. No, it is impossible, for such an History could not be called the History of a King, or of a Pope.

GENT. Now, my Lord, let me apply this: We have the History of the *Acts* of the Apostles, in which St. *Peter* has a great share, though not so much as St. *Paul*, and there is a Council mentioned wherein both of them were present, and there is not a tittle of any superiority of St. *Peter* over St. *Paul*, or any other of the Apostles, either in that Council or any where else throughout that whole History, which, as your Lordship has determined, is impossible if St. *Peter* had that supremacy which the Popes have claimed as his Successors.

Acts xv. 7.

This is so demonstrative a proof that the Writers on your side think it necessary for them to endeavour some solution to it: But the weakness of their answer is a yet greater confirmation on our side: For they can find no other way to get some superiority to St. *Peter* in this Council than to suppose that he opened it, because, as they say, he spoke first, which would not infer the supremacy they intend, if it were true; but it is plainly otherwise; for it is said, *And when there had been much disputing, Peter rose up and said*—Nor did he speak last, for after he had done, *Paul* and *Barnabas* declared the conversion of the *Gentiles*, by their means, without putting them under the Law, which was the point in debate; and after they had held their peace, St. *James* who was Bishop of *Jerusalem*, where the Council was held, did, as President, resume what had been said by St. *Peter* and others, and gave his definitive sentence upon the whole, *Wherefore my sentence is*—And the decree of the Council was drawn up in the words of St. *James*. So that it is plain he closed the Council, whoever'd opened it or spoke first, which is not so material as to be told in this account of that Council; but dismissing the Council, and putting an end to it, seems of greater authority: If what is said of St. *James* here had been said of St. *Peter*, I question not it would have been made use of as a full proof of his Supremacy, and presiding in that Council.

LORD. I must confess the History of the New Testament is very barren, as to facts relating to the authority of St. *Peter* over the other Apostles: We must depend upon the texts before mentioned of *Feed my Sheep*, &c.

GENT. None of these texts are so express as what I quoted of St. *Paul*. But if they were meant in that extent for which you produced them, it is impossible but that must appear in the facts of St. *Peter*, especially in the part he bore in that Council at *Jerusalem*: And facts are the surest explanation of words.

1 Cor. xv. 10.

We discourse now only of authority, what authority one Apostle had over another, for that is the point wherein we are concerned: We speak not of their Gifts and Graces, and their labours in propagating the Gospel, wherein one might be more eminent and successful than another, but this gave him no authority over the others: And in this also St. *Paul* had the preference, for *he laboured more abundantly than they all*. And all the Epistles almost are his, to the several Churches: And his Miracles and Conversations of Infidels take up a much greater part in the *Acts* of the Apostles, than those of St. *Peter*.

I have said so much of this matter, because the supposed Supremacy of St. *Peter*, his being at *Rome*, and Bishop of *Rome*, is the whole foundation of that Supremacy claimed by the Bishop or Church of *Rome*.

And if that be so essential a point, and upon which the Unity of the Church depends, insomuch that without it there is no Church at all, according to the Scheme drawn by modern *Rome*; it is inconceivable the Scriptures should be so wholly silent in it, nay, shewing the very contrary in fact, as I have said already concerning St. *Peter*. And when the direct question was put to our blessed Saviour, upon the Contest among the Apostles

ties which of them should be the greatest, *Luk. xxii. 24.* I say, if this was so material a point as to the very being of the Church, it is inconceivable he should not have determined it, but by his answer rather checkt the error of their thought, and left them all upon the level.

3. LORD. I would gladly know your notion of the Unity of the Church, if all Bishops, as you say of the Apostles, were upon the level, without any head Bishop, or Principle of Unity among them; for we are told that *Christ* has but one Church upon Earth.

GENT. Your Lordship may add, and in Heaven too; for all are one Church to *Christ*, of which he alone is the head: And one part being militant, the other triumphant, makes them not two Churches, but two States of the same Church; which is called *One Family in Heaven and Earth.* In like manner, Heaven, Earth, and Hell are one Kingdom to the great Creator, for *his Kingdom ruleth over all.* And of the Earth it is said, *The Kingdom is the Lord's, and he is the Governor among the Nations.* All the Nations are one Kingdom to him: But he has appointed no universal Monarch as his Deputy of his Kingdom of the Earth, but each Nation is governed by their respective Rulers, independent of each other: For so his Wisdom has disposed, according to the capacity of his Creatures, for what Man would be sufficient to govern the whole World? And where must the Seat be of this universal Monarch? Must he not have as many or more Deputies under him, as there are now Kings or Nations? And what prudence could prevent Defections and Rebellions in far distant Provinces. This has overthrown great Monarchies, which have fallen with their own weight: What then could support an universal Monarchy? When Nations go to War, other Neighbour Kings and States may interpose, assist the oppressed, be Mediators and Guarantees of Peace: But this could not be in case of Defection from the universal Monarch, for who assist Rebels are Rebels themselves. And such Wars could not but end in the utter destruction of the one side or the other: Therefore God has consulted best for the peace and safety of Mankind in distributing the World into several independent Governments, rather than to put all under the Dominion of one. Eph. iii. 14. Psal. xxii. 28.

LORD. But when Nations are at war, where is the Unity of this one Kingdom of God upon Earth.

GENT. It is disturbed where those wars are, but it is not yet totally dissolved; for there are Laws of War wherein all agree: There is still what we call the Law of Nations, which as it maintains commerce in Peace, so it regulates the fury of War: And there is one Unity which nothing can dissolve, that is, *God having made of one blood all Nations upon the Earth.* So that here is an Unity of relation, of humanity, and of common principles which all retain?

LORD. But how is this Unity kept?

GENT. Not as it should be: But so as is consistent with our fallen state, and the corruptions of Mankind: It is not such an Unity as is in God's Kingdom of Heaven; which yet was once disturbed by Rebellion.

LORD. But there ought to be a stricter Unity in the Church than in the temporal World.

GENT. I wish it were so, but alas it is not: And the frailty of Man shews itself in the Church as well as in the State: The many heresies and divisions in the Church have rent her to pieces, and broke her Unity, as much as Wars have that of the temporal World.

LORD. That is for not adhering to the Head and universal Monarch of the Church.

GENT.

GENT. No, my Lord, it is that pretence in the Church of *Rome* has been the great cause of these divisions: It has procured Peace in the Church, just as setting up an universal Monarchy would in the World, that is, fill it with more confusion and bloodshed than ever was in it, or could otherwise possibly be. For which reason God has appointed no universal Monarch in the Church more than in the State: For as *Gregory* the Great said to *John* Bishop of *Constantinople*, (who, upon the seat of the Empire being translated thither, set up for an universal Supremacy in the Church) *If the Church should come to depend upon one, it must suddenly fall.* And *St. Cyprian* said, *That therefore Christ made the College of Bishops numerous, that if one should fall or turn heretical, the rest might interpose for the saving of the Flock:* For he says, *there is but one Flock, and one Episcopate, of which every Bishop has the whole in partnership with the rest.* *Episcopatus unus est, cujus à singulis in solidum pars tenetur.* This was the frame of the Church in his days, and before from the Apostles; this was the very state of the Apostles themselves, who thus shar'd of the Apostolat, the whole of which was given to each in partnership, or in common with the rest.

LORD. This then is your notion of the Church, that as all Nations upon the Earth are one Kingdom to God, so all christian Churches are one Church to *Christ*, without any universal Monarch in either case: And that as the Unity of the World consists in what we call the Law of Nations, which is common to all, so the Unity of the Church consists in the common Christianity wherein all agree.

If so, then every one who believeth in *Christ* is a Christian.

GENT. Yes surely, as every one that believeth in *Mahomet* is a *Mahometan*.

LORD. Then there is no need to be of any Church, if you believe in *Christ* that is enough.

GENT. No, we must obey his commandments too, which oblige us to live peaceably and quietly as members of that Body or Church whereto we appertain, with christian Love and Fellowship with all others, and not to make Schisms and Divisions by breaking Communion, where nothing sinful is required as a condition of it. And when such disorderly Persons are cast out of the Church, or cut themselves off by a causeless separation, though they are no longer of the Church, yet they cease not to be Christians; (that is a *Nostrum* of the Church of *Rome*) and they must answer for their Schism as for other sins, all of which are damnable in their own nature, without repentance: And yet allowances are made for invincible ignorance occasioned by the prejudices of Education, &c. but not for obstinacy: No Society of Men will bear such perverse Members among them.

Now a Church is a Society professing such a Religion, be it true or false. Thus there is a Church of the *Jews*, of Heathens, of Christians, and *Mahometans*. And I wou'd ask your Lordship which is any of these Churches? For instance, which is the Church of the *Mahometans*?

LORD. It is the *Turks*, *Moors*, *Persians*, the great *Mogul*, &c.

GENT. Yet there is no chief Priest over all these, but every Church as well as Nation is independent of each other; and thus it is among the several Nations and Churches of the Heathens: The *Jews* were but one Nation, and a small one, therefore they had as one King, so one High-Priest. There was something like this in that part of the christian Church which was within the *Roman* Empire: But to extend the Supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome* beyond the limits of the Emperor of *Rome*, even to all the christian Churches in the World, is a fancy never came into the heads of any other Mortals, and is not necessary to denominate many Churches professing the same Religion

Religion to be one Church, as of the Heathens and *Mahometans*, all of which are called the Heathen, or the *Mahometan* Church or Churches; without any common head over them all: And there is not one word in Scripture appointing such an universal head in the christian Church, or altering this common sentiment of Mankind, as to the meaning of the word Church, or taking it in any other sense than commonly understood by all the World: And thus in our way of speaking, when we say the Fathers of the Church, or the primitive Church, we mean not any particular Church, but the whole Body or Church of Christians, tho' divided into many Nations or Churches.

LORD. But all in subordination to the Church of *Rome*.

GENT. What, before there was a Church of *Rome*? For there were christian Churches before, as I have told you: And after there was a Church at *Rome*, the Bishops and Fathers of those times knew nothing of its Supremacy, far less of its infallibility, nor ever appealed to it in their disputes with Hereticks, which had been the shortest and the surest way, and impossible to have been forgot, had it been known, and received as the current Faith, or but opinion of the Church. But on the contrary, other Churches have contended with that of *Rome*, and asserted their own liberties and independency upon her, when her encroachments began to arise and disturb the Peace and Unity of the Church, which I shall shew you presently: But this is only to let you see, that the Unity of the Church was then understood, not as being united under any one supreme Bishop or Church; but in the concord and good agreement of the several Churches among themselves, and in the Unity of the common Faith: Which Unity is described by their all having *one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, and one Spirit*, from which Ephes. iv. 3, they are called *one Body*. The *Unity of the Spirit* is their Unity with God, 4, 5. and the *Bond of Peace* is the Unity of the Churches with each other, as Members of the same Body: And this is a much stricter and closer Union than that of the secular World. All Churches agree in that summary of our Faith called the Apostles Creed: And the Church of *Rome* her self must think this sufficient for Salvation, because she requires no other profession of Faith in Baptism, or for being admitted into the Church: But the twelve new Articles of Faith which the Council of *Trent* has added to the twelve of the Apostles, which we call Pope *Pius's* Creed, and is required to be professed by Converts, has made many contests and divisions in the Church; and I have not yet met with any Roman Catholick so hardy as to say, that the belief of all these is necessary to Salvation, only that we should not deny or oppose them, such as Purgatory, the Invocation of Saints, &c.

4. LORD. The Church pretends not to make new Articles of Faith, but only to explain the old ones: And such are what you call the new Articles of *Trent*.

GENT. What Article in the Apostles Creed does Transubstantiation explain? For there is nothing at all of the Sacraments in that Creed.

LORD. Are not the Sacraments then part of our Faith?

GENT. They are the Signs and Seals of our Faith as Circumcision was called, *Rom. iv. xi.* but not the Faith itself, and therefore are not put into that summary of our Faith.

LORD. But are they not necessary to Salvation?

GENT. They are *generally necessary*, as our Catechism words it, that is, to be reverently used when they may be had: But they are not absolutely necessary, so that if our circumstances, or places where we live are such as not to afford us the opportunity of receiving the Sacraments, we should be damned for want of them. I think none will say this; they are means of

God's appointment, therefore to be used, when we can have them; we are tyed to this, but God is not tyed to those means to which he ties us; he can save without them.

LORD. But we have seven Sacraments, and you have but two.

GENT. That is, we take the word Sacrament in a stricter sense than you do; and of the five which you have more than we, you cannot say that they are so much as generally necessary to Salvation, because none can partake of them all, for your Sacrament of Orders excludes all the Laity, and that of Marriage the Clergy.

5. LORD. It is a sad thing that the Church should be divided about these matters. But we are all one, you are miserably divided: How many Sects or Churches are there among you?

GENT. Not so many as with you.

LORD. How can that be? We have but one Church which we own as such.

GENT. If a Church is answerable for all that break off from her, then you have all these Sects to reckon for, and us too, which is one more.

LORD. A Church is not answerable for those who break off from her, because they are no longer of her.

GENT. Then we are not answerable for those Sects which break off from our Church.

LORD. But we are all one among our selves.

GENT. So is every Church or Sect; that is, those who agree among themselves, do agree. So that this is no more a mark of Unity than every division of Men can plead, and every Sect.

6. LORD. But we are the great Body of Christians from which all broke off.

GENT. No, my Lord, not the half, or ever were: The *Greek* Church is an elder Church than yours, so that you rather broke off from her, by setting up your universal Supremacy; which she never owned, nor the many other numerous Churches in *Asia*; nor the great and once famous Churches in *Africa*; nor the Empire of *Russia* of vast extent in *Europe*, once a part of the *Greek* Church: These never owned the Supremacy of *Rome*, and by far out number all that ever did own it, or were of her Communion as such: And considering how many Kingdoms and Nations have broke off from her since the Reformation, her Communion is now reduced to a very small part of the christian Church, in comparison of those who differ from her.

LORD. But those other Churches do not all communicate with each other.

GENT. Nor *Rome* with any of them, so that she stands by her self as other Churches do; and the most irreconcilable of any, because by her Principles she cannot communicate with any who will not own her Supremacy; which as it never was done by the greatest part of the Catholick Church, so there is little appearance that ever it will be; for it is observable that no nation which broke off from *Rome* did ever return to her again: It is a hard matter for one that has escaped out of a snare, to be inveigled thither again. So that it is very visible *Rome* has been upon the losing hand about this two hundred years past; and that not only as to those who have quite forsaken her, but as to the change of Principles and lowering her Supremacy and Infallibility amongst those who still remain in her Communion, which I shall shew your Lordship presently, and that old and new Popery are

are very different things, and that *Rome* it self has in some measure been reformed by our Reformation.

I know nothing should hinder me from communicating with the *Greek Church*, if I were there, while nothing sinful were required of me as a condition of Communion, nor new Creeds to be imposed on me: And so of the Churches of *St. Thomas*, the *Jacobites*, and others in the East of *Asia*; of whom we have very imperfect and uncertain accounts: And so of the *Abyssines*, the *Cophties*, and other Churches in *Africa*; the great Church of *Russia* in *Europe*, &c. But *Rome*, while she pretends to universal Supremacy, can communicate with none but with her self: So that our Communion is much more extended or extendable than that of *Rome*. And this universal Supremacy is that which, most of any one thing in the World, hinders the Union and Communion of christian Churches.

7. LORD. But though one Church may be supreme, yet the best part of the Roman Catholicks place not the infallibility there, but in a general or oecumenical Council where all Churches meet.

GENT. There never was such a Council: The *Roman Empire* had the Vanity to call it self the *Oikumene*, which we translate, *All the World*, Luke II. 1. Hence the Councils called within that Empire styled themselves oecumenical, but no more truly so, than the *Roman Empire* was all the World. But the *Latin Church* was not so much as the *Oikumene* of the Empire, for *Greece* and other parts of the *Greek Church* in *Asia* were in it, especially after the Seat of the Empire was translated to *Constantinople*; when they contended with *Rome* for the Supremacy: And the *Latin Church* was not then called by the name of the Church of *Rome*, as the learned *du Pin* says in his *Traité de la Puissance Ecclesiastique*, &c, p. 551. It is true (says he) that at present the name of the Church of *Rome* is given to the *Catholick Church*, and that these two terms pass for synonymous: But in antiquity no more was intended by the name of the Church of *Rome*, than the Church of the City of *Rome*, and the Popes in their subscriptions or superscriptions took simply the quality of Bishops of *Rome*. The *Greek Schismatics* seem to be the first who gave the name of the Church of *Rome*, to all the Churches of the West; whence the *Latins* made use of this to distinguish the Churches which communicated with the Church of *Rome*, from the *Greeks* who were separated from her Communion. From this came the custom to give the name of the Church of *Rome* to the *Catholick Church*: But the other Churches did not for this lose their name, or their authority, &c. Then he goes on to vindicate the Rights of every national Church, independent of the Church of *Rome*, and past her power to controul or alter: And the *Proceeding of the Parliament of Paris*, printed in the *Appendix*, tells the Pope that his Bishoprick extends only to the Diocels of *Rome*, and his Patriarchat to those Provinces called *Suburbicarian*; and that by taking upon him to excommunicate others unjustly, and where his power did not reach, he had excommunicated himself. And then he was so far from being head, that he was not so much a Member of the Church; and they mind him, as likewise *du Pin* in the Treatise before mentioned p. 263. of the stout resistance made by the Bishops of *France* to the Pope who threatened to excommunicate all of them who would not submit to his decision; but they resolutely answered, that they would not submit to his will, and that if he came there to excommunicate them, he should go back excommunicated himself: *Si excommunicaturus veniret, excommunicatus abiret*. Now what is that head, which can be excommunicated by its Members? What is that Supremacy can be limited and controuled by its Subjects, and of which they are the Judges, and can say to it, as God to the Sea, *Hitherto*

therto shalt thou come and no farther, here shall thy proud Waves be stayed?

8. LORD. The Church of *France* place the absolute Supremacy and the Infallibility not in the Pope or Church of *Rome*, but in a general Council.

GENT. Which, as I told you, never was, and it is next to impossible ever should be.

And this gives up your whole foundation; for the Popes, and not Councils, pretend to be the Successors of St. *Peter* and Heirs of all the Promises made to him.

In the next place, you are not agreed among your selves concerning general Councils. *Bellarmin* (*de Concil.* l. 1. c. 6.) gives a List of general Councils which are to be rejected, *Concilia generalia reprobata*, some for not being approved by the Pope, some for heresy, and some (he might have said all) as not being received by the universal Church, but he meant only the Church of *Rome*. And chap. 7. is of general Councils, partly confirmed, and partly reprobated. And chap. 8. is of a general Council neither manifestly approved, nor manifestly rejected; this is going thro' all the degrees of uncertainty. And c. 5. and *de Rom. Pont.* l. 4. c. 11. he says, the several things in those Councils allowed to be general were foisted in by Hereticks, he knows not how: This was to get rid of some objections against these Councils he could not answer otherwise. And (*de Eccles. Milit.* c. 16.) he quotes the last Council of *Lateran* condemning the Council of *Basil*, which he says was at first a true œcumenical Council, and infallible, but afterwards turned to a schismatical Conventicle, and was of no authority at all. The Church of *France* receives the Council of *Basil* and *Constance* wholly and throughout; but the Church of *Rome* reject both in part: So that they who place the infallibility in Councils, will need another infallible Judge to determine these disputes concerning the Councils; which are truly general, and which not; and which are partly so, and which throughout; and what part of those that are throughout have been corrupted by Hereticks, if that can be called true throughout which is corrupted in any part. And when one Council condemns another, which shall we believe? And if we must not believe every Council that calls it self œcumenical, we can believe no other Council against it, for the same reason: The second Council of *Ephesus* is generally condemned in your Church; yet it called it self œcumenical, and was as much so as any of the others: And what a thing is it to say, that a Council is partly right and partly wrong? And who is judge of that? Is there any certainty in this? far less infallibility? And we must have an infallible method too to preserve the Acts of these Councils, that they be not adulterated, as *Bellarmin* says they have been; and they continue so to this day in the Volumes of their Councils: Why then are they not amended, and these suppositions and adulterated parts (these are *Bellarmin's* own words) struck out? But the several Editions of their Councils are in the hands of other Churches, and therefore they can make no alteration in them without being detected.

So that the scheme of the infallibility you place in your Councils stands thus: The Church of *Rome* makes her self the Universal or Catholick Church, insomuch that all who are not of her Communion (which are by far the greatest part of the christian Churches in the World) are out of the pale of the Catholick Church; and Schismaticks and Hereticks are no parts of a Catholick Council: Thus a small part of the *Latin* Church (exclusive of the *Greek* and all other Churches) are the whole Catholick Church, and these little Party Councils, under the direction of the Pope, are universal
and

and infallible! But, as is shewn, the Church of *Rome* has no right to the title of the *Latin* Church it self, far less of the universal. And she has now but a small part of the *Latin* Church left her: The Reformed, with *Russia*, and the *Greek* Church, will out-number her in *Europe*, and she has no national Church in her Communion any where else.

LORD. But there are some of her Communion in most Countries.

GENT. Not so many as of the *Jews*, who by this are more universal than your Church, and so more catholic. And none of the scattered Seminaries of *Rome* in other christian Churches can be said to represent those Churches in a general Council, more than two or three titular Popish Bishops in *England* could represent the Church of *England* as it now stands. But, on the contrary, their living in a separate Communion in other christian Churches, shews those Churches not to be of their Communion; and therefore cannot be represented in any of their Councils: And these calling themselves œcumenical, as the *Roman* Empire did, shews only how little criticisms upon words will avail against plain matter of fact; which I have shewed to be the case as to those texts urged for the Supremacy of St. *Peter*: And that if words would do it, there are more, nay and facts too, for the universal Supremacy of St. *Paul*, at least over all the christian Churches of the *Gentiles*, which are now in all the world.

9. LORD. But there must be an infallibility some where in the Church, and if it be neither in Pope nor Council, or that as you say, there never was, nor well can be a general Council, truly so called, that is, of all the Churches, in the world, where do you place the infallibility?

GENT. No where, my Lord, nor can it be among Men who are all fallible.

LORD. We trust not in Men, as Men, but assisted by the infallible Spirit of God: And this he has promised shall never depart from his Church, as he has said, *My Spirit that is upon thee, and my Words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever.* And he has said, *that the Priests lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the Law at his Mouth, for he is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts.*

GENT. Read the next words, *But ye are departed out of the way: ye have caused many to stumble at the Law: ye have corrupted the Covenant of Levi, saith the Lord.* The first is what they should or ought to have done, the second is what they did do, which was quite contrary.

And notwithstanding the promise made in the first text you quoted, yet they were all gone out of the way, they were together become abominable, there was none that did good, no not one.—That all the world might become guilty before God, as well the Church as the rest of the world. And of the Church it is said, *The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint: from the sole of the foot even unto the head, there is no soundness in it, but wounds and bruises and putrifying sores.* And God says, *Mine heritage is unto me as a lion in the forest, it cryeth out against me, therefore have I hated it: Mine Heritage is unto me as a speckled bird—&c.*

And we have now long since seen that Church of the *Jews*, to whom these promises were made, quite thrown off, and the Church of the *Gentiles* come in its place.

LORD. These promises were ultimately intended to the christian Church.

GENT. But they were first given to the *Jewish* Church, and belong even literally to her, and much more uncontestably than to the Church of *Rome*, to whom no promise whatsoever was made: Nor has she any other pre-

tence to the promises made to the Church in general, than her supposed Supremacy over all other christian Churches; which is disputed with her, and denied by the other Churches. But there was none to dispute it with the *Jewish Church*, for she was then the only visible Church of God upon Earth. And if the promises made to her can fail, in vain does the Church of *Rome*, or even the whole *Gentile Church* claim these promises as indefeasible and unalterable to her: For if the promises made to the whole Church of God upon Earth can fail at one time, they may likewise at another, and there can be no certainty.

LORD. Can the promises of God then fail?

GENT. No, that is impossible, but we may mistake his promises and not understand them aright: And we may not perform the conditions required.

LORD. But the promises made to the Church (that particularly which I have named of *Isa. LIX. 21.*) are positive and unconditional.

GENT. But there is still a condition imply'd, that is, of our obedience; which our Saviour has fully exemplified in the parable of the husbandmen who did not render the fruits of the vineyard. As treason forfeits an estate or honours given by a Prince, though in never so positive terms, and without any condition expressed, but that of allegiance to the Prince is always imply'd: And thus the Church may forfeit her charter. God said to *Eli* the High-priest of the *Jewish Church*, *I said indeed that thy house and the house of thy father should walk before me for ever; but now the Lord saith, be it far from me; for them that honour me I will honour, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed.* And he said, *Ye shall know my breach of promise*, or as our margin reads it, *the altering of my purpose.* And he has told us plainly that we are thus to understand his promises as well as threatenings, *At what instant I shall speak concerning a Nation, (or Church) to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it; if that Nation against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil I thought to do unto them. And at what instant I shall speak concerning a Nation, (or Church) to build and to plant it, if it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then will I repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them.*

This was the language of the Prophets to the *Jewish Church*: But she understood it not, and leant upon the promises made to her as unconditional and indefeasible, let her be as wicked as she would. And this hardened her against her Prophets, whom she persecuted for this reason as enemies to the Church, as you find, *Come and let us devise devices against Jeremiah, for the Law shall not perish from the Priest.* Here the *Jewish Church* stuck, and here the Church of *Rome* sticks at this day.

LORD. But the *Gentile Church* cannot fail like the *Jewish*, for then there would be no Church at all.

GENT. The Apostle of the *Gentiles* says to the *Gentile Church*, *Thou also shalt be cut off, if thou continue not in the Goodness of God.* And that the *Jews*, if they abide not still in unbelief, shall be grafted in; for God is able to graff them in again. This shews that all the promises made either to the *Jewish* or the *Gentile Church* are conditional, viz. *If they continue in the Goodness of God: Otherwise*, says St. Paul to the *Gentile Church*, *thou also shalt be cut off*; and of all the *Gentile Churches* this was said more particularly to the Church of *Rome*, for this is in the Epistle wrote to her, and to her it was said, *Thou also shalt be cut off.*

And of the Church in general, whether *Jewish* or *Gentile*, it is said, *When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find Faith upon the Earth? Where will then that visibility be which Rome boasts of as an essential mark of the true Church?*

LORD. The Church is compared to a city set upon a hill, to a candle giving light to all that are in the house: This is to shew her visibility.

GENT. She is likewise compared to a *Woman persecuted into a Wilderness*, to a *lodge in a garden of cucumbers*, to a *besieged city*: And lastly, that she will be so little visible, as that Faith shall hardly be found upon the Earth. This is not to be reconciled but of different states of the Church, and at different times.

LORD. Christ says, that *his Church is glorious, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blemish*: And he calls her his *beloved*.

GENT. So God called the Church of the *Jews*, *The dearly beloved of his Soul*; yet says, he had forsaken her for her wickedness, and hated her. And *Isaiah* represents her as most filthy and corrupted, chap. i. 4, 5, 6.

The Church is called holy and beloved because of God's Covenant with her to be his holy and beloved, which will be hereafter in those that are perfected; when the tares and the wheat shall be separated; but they must grow together till then, when *Christ shall gather out of his Kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity*. Then, and not till then, will the Church be all glorious, without spot or wrinkle, &c. As the text says, *Christ loved the Church, and gave himself for it; that he might sanctify and cleanse it—that he might present it to himself a glorious Church not having spot or wrinkle, &c.* But he has not yet so presented it: That time is not come: She is still in her cleansing state, but not yet thoroughly cleansed. And the Scripture speaks of both these states of the Church; but when we distinguish not, and would apply to the most corrupt state what is said of the most glorious, we must needs fall into many errors and mistakes.

This is the difficulty under which the Church of Rome now labours: She first making her self the catholick Church, and then applying to her self, in this her corrupt state, whatever is said of the Church even in her perfect, glorious, and triumphant state, creates her infinite trouble, and endless distinctions, to reconcile these; which is as impossible to be done as to make the state of the Church in Heaven and upon the Earth to be the same; and while the corruptions in the Church of *Rome* are confessed and lamented by the most learned and most pious in her own Communion.

And she may as well maintain her impeccability as her infallibility; for sin is the greatest error: And therefore I think nothing can be infallible but what is likewise impeccable.

IO. LORD. The Apostles were infallible, but not impeccable.

GENT. As much the one as the other. *St. Peter* erred, and *walked not uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel*. And *many were carried away with his dissimulation*. And *St. Paul* owned that in some cases he had no commandment of the Lord, only gave his judgment, as a private Person, and spoke by permission, and not of commandment. But in other cases he says, *I command, yet not I but the Lord—And to the rest speak I, not the Lord*. And it is so, after my Judgment; and I think also that I have the Spirit of God. And no doubt great deference was paid to his judgment, as being an inspired Person, but not infallible in every thing, as he himself said. The Apostles were enabled to work many and great Miracles, which gave them full credence as to what they delivered for christian doctrine: But this was no personal nor universal infallibility.

II. LORD

11. LORD. The Church of *Rome* has her Miracles too.

GENT. What! Both true and false? Can both come from God?

LORD. I know you deny our Miracles.

GENT. And you cannot deny the many false Miracles which have been notoriously detected in the Church of *Rome*. But if one sham Miracle had been found in the Apostles, I am afraid it had discredited all the others, and called their mission in question whether it was from God or not. The Devil has power (when permitted) to *shew great signs and wonders*, as we are told *Mat. xxiv. 24. 2 Thess. ii. 9.* and the reason is given *1. 12. viz. as a just punishment to unrighteousness*. But one false or pretended Miracle is sufficient to disprove all that come from the same hand. Therefore your Books of Miracles, the Legends, must either all be believed, or all rejected, all coming from the same authority; and the greatest part of them are so very gross and simple, that no Man of sense among you will say, that he can believe half of them: And your learned call them *pia fraudes, holy cheats*, to stir up the devotion of the vulgar, who swallow all implicitly! And your Lordship will have difficulty enough to believe all the Miracles alledged of their Reliques: And, as I said, you must take all or none; unless you think that God can work true Miracles, and the Devil false ones, by the same means, and at the same time! Can you believe the quantities that have been shewn of the Virgin *Mary's* milk at several times and places? And so of the wood of the Cross that is shewed in many places? Is it the same head or body of the same Saint that is shewn at different Churches, each of which contend that they have the true one? And each have Miracles to vouch the truth of their Relique! You may see a large collection of these, and the monstrousness of the Legends out of which they are taken, in a Book entituled, *The Devotions of the Roman Church*: Which will prevent my giving instances in all the points before-mentioned.

Upon the whole, this pretence of Miracles, the Legends, and shops of Reliques, which are bought and sold, instead of a proof, are the greatest prejudice to Men of sense against your Church.

And it is the forest blow that Christianity has received, while the common People put these Legends upon the level with the holy Scriptures, as having both the same foundation, that is, the authority of your Church: Whence Atheists and Deists take a handle to render both alike fabulous.

12. LORD. But after all, we believe the Scriptures upon the authority of the Church.

GENT. This is the old circle out of which you can never conjure yourselves. You believe the Scriptures because the Church bids you, and you believe the Church because the Scriptures bid you: This is running round, and proving a thing by itself.

LORD. No; for we establish the authority of the Church in the first place thus: We think it inconsistent with the Goodness of God not to give Men an infallible guide to lead them in the right way to Heaven, since our own Reason is so weak that we cannot trust to it; and that guide is the Church.

GENT. How do you know that? What have you but your own Reason to tell you so? And if you cannot trust your Reason, you cannot believe the Church: So that all bottoms upon your own Reason still, from which you strive in vain to escape.

LORD. But the Scriptures bid us believe the Church.

GENT.

GENT. This is running into your circle again, to believe the Church for the Scriptures, and the Scriptures for the Church. But I will bring you out of it. For pray tell me, why do you believe a God? It would be blasphemy to say, you believe it upon any authority, for that would place such an authority above God: And it would be nonsense to say you believe it either from the Church or the Scriptures, because you can believe neither without first believing there is a God. What is it then? We believe a God purely upon our own Reason: And we cannot be more sure that there is a God, than we are persuaded of the truth of those reasons upon which we do believe it. And if God has given us no other guide but our own Reason, with the assistance of his Grace, to believe in himself; if this be all we have, or can have, for the first and main article of our Creed, what farther do we require for those of less consequence? And that we cannot have more assurance than this, we may perceive by this experiment, *viz.* whether we believe most firmly and with greatest assurance, what we have only from our own Reason, or what we receive upon the authority of the Church: For example, are you not more undoubtedly assured of the Being of a God which you believe purely upon your own Reason, than of Transubstantiation, Purgatory, or whatever you believe upon the authority of your Church?

And to say, that God is obliged to give every Man an outward infallible Guide, is making too bold with Providence, and measuring his infinite Wisdom and Goodness by our short line. He has made Creatures as it has pleased him: Some incapable of happiness or misery, as the inanimates; some capable only of pleasures or pain of sense, as Animals; and he has endowed others with Reason, as Man, and *left him in the hand of his own Counsel, set good and evil, life and death before him, and free-will to chuse which liketh him.* Again of rational Creatures, some he has fixed in happiness, as the blessed of Heaven; others are Vessels of wrath, as the Angels that fell: But Man is betwixt these two, to work out his own Salvation by his obedience to the Will of God; who will judge every Man according to what he has given him; *For as many as have sinned without the Law, shall be judged without the Law; as they that have sinned in the Law, shall be judged by the Law: For there is no respect of Persons with God.* But according to your argument there is great respect of Persons with him, and his goodness has failed the far greatest part of Mankind from the beginning of the World; for what outward guide is there to *Jews, Heathens, Mahometans, and Christians*; and to the many subdivisions among all these? And all these have guides of their own, and the blind lead the blind with most of them; for it is fact that the generality of Mankind do not chuse for themselves, but take their Religion upon trust as they are educated: And we must leave all this to God, who will require from none more than he has given; for *the Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works.*

Deut. xi. 26.
xx. 15.
Ecclus. xv. 14,
&c.

Rom. ii. 11,
12.

Psal. cxlv. 9.

13. LORD. Can any be saved then but by *Christ*?

GENT. No; but many may be saved by him who never heard of him: He died to make Satisfaction to the infinite Justice for the sins of the whole World; and took our Nature upon him, to atone for our fallen Nature, to be applied to such who perform the conditions required. He will judge the *Gentiles* by the Law of Morality, which he has planted in their hearts, and we call natural Religion; but from Christians he requires Faith in *Christ*, joined with sincere repentance.

LORD. Then the *Gentiles* are in better condition than we, because less is required of them.

GENT. Is it no advantage then to have the *Glory of God* revealed to us, *in the face of Jesus Christ*? As the Apostle speaks: And the effect of it upon us is described, *That we all with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord.* The sight of the wonderful oecconomy of our redemption must needs fill our Souls with rapture and joy, when we behold the glory of God in all his attributes, each exalting the other to the uttermost, as it is said, *Jam. ii. 13. Misericordia superexaltat judicium*, that the *Mercy of God exalts his Justice*: For Justice requires full Satisfaction, it cannot remit a farthing; to remit is Mercy and not Justice; and God is Justice it self, Justice in the abstract: Here then infinite Wisdom finds out a full Satisfaction to infinite Justice; and infinite Goodness affords that Satisfaction, by the Incarnation, perfect Obedience, meritorious Passion, and glorious Resurrection, &c. of the only begotten Son of God! This enflames our Devotion, invigorates our Obedience, and gives compunction to our Repentance, when we *have sinned and come short of the glory of God.* God has vouchsafed to make a Covenant with us in *Christ*, by virtue of which we may appeal to his Justice and Veracity. It is a Pardon signed and sealed by the King, which we may plead in Court. The Heathen have not this, but they are still under his Mercy, they may say, God is merciful to forgive us: But we may say with St. John, that God *is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.* This is a great, a very great advantage we have above the *Gentiles*: And may not we enjoy it with thankfulness, and not damn them all to the pit of Hell? Because God has made a Covenant with us, may we not leave them to his uncovenanted Mercy? Is our Eye evil to them, because he has been good to us? Or would we limit his Mercies to his Creatures, with whom we have nothing to do? *For what have we to do to judge them that are without?* — *Them that are without God judgeth.* And God did judge one who was without, that is, out of the pale of the Church, to be the most beloved of God, and that *there was none like him in the Earth.* And he is put upon the level with the greatest in the Church, *Though Noah, Daniel, and Job were in it, &c.* And as God chose a *Gentile* to be the great example of patience to all ages. And of another *Gentile* it was said by Christ, *I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel.* And he who said often to his Disciples, *O ye of little Faith*, and upbraided his Apostles with their unbelief; yet said to a Woman of *Canaan*, (who would not be discouraged for the objection he put against her, of her not being within the pale of the Church, but without among the Dogs) *O Woman great is thy faith.* And of the ten healed there was but one thankful, *and he was a Samaritan*, that is, a Schismatick, a Stranger, as Christ here calls him, and said to him, *thy faith hath made thee whole.* And the pattern of Charity is placed in the Person of a *Samaritan*, in opposition to both a Priest and a *Levite*; which makes good what St. Peter said of Cornelius a *Gentile*, *Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of Persons: But in every Nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.* This is the Doctrine which Christ taught, *Luke iv. 25, &c.* when he minded the *Jews*, that a Widow of *Sarepta*, a City of *Sidon*, and *Naaman* the Syrian were preferred to all the Widows and Lepers in *Israel*; which so enraged the *Jews*, tenacious of the privilege of the Church, that they *thrust him out of the City, and led him unto the brow of the Hill (whereon their City was built) that they might cast him down headlong.* And it is said, that they were filled with wrath. The like fury they shewed when St. Paul told them that the Gospel was to be extended beyond the pale of their Church,

Church, and that God had sent him to the Gentiles: *And they gave him audience unto that word, and then lift up their voices, and said, away with such a fellow from the Earth; for it is not fit that he should live. And they cried out, and cast off their clothes, and threw dust in the Air.* Acts xxii. 22.

And the like rage is seen among the zealots of your Church, when they hear of the Gospel being extended out of the pale of their Communion; though with Christians who hold the three ancient Creeds, and have every thing essential to a Church, except what Rome has made so, viz. The universal and unlimited Sovereignty of her Bishop: Which is the great Bone of contention, wherein Rome stands single by her self, thrusting all other christian Churches from her; like a Man in a Boat who thinks he thrusts the shore from him, whereas he only thrust himself from the shore; as *Firmitian* said to *Stephen* Bishop of Rome, *Excidisti te ipsum, noli te fallere*,—
 “ Do not deceive your self, you have cut your self off from the Church;
 “ for he is truly a Schismatick who has made himself an Apostate from the
 “ Communion of Ecclesiastical Unity; for while you think you can excom-
 “ municate all other Churches from you, you have only excommunicated
 “ your self from them. *Dum enim putas omnes à te abstineri posse, te ipsum abstinuisti.* Cyprian Ep. 75. p. 228. Edit. Oxon.

But the Church of the *Jews* had a much stronger plea for her universal Supremacy and Infallibility, because all Profelytes, of whatever Nations, must come in to her; for there was no other visible Church of God upon Earth, and the Sacrifices were limited to the Temple at *Jerusalem*: Accordingly we find, *Acts* viii. 27. that the *Eunuch* came out of *Aethiopia* to *Jerusalem* for to worship.

Now if the christian Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of *Christ*, the most solemn Worship of God, were confined to *St. Peter's* Church at Rome, and could be had no where else; as the most solemn Worship of God, the legal Sacrifices, which were types of the Christian, were confined to the Temple of *Jerusalem*: And if the Church of Rome, like that of the *Jews*, were the only Church in the World: Yet after all, would the Church of Rome have no more pretence to Infallibility and Perpetuity than the Church of the *Jews* had. And as the Church of the *Jews* has been cut off, for her disobedience to the Law of God; so (as before-mentioned) has it been said to the Church of Rome particularly, *Thou also shalt be cut off*, that is, upon the same condition, *if thou continue not in the goodness of God.* And we cannot imagine there should be a Church of Rome visibly as now, with a Pope at the head of it, and a number of Bishops, Cardinals, &c. under him, holding the true christian Faith, when that time comes which our Saviour has foretold, *When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find Faith on the Earth?* For then it would be found, and very visibly at Rome. Rom. xi. 22. Luke xviii. 8.

But that state of the Church is better represented by the seven thousand who had not bowed to *Baal*, but of whom *Elijah* knew none, but thought he was left alone. This was a state of segregation, there were particular Persons who kept the Faith, but invisible to the World, or to one another; without any publick Worship, or so much as private Meetings; for *Elijah* would surely have known of these, and been the principal among them: Far less could they have had an organized Church, with Pastors and Rulers over them, without being known to *Elijah*, and to many more, even to their Persecutors; who found out the most private Recesses of the primitive Christians, and their Meetings, though in the most secret manner, for divine Worship; and their Bishops too, whom they seized and hawled to Prisons and to Martyrdom, for they could not lie hid, and the Faith was then visible, though under Persecution. Therefore it must be a much more universal depravity and corruption of the Church of which our Saviour spoke, when Faith should not be found, at least visibly, upon the Earth.

It will be more like the state of the Church before the Flood, represented by the Ark, *wherein few, that is eight Souls were saved.* And as the corruption of the old World was great, we may suppose the corruption to be greater before the second coming of *Christ*, as the destruction by Fire is more terrible than that by Water. However such an universal corruption is here foretold, as will in no ways consist with the least sort of that visibility which the Church of *Rome* requires as a mark of the true Church, and to continue with her for ever.

But on the other hand, if there shall be a visible Church in those days, then that Church, at least the generality, which is the visibility of it, will fall from the Faith, else it would be visibly to be found upon the Earth; and then Men will be misled by the Church, and by those marks of visibility, &c. which the Church of *Rome* gives her; in like manner as they were misled by the Church before, when she commanded them to reject their *Messiah*. He came first unto his own, the Church of the *Jews*, the only visible Church then upon the Earth, but she *received him not*; for she was corrupt and blinded, under the mask of pharisaical Sanctity, and strict observance of the Law, even to the tything of Mint, Anise, and Cummin; she was zealous in the outward observances, but neglected *the weightier matters of the Law, Judgment, Mercy, and Faith*; and so it may be at the second coming of *Christ*, as it was at the first; for there is no more promise of infallibility to the one state of the Church, than to the other.

LORD. But it was prophesied in the old Testament, that the *Jews* should reject their *Messiah* at his first coming.

GENT. And in the New Testament, that at his second coming *he should not find Faith upon the Earth.*

But the *Jews* did not so understand these Prophecies against themselves. They said that the Church was the only Interpreter of Scripture, and they must take the Law from the Mouth of their Priests; and the Church did interpret these Scriptures otherwise than *Christ* did.

LORD. But *Christ* being come, he was then the Church.

GENT. He was not the Church, for he came to redeem the Church: He did not come to redeem himself. He was the Head; the Church, the Body; but the Head is not the Body.

Besides it is perfectly begging the question of the *Jews*, to suppose that *Christ* was the *Messiah*, for that they deny, and bid us prove it; that is the whole question betwixt them and us.

LORD. His heavenly Doctrine, his Miracles, and the Prophecies of him, prove him to be the *Messiah*.

GENT. The *Jews* answer all this by the authority of the Church, which said, *Have any of the Rulers, or of the Pharisees believed on him? But this People who knoweth not the Law, are cursed.* And to rivet this Curse, they excommunicated those who did confess *Christ*: And they said, that *Christ* wrought his Miracles by *Beelzebub*: And who was to be Judge in this case, the People or the Church? Upon the foot of the authority of the Church, it was impossible at that time for any to be a Christian. Therefore of all Men, Christians have the least reason to insist upon this.

14. LORD. Then I find you resolve all upon private Judgment.

GENT. It is all we have for the belief of a God, or of *Christ*, and, by your own confession, for the choice of a Church. And then we may well trust to it in smaller matters; in short, we must trust to it in every thing without exception; for it is as impossible to believe any thing without our Understanding, as to see without our Eyes.

LORD.

LORD. But you believe some Myſteries which you pretend not to underſtand or explain, as the Doctrine of the holy Trinity, the Incarnation, &c.

GENT. My reaſon tells me, that there muſt be many things in the Nature of God which I cannot underſtand or explain, becauſe he is infinite and incomprehenſible. And theſe I take purely upon the Revelation that is given of them in the holy Scriptures, for my own reaſon could never have found them out, nor can perfectly underſtand them; they are dark to me, like a Country I never ſaw, I cannot have a right idea of it till I come thither; as I cannot of Heaven, or of the ſtate of ſeparate Souls: Yet I cannot help framing ſome conception to my ſelf, of what I know *never entered into the Heart of Man to conceive*, that is, aright, and according as theſe things are. Therefore I take not upon me to explain them, for that would be to involve my ſelf, and I know that I muſt greatly err: And yet it would be as much againſt reaſon to deny theſe things, as to deny there was any Country in the World, or Star in the Firmament, which I had not ſeen; and much more unreaſonable it would be, to think there was nothing in the nature of the infinite Being which I did not comprehend: Or becauſe that cannot be expreſſed to us, but in words adapted to our Underſtanding, therefore to meaſure his Nature by ours; and becauſe *Peter, James, and John* are three Men, therefore to think that *Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt* muſt be three Gods: But when I ſay *three Perſons*, with relation to the divine Trinity, there comes not ſuch a thought in my head as *three Perſons of Men*; but becauſe perſonal actions are attributed to each of the divine three, therefore we call them Perſons, which word the Scripture applies to God, *Heb. 1. 3.* But it is only *ad Captum*, as the Schools ſpeak, that is, condeſcending to our capacity, as when God is ſaid to repent, to grieve, &c. it is not that we ſhould think it really ſo, for that would be contradictory to the Nature of God; but it conveys a notion to us, that we ſhould act as if it were ſo, that God were angry or grieved at our ſins, and would repent of the bleſſings he had given or promiſed to us, if we took not heed to walk in his ways which he has ſet before us.

15. LORD. I am afraid the Deiſts will think this a ſtraining the point in favour of Revelation, and ſay that they are much eaſier without it.

GENT. They will not find it ſo, when they conſider that they are in no leſs difficulties upon following their own reaſon only; for example, they allow a firſt cauſe and Creator of all things, becauſe nothing can make it ſelf; and that firſt cauſe muſt have a neceſſary Being, and conſequently from all Eternity; and that Eternity is a duration without ſucceſſion or time, or having any beginning, wherein all is preſent, without either paſt or to come: This the Deiſt is forced to confeſs upon the conviction of his reaſon. But he will not pretend to have ſo much as any idea or conception what this Eternity is or can be, nor can he imagine a duration without beginning, in which there is nothing paſt, or any thing to come: Nor can he expreſs this any otherwiſe than in words of time, which he muſt own are not at all proper or applicable to it; the very word beginning is inconfiſtent with Eternity, and to ſay before the beginning, is a contradiction. Here then he is loſt, and muſt have recourſe to the ſame excuſe which he ridicules in Revelation, *viz.* That we cannot ſpeak properly of God, nor in other words than what belong to Men, and therefore that theſe words are not to be taken ſtrictly, nor argued upon, or conſequences drawn from them, for that this would involve us in numberleſs contradictions. And there is not one objection which the Deiſt or *Socinian* makes againſt the Doctrine of the holy Trinity, the Incarnation, &c. but are of this ſort, by arguing from

the Nature of Man to the Nature of God, from the Persons of the one, to the Persons of the other, &c. which these Men of Reason think highly unreasonable in their own case, as to argue from Time to Eternity, &c.

16. LORD. But, Sir, the Deist would ask you, upon what authority you believe that Revelation, viz. of the Scriptures? And since you will not have it built upon the Authority of the Church, I see not what other Authority you can alledge for it.

GENT. Nor I neither, for I put it upon no Authority; it is Evidence and not Authority, upon which my belief of the Scriptures is founded.

LORD. Then you believe upon the Authority of Evidence.

GENT. That expression is not proper, though sometimes carelessly used: For Authority and Evidence are two things: If I believe a thing, for your telling me so, without any other reason, then I believe it purely upon your Authority; but if a Man I never saw before makes a thing very evident to me, and convinces my Reason, I believe not then upon his Authority, for he has none with me, but upon the Evidence he has given me; and what that Evidence is upon which we believe the holy Scriptures, is set forth in a little Book I had the honour to present to your Lordship, intituled, *The Truth of Christianity demonstrated*, &c. which was wrote to convince Deists, who believe no Church, or any Church Authority: And if you have no other Evidence but the Authority of your Church to prove the truth of the Scriptures, I see not how you will ever convince a Deist, who denies both.

But if I tell him that I believe the Scriptures, and the facts therein related, upon the same, and much stronger Evidence than I have for believing there was such a Man as *Alexander* or *Cæsar*, that there is such a Town as *Rome* or *Constantinople*, though I was never there: Yet I believe it, not upon the Authority, far less the Infallibility of any Man or number of Men, that tell me so; but from the Nature of the Evidence which makes it impossible for Mankind to concert such a lye, or to carry it on, without being detected: And if the truth of Christianity, that is, of the Scriptures, can be demonstrated as plainly as these other facts, (which I think is done in the Book I mentioned) then a Deist must either be convinced or confounded.

Now if you will let your Church come in as part of the Evidence of Christianity, she will not be refused, so far as her share goes; but upon her Authority, and upon hers alone, the truth of the Scriptures and of Christianity, will be a jest to the Deists, since her Authority can be proved no otherwise than by the Scriptures, and then back again, the Scriptures by her Authority!

LORD. But several parts of the Scriptures have been disputed, as you reject those Books you call Apocryphal out of the Canon of the Old Testament: And the ancient Hereticks forged false Gospels and false Epistles in the names of the Apostles; and as the Canon of the New Testament now stands, some of the Epistles have been disputed by some learned Men: And this could not be determined, nor the Canon established, but by the Authority of the Church.

GENT. As to the Apocryphal Books, we received the Canon of the Old Testament from the Church of the *Jews*, which never admitted them into the Canon of their Scriptures: And how should we know their Canon better than themselves?

Again, we are sure they were not in the christian Canon in the days of *St. Jerome*, if he knew what was received by the Church as the Canon of Scripture; for in his *Prologus Galeatus*, printed before your own

vulgar

vulgar *Latin*, he rejects them as Apocryphal*, and says they were not in the Canon of the holy Scriptures.

But as to these Books themselves, let any one but read the conclusion of them, in excuse for the weakness of the performance, and then think it possible, if he can, that the Holy Ghost should make such a Speech as this — *If I have done well—it is what I desired, but if slenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto.* Or as your vulgar has it, *Si quidem bene, & ut Historiæ competit, hoc & ipse velim: Si autem minus dignè, concedendum est mihi;* that is, *I ask your pardon, if I have not done my work as it ought to be.* 2 Macc. xv. 38.

But as to a full examination of the Apocryphal Books, and their Authority, I refer your Lordship to Dr. Cosins's *Scholastical History of the Canon of the holy Scripture*, Printed 1657. and not yet answered that I can hear of.

LORD. But the Canon of the New Testament was established upon the Authority of the Church.

GENT. No, my Lord, not at all by her Authority, but plainly by Evidence; they proceeded wholly upon Evidence, *viz.* whether such an Epistle was sent to such a Church, as to the Church of *Corinth, Ephesus, Galatia, &c.* who carefully kept the originals, and sent copies to other Churches, as was commanded, *Col. iv. 16.* And by this Communication of the Churches one with another, the true Scriptures were known, and it is commonly set down at the end of the Epistles by what hand they were sent: And by this method the spurious Epistles and Gospels forged by Hereticks were at first detected, as you will find in the last Chapter of the fifth Book of *Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History*, where it is told, that the Hereticks were brought to this test, and could not produce the originals whence they took their copies; and that their copies did vary from one another, every one adding what opinion came into his own head; and that they could not tell from whom they had learned such new Doctrines. Thus the Canon of the New Testament was settled in those ages when these Evidences were fresh and notorious; and has been received since that time by all the christian Churches in the World, so unanimously, that there is no dispute betwixt any Churches concerning the Canon of the New Testament. And this is an Evidence too strong for the caprice of some particular Men, who would shew their wit in making objections against this or that part: But this cannot hurt the Faith, because the whole Faith is over and over again fully expressed and contained in those Gospels and Epistles which are acknowledged by all.

LORD. But there are various lections and translations of the Scriptures into many languages, which agree not exactly, and in every point, with one another. And how shall we examine this by Evidence? What Evidence is there in this case? Here the Authority of the Church must come in to determine between these various lections and translations: And these various lections or different readings of several texts are very many, which some learned Men have taken pains to collect.

GENT. But there is no difference among them in any thing material or what concerns the Faith: So that this instead of an objection (which the Deists make use of to invalidate the truth of the Scriptures, and the certainty of our Faith) proves a stronger confirmation of both, in that among so many various readings and translations no material difference is found; or other than may, and without a Miracle must, happen in so many thousand copies and impressions as have been made of the Scriptures: And none

* *Inter Apocrypha esse ponenda—Non sunt in Canone.*

I suppose will pretend that every Writer or Printer is infallible, not to mistake a Letter or a Word, or misplace them: But that nothing of this sort has happened to the detriment of the Faith, or making disputes in any thing that is material, must be attributed to a very particular providence.

And the Church of *Rome* has not undertaken, nor was it worth her while, to attempt the adjusting of the various readings: For in that translation which she has most approved, the vulgar *Latin*, some of the various lectures are given on the Margin of her own Editions.

But what signifies the *Latin* which is not the vulgar language of any Nation now in the World; I say, what does this signify to the People who understand it not?

LORD. Therefore to answer your objections of our locking up the Scriptures from the People, we have them now translated into the vulgar Tongues of each Country, particularly in *France*, where they are publickly sold in the Shops.

GENT. This instead of an answer to the objection, is a confessing to it, and owning it to have been just and necessary: And thus much your People have gained by our Reformation.

But alas, my Lord, what have they gained? There is something worse than even a total locking up the Scriptures in these translations, that is, a corrupting the text to deceive the People, different from even your own vulgar *Latin* translation, which you have authorized. This is made apparent in the Collection, printed here at *London*, of the many texts thus evidently abused, both by adding to them and taking from them, and misinterpreting them; in the *French* New Testament printed in *France* for the use of the new Converts there. And this has occasioned the suppression of that New Testament, insomuch that few of them are to be found, at least they are not publickly sold now at *Paris*.

LORD. If they are suppressed, then your complaints are answered: But have you any objection against the *Louvain* translation now printed and sold at *Paris*, with the approbation of the Doctors and Divines there?

Acts xiii. 2.

GENT. Yes, my Lord, here is one in my hand, bought in *Rue St. Jaques* in *Paris*, where they are printed, with the approbations before them, in the year 1701. And in this translation there are many mistranslations. I will shew your Lordship one: It is said, *As they ministred to the Lord*. The vulgar *Latin* has it in the same words, *Ministrantibus illis Domino*. But this *French* translation is in these words, *Or comme ils offroient au Seigneur le Sacrifice de la Messe. When they had offered to the Lord the Sacrifice of the Mass*.

LORD. I suppose they took that to be the meaning of the words.

GENT. Your Lordship may suppose so: But, my Lord, what the import of the words is, or what consequences may be drawn from them, is what we call exposition or commenting upon the text; but to alter the words of the text is of another Nature, it is false translation, and not an interpretation; and comes under that terrible curse pronounced *Rev. xxii. 18, 19.* against those who add to, detract from, or pervert the words of holy Scripture.

And to shew that this was not done by chance, and what use they intended to make of this text thus translated, *Acts xiii. 2.* they put upon the Margin, *la sainte Messe, the holy Mass*: That the People might here find a plain text of Scripture for the Mass and the Sacrifice of it. And in the *Index* (which is done by the same Authority as the translation) upon the word *Messe*, this text is named as a proof that the Apostles did celebrate Mass.

This Sacrifice of the Mass is a plain addition to the text. Let me give one instance of subtracting from it. It is said, That *Jacob worshipped* Heb. xi. 21. *on* or leaning upon the top of his Staff: But this *French* translation leaves out the word *on*, and renders it that he *worshipped the top of his Staff*. *Adora le Haut de son Baton*. And in the *Index* at the word *Adoration* this text is quoted for the *Adoration of Wood*, *L'Adoration fait aux Bois*. Heb. xi. 21. Belike they thought there was some Image carved or painted on the top of *Jacob's Staff* which he worshipped! And so this is made a text for *worshipping their wooden Images and Pictures!* Especially the solemn Worship of the Cross every *Good-Friday*. And who knows but that the head of *Jacob's Staff* was not round but crutch-ways, set a-cross (as is usual with old Men) and then the Staff was a perfect Cross!

In the former text concerning the Mass, this *French* translation adds to the words of their own vulgar *Latin* as well as of the original: But in this last, the vulgar *Latin* as well as the *French* subtract from the original, and both render this text the same way.

But, to do justice to all, the *Port-Royal* Bible delivers this text from the gross interpretation put upon it, by means of a false translation, to favour the worshipping of Wood.

In the other *French* translation I mentioned before, made for the use of the new Converts, this expression *1 Cor. iii. 15.* of some that shall be saved with great difficulty, as if *passing through the fire*, is boldly rendred, *the fire of Purgatory*, as the words of the text, without any different character, as is used with us, when a word is put in to make *English* of an *Hebrew* or *Greek* Idiom: But in this *Louvain* translation the text is let stand, *so as by fire*, only *Purgatoire* is put on the Margin in this Edition made since the objections against the other translation, in which the addition of *Purgatory* to this text is particularly taken notice of.

I could give your Lordship more of the corruptions of texts in the *French* translations. I have now only named three, one for the Sacrifice of the Mass, another for the Adoration of the Cross and of Images, and one for *Purgatory*.

LORD. The Church is not answerable for these translations, however approved and recommended by Doctors, Universities, &c.

17. GENT. But the People are deceived by them. The People believe as they are taught: There is small security to them in the abstruse disputes concerning infallibility, how far it extends, and where it is placed, and in the disputes betwixt Popes and Councils about it. These are questions of which I suppose your Lordship will easily grant the common People are no judges. They know nothing of the matter. How should they, when the learned Men are divided among themselves concerning them? So that this infallibility, if it could be found and fixed, would be of little use to the generality of the People, unless their Curates and their Fathers and Mothers who instruct them were likewise all of them infallible, for, as I said, they believe as they are taught, and examine no farther: Nay, they are forbid to examine, for that implies a doubt, and they are not to doubt of the Religion they are taught, but to receive, without any doubt, what has been told them by their Curates, Fathers, Mothers, or Nurses, and what is current in the Countrey where they live. This is all the infallibility of which they are capable. And this is the way of all the Earth: It is thus that the generality of Mankind, whether Heathens, Jews, Mahometans, or Christians, receive their Religion. And without examining into what we have been taught, no Man could change his Religion: None could ever have

become a Christian, especially no Jew, who had the authority of his Church against *Christ*, to which Church he alledges promises of perpetuity and infallibility.

18. LORD. The Bishop of *Meaux* has cleared this in his conference with Mr. *Cloud*: Where the Bishop asserts the necessity of a living infallible Judge always in being to direct Men: And says, that when *Christ* was come, he was that living Judge, and so the authority of the *Jewish* Church was superseded.

GENT. This is *Gratis dictum*, and begging the question of the Jew, as I have said already, who upon the authority of his Church denies our *Christ* to have been the *Messiah*. I will not repeat, only ask these few questions farther. 1. Who was this living Judge before the Flood? For the Bishop says there must be always such an one in being. 2. Was *Abraham*, who was known only to a few neighbours, and wrought no Miracles to convince others; was he, I say, given as such a Guide or Judge to the whole Earth? And *Christ* was not so great a Traveller as *Abraham*. 3. Where was this living Judge when *Christ* was dead? And if there was none for three days, it might be so for three, or three hundred years, or for good and all, because the argument fails for the necessity of such a Judge always in being. You will not say the Church can fail for three days: The Promises of God can never fail, no not for a moment.

LORD. *Christ* founded his Church before he died, and left his Apostles for guides, chiefly *Peter*, the Prince and Principle of Unity to them all.

GENT. And yet of the Apostles, one betrayed him, another forswore him (and that was *Peter*;) all forsook him.

LORD. That was humane frailty, and personal; but they retained the true Faith, they were in no error as to that.

John xx 9. GENT. The greatest that could be, *For as yet they knew not the Scrip-
ture, that he must rise again from the dead. And if Christ be not raised,
1 Cor. xv. 17. your Faith is vain: ye are yet in your sins.* And the reason given for
choosing *Matthias* into the room of *Judas*, was, *That he might be a wit-
ness with the other Apostles of the Resurrection of Christ.* And what
Acts i. 22. Faith could they have in him whom they had quite given over, and never
expected to see him more? *They trusted that it had been he who should
have redeemed Israel.* But when he was dead, all their hopes were gone,
they expected no redemption from him. This was far from a christian
Faith, and could there be a christian Church without this Faith?

Luke xxiv. 21.

To avoid all this, and secure the promise of indefectibility to the Church, some of your Authors of greatest name have said, that the Church was then preserved in the Virgin *Mary*: And thence infer that the catholick Church may be preserved in one Woman, as it was then, and that so it may be again, in the times of *Antichrist*; and the great defection is foretold will be before the *second coming* of *Christ*, when *Faith shall not be found upon the Earth*, that is very hardly, when it may be confined to one *Laic*, a Woman, or a baptized Infant, as others of your Doctors * allow.

LORD. This is giving up the Church quite, as a society, with government, discipline, &c. and I hardly believe any of our approved Authors have said so much, and not been censured for it.

GENT. They are no less Men than *Alensis*, the Author of the *Gloss* upon the *Decretals*, *Lyra*, *Occam*, *Alliaco*, *Panormitan*, *Turrecremata*, *Peter de Monte*, *St. Antoninus*, *Cusanus*, *Clemangis*, *Jacobatus*, *J. Fr. Picus*, &c. And to save repetition, your Lordship will find their Books

* *Bannes com. in 2. 2. Quest. in Art. 10. Dub. 1.*

and words quoted in this small treatise in my hand, entituled, *The incurable Scepticism of the Church of Rome*, printed here 1688. p. 22, &c. I name this little tract because it is short, and will give your Lordship no great trouble, and proceeds upon the same argument I have undertaken with your Lordship, instead of the particular points in dispute betwixt the Church of *Rome* and us, as Invocation of Saints, Purgatory, &c. to go at once to the bottom of the cause, and examine the ground and foundation of Faith, as taught in the Church of *Rome*: Which is shewed, I think to a demonstration, to be wholly precarious and uncertain; and that there is no greater difference and confusion among any sort of Men, upon any subject whatsoever, than there is among the Divines of the Church of *Rome*, concerning her rule of Faith, and infallible Judge of Controversy: And every one of the different opinions about it is in flat contradiction to all the others, so that if any one of them be true, all the rest must be false: And yet they all pretend to believe with divine Faith, and think it necessary in this case, because it is the foundation of their Faith.

Now if according to these learned Doctors, the whole Church failed upon our Saviour's Death, then the gates of Hell did prevail for a time: And if the Virgin *Mary* were excepted, that would not do much as to the standing of the Church. But have they any revelation to ground divine Faith upon, or upon what grounds do they believe that the Virgin *Mary* knew the Scriptures, or the Resurrection of *Christ*, more than the Apostles, and was not under the same despondency as they were? This seems to be that *Sword* which *Simeon* told her should pierce through her own Soul also.

Luke ii. 35.

LORD. To avoid all these things, some suppose that the christian Church was not formed till the descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost, when *Peter* converted about three thousand, as told in the II. of the *Acts*. And that of this *Christ* spake, when he told *Peter* that he would build his Church upon him, and called him a *Rock*, and that it was fulfilled at this time, when *Peter* was made the instrument of that first and great conversion, which was the foundation of all that followed.

GENT. If the christian Church was not formed, as some think, 'till after the Resurrection, because our Redemption was not till then compleated; or, as others think, till the Ascension, when *Christ* commissioned his Apostles to go and teach all Nations; or till the descent of the Holy Ghost, when they were endued with Power from on high: Yet any of these ways it will follow that there was no christian Church before the death of *Christ*; and then that the *Jewish* was the only true Church while *Christ* lived in the World: For the *Jewish* Church was to last till the christian was formed, else there was no Church at all after *Christ* came, till his Resurrection. And then it would follow, that the only true Church in the World did reject our *Christ*; and then there will be no choice left us, but either to acknowledge the fallibility of the Church, or to reject *Christ* from being the *Messiah*. But if the christian Church was formed upon the first appearance of *Christ* in the World, or upon his ordaining the twelve Apostles, and sending them out to preach, or upon any other Act done in his life; then, as said before, the whole Church failed upon his death: But if the Church cannot fail, no not for a moment, because of the necessity of a living infallible Judge always in being, the succession of the Monarchy of the Church ought to be Hereditary, where the King never dies; for this scheme will not admit of an *Inter-Regnum* for months or years that may be spent in the Election of a Pope, in all which time the Church has no Head or Monarch; much less when there are Popes and Anti-Popes, which has occasioned twenty six Schisms in the Church of *Rome*, some of them of long continuance. And who is Judge in such a case? Is every Man left to his

Mat. xxviii.

19.
Luke xxiv. 49.

own

own private Judgment? And is it all one which of the contending Popes he adheres to, whether to the right or the wrong? Or can the Church have two or three opposite heads at the same time?

LORD. Therefore in *France*, where I received my education, they place not the infallibility in the Pope, but in a general Council.

GENT. I told your Lordship before, that there never was a Council truly general; that there are disputes in your Church concerning general Councils, some receiving those, or parts of them which others reject: And who shall be judge in this case?

But suppose you were agreed among your selves concerning your Councils, and that they were infallible, yet they are not a living Judge always in being; you have not had one since that of *Trent*, which began in the year 1545, and concluded in the year 1563; now a hundred and fifty years ago: And there may not be another in twice that time, if ever: Where then is the living Judge always in being, which the Bishop of *Meaux* and others think necessary?

LORD. General Councils may in this sense be called living, and always in being, that their Canons are always in being, and determine Controversies to those who regard them: And if new Heresies, or Controversies, or Schisms of Popes arise, new Councils may be called to determine them.

GENT. And ages may pass before that can be done; and the Church may be corrupted in the mean time for want of such a living Judge: As *Europe* is now situated it would be pretty difficult to have a general Council; and it may be long enough before any Pope may be of opinion to call one, or hazard his Supremacy upon it.

19. But, my Lord, the Canons of past Councils are not living, nor can speak for themselves. There are Volumes printed of the learned in your own Communion giving contrary expositions of the Canons. I will instance in one: The third Canon of the fourth, commonly called the great Council of *Lateran*, acknowledged to be a true general Council by all of the Church of *Rome*, established in most express and positive terms, the Pope's Power of deposing Princes, and absolving their Subjects from their allegiance, not only if he please to call them Hereticks themselves, but if they do not extirpate all Hereticks out of their Dominions. This is maintained in the literal sense by *Bellarmin* and the *Italian* Doctors. On the other hand, the *Gallican* Church who have condemned the deposing Doctrine, and yet own this Council of *Lateran*, are put to hard shifts, and many distinctions to solve this; but it is impossible, for either that Doctrine must be true, or this Council has greatly erred.

LORD. But not in Faith: This is no matter of Faith.

GENT. But is it not matter of Salvation, for which we shall be judged
 Rom. xiii. 2. at the last day? St. *Paul* says, *They that resist the (lawful) Powers, shall receive to themselves damnation—Wherefore* (says he, *ſ. 5.*) *ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath* (or fear of temporal Punishment from these Powers) *but also for conscience sake*, that is, towards God. And what are these guides of Conscience who lead us wrong in this? In the description of the *last Judgment* given by *Christ*, Matth. xxv. 31. to the end; Men shall be judged chiefly for their Practice: There is nothing mentioned there but what Men have done. And have we no guide as to Practice, while we raise such contentions about a guide in Faith? Or is the Church a guide in Practice too? And is a general Council the Church? Then the Church has led us into a damnable Practice, unless the Pope has Power to depose Princes

Princes at his pleasure, and that there is no sin in Rebellion, and all the Blood and Desolation that follow it, if his holiness so command!

LORD. But the Church does not oblige us to profess or subscribe the deposing Doctrine, no, nor to believe it, so that you may be a good Roman Catholick, notwithstanding all this: Nay you may oppose the deposing Doctrine, as the Clergy of *France* do.

GENT. And may I not be as good a Roman Catholick if I do believe it, defend it, and practise it too? And have I not all the encouragement the Church of *Rome* can give me, the frequent practice of the Popes themselves, and here the Canon of a general Council for it? And have any of the Popes ever yet renounced it?

LORD. But the Doctors do not agree about the sense of that Canon: You see *France* takes it in a quite contrary sense from the Pope and *Italian* Doctors.

GENT. Then your Lordship sees that Canons are but a dead Letter, and that there may be disputes about them: And where then is the living infallible Judge always in being? You see the Canons of former Councils cannot be this Judge; there must be another Judge to determine what the true sense of them is: And who should that Judge be but the Pope the Head of the Church? I am sure if I were a Roman Catholick I should be on that side: I could shew your Lordship several other Canons of Councils that are in dispute among your own Doctors; but that can be no wonder, when I have already shewed, they are in dispute about the Councils themselves; so that there is no certainty, what the judgment of your Church is; or rather it is certain that it is most erroneous, and in matters that concern our eternal Salvation, as well as the Peace of the World, that is, Rebellion (among other things) which is *as Witchcraft and Idolatry*. I have instanced in this Sin, because I know your Lordship to be tenacious of your loyalty.

And now, my Lord, since the saving of our Souls is the end for our being of any Church, I leave your Lordship to judge, whether the People are safest in the Communion of *Rome*, or of the Church of *England*, as to this point?

20. LORD. They are safe in the Church of *France*, where the deposing Doctrine is disowned.

GENT. My Lord, our dispute is with the Church of *Rome*: And if the Church of *France* differs from the Church of *Rome*, in matters whereon our Salvation depends, they cannot be said to be one Church, or to have the same guides to Heaven.

But, my Lord, the Pope's deposing Power has extended it self even to *France*, of which you will find frequent instances in their Histories. And even so late as the holy League against *Hen. III.* all the Popes in that time joined with the League against the King, and supported that Rebellion by their Authority: And the generality of the Bishops and Clergy of *France*, and their Universities took part with the League, and justified it by Principle and in Print: The Book *de justâ Abdicatione Henrici III. Of the just Abdication of Hen. III. King of France*, was then wrote upon the foot of the deposing Power, not only of the Pope, but also of the People. And *D'Avila* in his History of these civil Wars in *France* tells*, *A great and solemn Procession was made by Order from the Cardinal Legat, to implore God's assistance (for the success of the League against the King) in*

* *D'Avila Hist. of the civil Wars of France.* English Translation, Printed in the *Savoy*, 1678. Lib. XI. Page 459.

which the Prelates, Priests, and Monks of the several religious Orders, walked all in their accustomed Habits; but besides them, armed openly with Corslets, Guns, Swords, Partisans, and all kind of Arms offensive and defensive, making at once a double Shew, both of devotion, and constancy of heart to defend themselves: Which Ceremony, though to many it seemed undecent and ridiculous, yet was of great use to augment and confirm the courage of the common People.

And the Cardinal Legat says in the Declaration he published to the Leaguers*, That to acknowledge an Heretick for their King, is the Dream of a Mad-Man, which proceeds from nothing else but heretical Contagion.

And the Leaguers shew wherein they placed their confidence, and say†, They are the most holy Fathers (the Popes) and the most holy See that have sent us relief: And though many have been called to that supreme dignity (of the Popedom) since these last troubles, yet hath there not been one of them who hath changed his affection towards us: A most certain testimony that our Cause is just.

And there had been six Popes during the League, viz. Gregory XIII. Sixtus V. Urban VII. Gregory XIV. Innocent IX. and Clement VIII. And they supported that Rebellion, not only with their blessing on it and the Authors of it, and cursing the King and all the loyal Subjects who adhered to him; but they sent more substantial relief, viz. three hundred thousand Crowns for the Service of the Cardinal of Bourbon‡, whom they had chosen King, by the name of Charles the Tenth, against the next in Blood, only because he was a Protestant; and fifteen thousand Crowns a Month to carry on that Rebellion, with an Army of six thousand Foot, and one thousand two hundred Horse to assist these holy Leaguers: The Pope went Heart and Hand into this Work, Which he accounted excellently good (says D'Avila**) and of wonderful glory and advancement to the Apostolick See. And afterwards, when the success of the King's Arms had induced several of the Clergy and others to come over to him, the Pope sent his Monitory Letters to the Prelates and Catholics, commanding them †† under pain of excommunication, and of being deprived of their Dignities and Benefices, and of being used as Sectaries and Hereticks, that they should withdraw themselves from those places that yielded obedience to Henry of Bourbon (so he styled the King) and from the Union and Fellowship of his Faction. And the Authority of the Pope prevailed so far at last, that those Catholics who had joined with the King formed a conspiracy against him, upon his delay of changing his Religion, wherein the Princes of the Blood were most violent, and told him plainly to his face, that if he did not perform his promise (to turn Roman Catholick) they would desert him, and join with the League. See D'Avila, p. 611, 612, as likewise, 555, 601, and 605.

After his Conversion, and being by that established upon the Throne they feared his Power, and therefore the Pope (as now) made less noise, with the deposing Doctrine, which yet he would not disown, but kept it in petto till a more fitting opportunity: But yet it was not carried so covertly, but that, even in their Sermons, wise and willing Men might know their meaning. †† Ravaiillac upon his Examination, alledged the Lent Sermons before his Assassination of King Hen. IV. as the ground and encouragement to that execrable fact: But after that magnanimous Prince had

* Ibid. Lib. XIII. p. 578.

† Ibid. p. 598.

‡ Ibid. Lib. XII. p. 493, 501, 503.

** Lib. XI. p. 431.

†† Lib. XIII. p. 613.

‡‡ See King James I. his Defence of the Rights of Kings against Cardinal Perron, p. 4.

thus fallen a sacrifice to their restless furious Zeal, and his Son succeeded young and fenceless to the Government then they set up again the deposing Doctrine on high, because then they durst do it. With which our King *James* does justly upbraid them, particularly his Opponent the Cardinal of *Perron*, in the Preface to his Book quoted on the Margin: For it was but five years after the Murder of *Henry IV.* viz. An. 1615. that Cardinal *Perron* in the Assembly of the three Estates of *France*, and in the name of the first Estate, that is of the Clergy, did re-assert the Power of the Pope to depose Kings, with this reason, that otherwise, *There had not been any Church for many ages past; and that indeed the Church* (he meant of *Rome*) *was the very Synagogue of Anti-Christ.*

But to come to a fresh Instance now on foot, the *Pere Juveny* a French Jesuit has lately Printed a Book at *Rome* in defence of the Pope's Power to depose Princes: And the unwillingness and shifts of the *Jesuits* at *Paris* to disown him in this, and to disclaim that Doctrine fairly and above board, shews that it is not yet quite extinguished in *France*, but kept in the Embers, as in the reign of *Henry IV.* For all who understand that order of the *Jesuites*, know full well that none of them dare print, especially upon such a subject, without the approbation of their superiors. However it is plain by this, that the deposing Doctrine is still countenanced at *Rome*; and that *France* is not entirely free from the infection: And though the vigor of *Lewis XIV.* has depressed it very much, we cannot say it is totally extinguished, or that there is no danger of a relapse, while the Authority of the Pope is so revered as head of the Catholick Church, and this Council of *Lateran* is still owned as truly general and infallible: And the Bishops of *France* still take an Oath of Fidelity and Obedience to the Pope.

LORD. But that Oath is not inconsistent with their Fidelity to their King.

GENT. Pray, my Lord, let me ask you, is not an Oath to be taken in the known and declared sense of the imposer; for whose security it is taken?

LORD. Yes surely, for otherwise all such Oaths would be equivocal, and no security at all.

GENT. Then the question will be, what the Pope means by the *Regalia* of *St. Peter*, and all the Rights, Prerogatives, &c. of the Apostolick Chair, as he calls his own, to which these Bishops are sworn, *contra omnem hominem*, against every Man or Power in the World: For it is the Pope who imposes this Oath, and it is taken for his security: And has he not sufficiently declared what he means by it? Take it in the words of the *Proceedings of the Parliament of Paris*, in the *Appendix*, where they say, *That by this decree (of the Bulla in Cœna Domini) the Popes declare themselves Sovereign Monarchs of the World.* And this is no more than is given them at their Coronation, as you have it in the *Roman Pontifical*, where the triple Crown is put upon the Popes head with these words*, *Receive this Diadem adorned with three Crowns: And know your self to be Father of Princes and Kings, Governor of the World, and Vicar upon Earth of our Saviour Jesus Christ.* And must not this Governor of the World have power to dethrone all petty Kings and Princes that are under him? Else how can he govern the World? And the Popes think that this their Sovereign Power of deposing Princes is fully recognized to them in the foresaid Canon of the Council of *Lateran*. And no Pope has ever yet been brought to disown this Power: So far from it, that the Pope who

* Accipe Thyram tribus Coronis ornatam: Et scias te esse Patrem Principum & Regum, Rectorem Orbis, in Terrâ Vicarium Salvatoris nostri *Jesu Christi.*

most of any other asserted this *Bulla in Cæna*, and set it up on high, causing it to be affixed and published, not only at the Doors of the Churches at *Rome*, but in the field of *Flora*, that all might take notice, as you find at the end of the *Bull*, in *Appendix*; and who practised his deposing Power (the last in *England*) upon Queen *Elizabeth*, absolving her Subjects from their Allegiance, and commanding all the Catholics in *England* to pay her no more Obedience, nor Taxes, &c. I say this same Pope has been pick'd out to be canonized for a Saint, in the year 1712, by the present Pope, with all the solemnity and requisites in the Church of *Rome* for making a Saint: And this present Pope, as well as his Predecessors, does, every year, thunder out the excommunications of this *Bulla in Cæna*, by Bell, Book, and Candle, which, like *Dracensor*, cuts down Friends and Foes; for there never was a Roman Catholick King in *England*, or in any other Kingdom, either before the Reformation or since, but is excommunicated by this *Bull*, and by the 24th Article, past the Power even of the Pope to absolve him, unless he first abrogate and annul all the Laws of his Country which are contrary to the tenor of this *Bull*: And this never yet was done, and I dare say never will be done, in any Popish Country in *Europe*; and there is not, nor ever was any Popish Country in any other part of the World, unless you will except the late *Spanish* Plantations in *America*: And not only the Kings themselves, but all their Parliaments, Councillors, Judges, Officers, even to Printers or Publishers, or any whosoever that either directly or indirectly, tacitely or expressly, violate, depress, or restrain the ecclesiastical Liberties or Rights of the Apostolick See and holy Church of *Rome*, howsoever and whensoever obtained, or to be obtained, are all here together excommunicated; as likewise all Archbishops, Bishops, and Clergy, who shall do the same, and all who shall presume to attempt any opposition or contravention to any thing contained in this *Bull*, are left under the displeasure of Almighty God, and of his blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, which is the concluding Sanction of this *Bull*: And here Saints must be joined with God, lest his displeasure should not be sufficient. By all this it appears, that there is hardly any Roman Catholick in the World above the condition of a Plow-Man, who is not excommunicated by this *Bull*. And here you see plainly the Pope assuming a temporal or civil Power over all Emperors, Kings, and Princes, limiting them by Artic. 5. as to the raising Taxes upon their own Subjects, without his express License; and exempting all Ecclesiasticks from being any way taxed by them, Artic. 18. Or being under their Power, even in civil or criminal Causes, as by Artic. 19. though it were Treason, Murder, &c. for which noble Principle *Thomas Becket*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* was canonized, for maintaining the liberties of holy Church!

Now, my Lord, I leave it to your self, whether if you were a King, you would desire all the Bishops of your Kingdom to be under an Oath of Fidelity to another, who pretended an absolute and civil Power over you, with Authority to depose you, as he had done to several of your Predecessors, and would by no means be brought to disclaim such his Power; but on the contrary, made a fresh claim of it every year, and of his being the Sovereign Monarch of the World? Nay, he puts in his claim for more, if more can be thought of, as it is worded in the *Bulla in Cæna*, Artic. 24. *All the Rights of the Apostolick See and holy Church of Rome, howsoever and whensoever obtained or to be obtained—Howsoever obtained*, that is, you are not to enquire whether right or wrong: And *whensoever*, that is, you are not to go back to antiquity, or the institution, or look farther than the present possession, which with him gives right when it is for him: And *to be obtained*, secures any new acquisitions he can make,

make, and all his future pretences. This is like swearing *Et cætera's*. And now I think the plenitude of his Power is sufficiently guarded! And all this is included in the *Regalia* of *St. Peter*, and the Rights of the *Roman Church*, to which the Bishops of *France*, as well as of other Popish Countries are sworn, if they take that Oath sincerely, that is, according to the known and declared sense of the Imposer.

21. LORD. But I suppose this Oath must have been taken away, if that model of Church government had gone on, which was proposed by the Parliament of *Paris* (and no doubt with the King's approbation) that a Council of the Bishops, &c. in *France* should be constituted by his Majesty to dispose of vacant Bishopricks, &c. and determine all ecclesiastical matters without any appeal or recourse to *Rome*.

GENT. And it had gone on, but for the success of that confederacy formed by Pope *Innocent XI.* against the King of *France*, to re-establish his Supremacy there, in order to which he sent a *Nuncio* to our late King *James* to invite him to be head of that confederacy: But he who had learnt no other than *French Popery*, absolutely refused, and opposed the encroachments of the Pope's Supremacy, as appears plainly by his concurrence with Monsieur *Barillon* the *French Ambassador*, then residing with him, to cause the *Proceedings of the Parliament of Paris* against the Popes Supremacy, hereunto annexed, to be translated into *English*, and printed at *London* in the year 1688, which was his last of reigning here: And the Pope had this for his excuse, that he could not otherwise have carried on his confederacy, than by concerting the deposition of King *James*: Who would not have agreed to the first of the Articles sworn at the *Hague* by the Princes, Allies, and Confederates, in *February* 1691. and printed here at that time, viz. *That no Peace be made with Lewis XIV. till he has made reparation to the holy See, for whatsoever he has acted against it; and till he annul and make void all those infamous Proceedings against the holy Father, Innocent XI.* These are the *Proceedings of the Parliament of Paris* hereunto annexed. And in the Treaty of King *William* with *Spain*, bearing date *Dec. 31. 1690.* it is stipulated, Art. 4. *That all things in the Ecclesiasticks (in France) should be restored as in their former state.*

Now if King *James* would not come in to these things, was there not sufficient reason for the Pope to exercise his deposing Power against him, in the best manner that he could? And if he had such Power from God, then King *James* had no injury to complain of as done to him, being deposed by his lawful Superior.

LORD. You recall to my mind the astonishment we were in here at the cold reception, and even flights put upon the Earl of *Castlemain*, Ambassador of King *James* at *Rome*, while a Protestant Doctor, no ways acceptable there upon his own account, and some others, were caressed in an extraordinary manner. But the event of things explains their conduct: And now we see the reason why *Innocent XI.* was then called here the Protestant Pope, because he took part against King *James*, and helped on the Revolution. And I have been told, that at that time the Pope did require of King *James* his promise to use his endeavours to have the Oath of Supremacy taken away in *England*; and that his Majesty did positively refuse it, which some of us wondered at here: But that another did promise it, and in this, was as good as his word, and has taken this Stumbling-block out of the way.

GENT. King *James's* fate was very hard: He was abdicated in *England*, because he was a Papist: And the Pope wrought his deposition, because he

was too much a Protestant: And such Protestants are the *French* reckoned at *Rome*, they are called there *Hæretici Tolerati, Tolerated Hereticks*: Nor would they be tolerated, if the Pope could help it, that is, if he durst imitate the example of his Predecessor, the new Saint, Pope *Pius V.* to depose the Sovereign, absolve the Subjects from their Allegiance, and interdict the Kingdom. But that experiment proved so fatal to the Pope in *England*, that it is not likely it will ever be tryed again, either in *France*, or any where else: The thunder of the Vatican is spent, and become a *Brutum Fulmen*: The Emperor keeps *Commachio* still, notwithstanding it is particularly named, by the *Latin* name *Comaclum*, in the *Bulla in Cæna*. The 2.^d Article damns all who appeal from the Pope to a future Council: Yet have we seen it done in form by the King of *France* and the Parliament of *Paris*, and that very *Bull* named, and thrown off without any regard: And the whole *Gallican* Church are under this excommunication in almost all the Articles of it, by the four memorable Propositions, here annexed, which were established in the general Assembly of their Bishops and Clergy in the year 1682. upon which the Pope refused his *Bull* to the Bishops there, as is complained of in the *Proceedings of the Parliament of Paris*, and was the ground of their quarrel with Pope *Innocent XI.* And the learned *du Pin* wrote his Treatise before-mentioned *de la Puissance Ecclesiastique*, &c. in defence of these Propositions against all the objections of the Pope and Church of *Rome*.

LORD. You should have said the Court of *Rome*.

GENT. I understand not the distinction: If you mean nothing by the Church of *Rome* but a general Council, then there is no Church of *Rome* now in the World; but if there be a Church of *Rome*, where shall we look for it but at *Rome*? And what is it there but the Pope and his Cardinals? And is not that it which you call the Court of *Rome*? Where then is the difference?

LORD. We own the Pope to be the first and the chief of the Bishops, and as such keep Communion with him, as it is said in the *Proceedings of the Parliament of Paris*, p. 51.

GENT. The Precedence of Bishops is not a matter of that consequence as to break the Peace of the Church for it, or which of them should be president in a Council: If that were all the difference, the Bishop of *Rome* should have it with all my heart, or any other Bishop they should agree upon: And if this were all that is meant by the Supremacy of the Pope, we should not trouble the World much about it. But he will not be content with any such thing. The Supremacy he claims is no less than an absolute Sovereignty over all the Churches and Kingdoms of the Earth, their Bishops and their Kings: And this not by any ecclesiastical Constitution, or Grant of temporal Princes, which might be conditional, limited, and revocable, and would infer their Superiority to him; but by a divine and indefeasible Right, as Successor of *St. Peter*, and Heir of all the promises made to him, unalterable, unlimitable, and unaccountable to any Power upon Earth.

LORD. Whatever he means by his Supremacy, we mean no such thing, or other than that he is the first or chief of the Bishops, and as such, think our selves obliged to keep Communion with him.

GENT. But when he means one thing by his Supremacy, and you mean another, and he has sufficiently declared what he means by it, and requires your owning it and swearing to it, for his security; who deal most sincerely with him? We who not believing any such Supremacy in him, will neither own it nor swear to it: Or you, who not believing it more than we, in the sense you know he means it, yet own it in general terms, but in a quite contrary sense to what you know he means, and trusts to as his
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Security? We disown it, and fight against it: You fight against it as much as we, yet seem to own it.

LORD. But though we differ from the Pope upon the point of his Supremacy, yet we keep Communion with him.

22. GENT. Is not excommunication putting a Man out of Communion?

LORD. Yes, for so is the word excommunicate, that is, to put out of Communion.

GENT. Can a Man be said then to be in the Communion of a Bishop who has excommunicated him?

LORD. No, I think not, else excommunication signifies nothing.

GENT. Then none can be truly said to be in Communion with the Pope who are excommunicated by him every year, in the *Bulla in Cœna*: And that is all *France*, and you, my Lord, and all who are on your side of the question concerning the Supremacy of the Pope; for that is the main, almost the only subject of that *Bull*.

LORD. But all Casuists do agree, that an excommunication does not bind, which is made *Clave Errante*, that is, where the Judge passes Sentence through mis-information, inadvertence, or of malice, self-designs, or other sinister motive: In these the Judge has erred, and also, where he has exceeded his Authority, and extended it to things that are not subject to it; in these cases the Sentence is unjust, and will not be ratified in Heaven.

GENT. But who is judge whether the Sentence be pronounced *Clave Errante* or not? And how far the Pope's Authority does extend? He has excommunicated you, all of you, as if each one were particularly named, for so it is expressed in the *Bull*. On the other hand you despise this *Bull*, and say, with the *Parliament of Paris*, that he has hereby excommunicated himself! And so you have a head of the Church who is excommunicated! And so of every Pope who gives his Sanction to this *Bull*, that is, all the Popes in our time, and long before. And from whose Communion is the Pope of *Rome* excommunicated? Is there any other Communion but that of *Rome*? Is a Person excommunicated no longer a Member of the Church? And can he then be the head of it? These are matters of no small importance, no less than whether we are Members of the Church, or cut off from it? You are cut off, says the Pope and Church of *Rome*. No, says *France* to them, you your selves are cut off: And yet these two Churches are the same! And is there no judge in this case? Is every Man left to his own private Judgment? How then have we been teized with that question, who shall be judge? This answers all objections with you; for begin at what point of Popery we will, and bring arguments never so convincing, we are always stopt with this question, who shall be judge? And so you refer all to the Authority of your Church: But when you answer this as to your own case, you will have answered it as to us too.

If the Pope is supreme Head of the universal Church, he must have Power of excommunication over all in his own Communion, that is, according to his scheme, over all Christians in the World: And to dispute the validity of his excommunication, is a total denial of his Supremacy, and setting up another supreme above him. And who is that? Who is judge whether his excommunication is valid, or not? And by what Authority does he judge? It must be by some Authority superior to that of the Pope: And so he is supreme over the supreme.

But if the Pope's excommunication stands (without which his Supremacy falls) we may say, *who then can be saved?* All the christian Kings and Princes that are, or ever were in the World, even those of his own Communion, particularly in *England*, as well before the Reformation as since, are

are all together cursed and anathematized to the pit of Hell, by the *Bulla in Cæna*; and with them all their Bishops, Divines, Parliaments, Judges, Lawyers, Clerks, Printers and Publishers, or any others who have any manner of way been aiding, assisting, or consenting, though tacitely, to the contravention of their Princes to any part of this *Bull*, that is, as I said before, almost every one above the condition of a Plough-man, are hereby all damn'd, by all the Authority the Pope has: Therefore have a care of giving him too much, for he will take all any body will give: He accepted this from *Bellarmin**, That if the Pope should command the practice of Vice, and forbid Virtue, the Church were bound to believe Vice to be good, and Virtue to be wicked. Nay his own Canon Law saith†, That if the Pope were so wicked, as to carry with him innumerable People by Troops as Slaves to Hell, to be with himself for ever tormented; yet no mortal Man whatever must presume here to reprove his faults, because he is judge of all, and himself to be judged of none. So then they must keep their reproofs, and not endeavour to stop the Career till they are with him in Hell, for then I suppose his Supremacy ceases! Behold the Machine, of humane invention, which God never thought of, nor ever once mentioned of climbing to Heaven by a sort of Mechanism, upon a Ladder of Popes, Cardinals, Councils, &c. And tho' we see them leading us by Troops into Hell, we must give no obstruction, because it would break the Machine of their being our infallible guides to Heaven!

23. LORD. But after all, if you could find an infallible guide, whom you believed to be so, it would give you much ease, and be a comfort to you.

GENT. But I must have some reason to believe him to be such a guide: And I could not be more sure of it than of the truth of that reason upon which I did believe it; so that all recurs upon my own reason still: And if my reason misleads me in this, it is the most fatal delusion, because it stops all methods of recovery, when I have once given to another the dominion over my Faith. But this the Apostles disclaimed, for when they exhorted the Churches, they said, *Not for that we have dominion over your Faith, but are helpers of your Joy: For by Faith ye stand*, that is, by your own Faith. And if we, or any Angel from Heaven preach any other Gospel unto you, let him be accursed. Did not this make them Judges, whether any new Gospel or Doctrine was preached unto them? And our Saviour bids them stick to their own Judgment, and said unto them, *Yea, and why even of your own selves judge ye not what is right?* And, if I do not the works of my Father, believe me not. Was not this appealing to their Judgment, whether he did the works of his Father, or not? And as many as followed their own Judgment, they believed on him: But they who were tyed up implicitly to the Authority of the Church, they rejected him; they said, *Have any of the Rulers, or of the Pharisees believed on him? But this People who knoweth not the Law are cursed.*

LORD. If a Man durst dispute the methods of Providence, it would seem strange that God did not order it so, as that the Church should have first known their *Messiah* when he came, and have declared him to the People, and then they all would have believed on him.

GENT. The Apostle says, *That the foolishness of God is wiser than Men.* And he gives the reason in the words following, *why God chose the foolish things of the World to confound the wise, that no Flesh should glory in his presence, but he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.* And

* De Rom. Pont. l. 4. c. 5.

† Decret. Parr. I. dist. 40. can. 6. Si Papa, &c.

he applieth this to the case we are upon, to the Revelation of *Jesus Christ* when he came: For if he had been received upon the Declaration and Authority of the Church, we had gloried in the Church, whose Authority would have been prior and superior to that of *Christ* himself, as being the ground upon which we believed him. But as the Sun cannot be seen but by his own light, so God and *Christ* cannot otherwise be known; no adventitious or borrowed light can shew the original light whence all lesser lights are deriv'd, which, like the Moon and Stars, disappear at the presence of the Sun: So the Church disappeared at the presence of *Christ*, who was known by his own light only, *We beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.* Here was no going to the Church to know which was he? Or if you had, she would have misled you: It would have been like going to the Moon to ask where the Sun was. The Church is the Moon, and the Stars are the particular Bishops, and Doctors, and other eminent Men: But *Christ* is the Sun of righteousness, and he will not give his glory to another.

LORD. But few believed *Christ* when he came, or in all his life, for it is said, that *He was to the Jews a Stumbling-block, and to the Greeks a foolishness.*

GENT. The Stumbling-block to the *Jews* was the Authority of their Church against him, as I have shewed; and the *Greeks*, that is, the *Gentiles*, could not till after the Resurrection of *Christ* have any notion of the œconomy of our Redemption by him. Nor was he preached unto them till after the Vision of the Sheet to St. *Peter*, Acts x. For the Gospel was to be preached to the *Jews* first, but when they rejected it, leaning upon the infallibility of their Church, then it was sent to the *Gentiles*: Who being free from that Stumbling-block of the Church, received it readily, and now make up the whole Body of the christian Church throughout the World.

And this teaches us another thing, that is, that an infallible guide (supposing such a one) would not be an infallible assurance to us, unless we were infallible too: For besides our not knowing him, or mistaking another for him (for there has been false *Christs*) we might mis-understand his Doctrine, and turn it to quite contrary purposes from what he intended. This was the case in our Saviour's time: He was a guide truly infallible, and yet how few followed him, notwithstanding all his Miracles and heavenly Doctrine? Therefore while we are fallible our selves, and liable to errors, and mistakes, in vain do we grope after an infallible assurance, otherwise than the evidence of things makes them plain to that reason which God has given us.

The Angels of Heaven fell: *Adam* fell from his innocence: And the seven Bishops who were the seven Stars in the right hand of *Christ*, and the seven golden Candlesticks, the seven Churches in the midst of which he walked, these all are fallen; and what are we that we expect infallibility? What Bishop, what Church, now is so infallibly seated as these beloved seven were? What Church has a promise of being exempted from that general defection which is foretold will be before the second coming of *Christ*, when he shall not find Faith upon the Earth? Or may we not rather think, that the plea of infallibility in the Church of *Rome* (so many ways detected) which hides repentance from her eyes, and hinders her to return from any of her errors, which by this means continually flow without any ebbing on any side, I say, may we not think this always encreasing corruption the chief cause to bring on that universal defection in the latter times? Does it not seem to hasten apace, to be even at the doors, when we see no absurdity so great, no text of Scripture so full and express, to be too hard

for this infallibility? Not the denying of all our outward senses at once, and owning that we neither see, hear, feel, taste, nor smell! Not the express institution of the Lord's Supper in both kinds, to which the Council of *Constance* claps a *Non Obstante*, and takes away the Cup from the Laity! Not the authority and strong reasoning of the Apostles, 1 *Cor.* xiv. against publick Prayer in an unknown Tongue! All these are over-ruled by infallibility! And many more we have to instance in the particular Doctrines in dispute with the Church of *Rome*: In all which, by virtue of her unlimited and infallible Power of interpretation, she leaves no text of Scripture of any meaning, other than she thinks fit to put upon them, let the words be never so express. And this indeed is no other than taking the Scriptures wholly from us, while we must not read them with our own Understanding: And the result of this, is, that the whole foundation of our Faith is in the Church of *Rome*, without Scripture or any thing else, because the Scripture and every thing else is put absolutely and implicitly in her Power. And yet no Man alive knows what this Church of *Rome* is, or where to be found: I mean that Church of *Rome* to which the infallibility is annexed: For if you travel to *Rome*, you will see nothing there but what, by a modern distinction, you call the Court of *Rome*. Where then is this infallible Church of *Rome*? Some place it in the Pope alone, as the only Heir of St. *Peter*, and living Judge of Controversy, and therefore above all Councils, and the whole Body of the Church put together. Others like not this; and because some Popes have proved heretical, and have been censured and deposed for it; and others of them have proved most wicked and flagitious Men, who besides the viciousness of their own lives, have filled the world with Blood, Rebellions, and Usurpations, in pursuance of the deposing Power they have assumed over Princes; for these and other reasons they would not have the infallibility trusted with the Pope, but lodge it in a general Council, as superior to the Pope, with Power to reform and even to depose him. A third Party approve of neither of these ways, for as they think the Pope alone without a Council, not to be infallible, so neither the Council without the Pope, who is the head of it, and without whom there cannot be a lawful Council, as not a Parliament without the King; these are for King and Parliament, and place the supremacy and infallibility in neither Pope nor Council apart, but only when both together and agreeing: But because this will defeat several of those Councils called general, and split others, as when the Pope or his Legates withdrew from the Council (like a King leaving his Parliament) then such was no longer a lawful Council, but a schismatical Conventicle, as was said of the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, &c. and because there have been Popes against Popes, and Councils against Councils; and that the requisites necessary to constitute a lawful Council and consequently infallible, are some of them disputed, as the Authority of summoning and convening the Council, and presiding in it; and other requisites allowed by all to be necessary, are impossible to be known with any certainty, as, that all the Fathers there met should use all diligence to examine and canvass to the bottom every point that comes before them, and that they should be under no terror or fear of any, nor byassed by Party, hopes of preferment or gain, or any other corrupt passion, but doing all things out of true zeal to the glory of God, and good of the Church; otherwise that there is no infallibility follows that Council; and this being impossible for any to know but God alone, consequently the infallibility of all Councils is rendered precarious, and no certainty at all in them; or rather it is certain, by the Histories of all general Councils, that these humane passions not consistent with infallibility, had an influence in all or most of them; so that we cannot be certain of the infallibility of any Council,

cil, unless we are infallibly sure that none of these humane passions had a mixture in it: This makes a fourth Party in the Church of *Rome*, that is, of those who place the infallibility neither in Pope nor Council, jointly or severally, but in the Church militant, as they speak, that is, the Church diffusive, or all Churches up and down the World. We must then travel and learn. Here is a wide mark, and we are plainly left at last to our own private Judgment, to collect and compare, to approve or reject what we find scattered in all the distant Churches upon Earth: And no Man's life or capacity will be sufficient to make the inquiry, in any tolerable measure.

And now, my Lord, which of these four sorts of infallibility will you take? There are three to one against you, chuse which you will: And all these are of the Church of *Rome*: And what difference is there betwixt having no guide, or one you cannot find?

LORD. If I cannot find him, I have him not; and that is all one as to have none.

Miserable Man! If he has no infallible guide, and is fallible himself; and yet upon his going right depends his eternal either happiness or misery.

24. GENT. You may as well find fault with the Creation. *Shall the Clay say to the Potter, why hast thou made me thus?* Who was guide to the Angels that fell? Who was guide to *Adam*? Who was, or who is, guide to all the Earth? To the Heathens, to *Mahometans*, to *Jews*? These last stick to their Church, as an infallible guide, and therefore are most obstinate, and the most inveterate Enemies to Christianity. Who is guide to Infants and to Idiots? And shall we interrogate the Almighty what he will do with these, or why he created them? And perhaps the greatest part of Mankind die before they come to the years of discretion: And when they are of age, how few are capable to judge, or have opportunity or capacity to examine the different pleas betwixt Church and Church, Religion and Religion? And do we not see the generality of the World take up their Church and Religion just according to their education? My Lord, if you and I had been born and bred in *Turkey* we might have been *Mahometans*.

LORD. Is Religion then nothing but a chance, according to the place, we are born in, or where we receive our education?

GENT. No, my Lord; truth is truth, though all the World should depart from it: And there have been Converts in all Nations and Religions; but none where Men cannot be persuaded to overcome the prejudice of education, and examine impartially for themselves: But infallibility bars all examination, for that implies a doubt, and brings us to private Judgment; and where then shall we wander? And yet you must apply to every Man's private Judgment when you would make him a Convert to your Church, why else do you argue or reason with him? Must he not then examine all the arguments and motives you give him for the infallibility of your Church; and judge for himself whether they are well grounded, and will bear the test of reason? Or must every body have reason and examine but your selves? Believe it then you are in the most dangerous condition of any: And you are the Men who receive your Religion by chance, just according to your education. Suppose another should return your own answer to you, and say, I will not examine, I am infallibly sure, and I will hear no more: What would you think of such a Man? Every Enthusiast will tell you the same: He will take his Oath that he is infallible! And will hear no more than the deaf Adder the charms of reason; but he will bid you silence your reason, for that is it which blinds you, though *Solomon* calls it the

the *Lamp of God*, which he hath planted in our heart, *Prov. xx. 27.* This is the *Image of God* in which he created us, and will be our Judge and Witness in the last day, as it is given us for our guide here: But instead of trimming this Lamp, to make it burn clearly, we hear the general cry from your side, *Put it out—Put it out—* We cannot deal with you 'till that Lamp be extinguished, it thwarts us at every turn, and starts a hundred objections, that we cannot believe peaceably for it. But when it is quite taken away (if that were possible to be done) then you offer to shew us a Meteor of infallibility (about which your selves are not agreed, nor know where to find it) which will keep us from ever doubting any more: As when a Man's Eyes are put out, he cannot see a dirty step or a precipice before him, and then he is in that state of security you propose.

LORD. You see how this guide of yours, this Lamp of Reason has misled the Nations; for Heathens, *Mahometans*, &c. all plead Reason.

GENT. And we have no other method with them than to Reason on still with them, and shew them that Reason is of our side: And vast multitudes of them have been thus converted, even all the christian Churches now in the World; for all of them are of the *Gentiles*: And for those who yet remain unconverted, or have not had the Gospel sufficiently proposed to them, we must leave them to God who made them, and will require from no Man more than he has given him, but will judge all People righteously. Of this I have spoke before.

25. But I observe that since this notion of infallibility came into the Church of *Rome*, it has rooted out all Charity, and her Religion has been chiefly employed in cursing and damning all the World but her self. Her Canons are tagged with Anathemas upon every occasion, and you hear little in them of who shall be saved, but every page is full of who must be damned. And the *Bulla in Cæna* pins the Basket, and leaves very few to escape, even of the *Roman* Communion it self.

It is a common argument with which your Priests frighten Women and Children, viz. *You Protestants say it is possible for a Papist to be saved: But we Papists say, it is impossible for a Protestant to be saved: Therefore it is safer being of our side.* But this has turned to their confusion, for as there is nothing in it but a confident averring, it shews that they have no Charity, which is greater even than Faith it self, *1 Cor. xiii. 13.* And therefore that they can be no christian Church: Their want of Charity being by this much plainer than our want of Faith. Take *Chillingworth's* answer to this, Chap. vii. of his Works, p. 306. "*You (says he to Knot the Jesuit) vainly pretend, that all Roman Catholicks, not one excepted, profess that Protestantism unrepented destroys Salvation. From which generality we may except two at least to my knowledge, and these are, your self, and Francis de Sancta Clara, who assures us, that ignorance and repentance may excuse a Protestant from damnation, tho' dying in his error: And this is all the Charity, which by your own confession also, the most favourable Protestants allow to Papists.*"

Militiere was persuaded that King *Charles I.* was happy in Heaven, because he preferred the Catholick Faith before his Crown, his Liberty, his Life. [Now it is known to all the World that King *Charles I.* lived and died in the Communion of the Church of *England*, which he declared with his last Breath upon the Scaffold.] But Arch-bishop *Bramhal* gave him this Answer, "That which you have confessed here concerning King *Charles*, will spoil your former demonstration, *That the Protestants have neither Church nor Faith.* But you confess no more here than I have heard some of your famous *Roman* Doctors at *Paris* acknowledge to be true in
"general;

“ general; and no more than that which the Bishop of *Chalcedon* (a Man
 “ that cannot be suspected of Partiality on our side) hath affirmed and pub-
 “ lished in two of his Books to the World in print, That *Protestantibus*
 “ *credentibus, &c. Persons living in the Communion of the Protestant*
 “ *Church, if they endeavour to learn the Faith, and are not able to at-*
 “ *tain unto it; but hold implicitly in the preparation of their minds, and*
 “ *are ready to receive it when God shall be pleased to reveal it* (which
 “ all good Protestants and all good Christians are) *they neither want Church*
 “ *nor Faith, nor Salvation.*

LORD. *Militiere* supposed that King *Charles I.* secretly and invisibly in the last moments of his life, was by God's Spirit united to the Roman Catholick Church.

GENT. Then no Protestant, at least no Protestant King need despair— But to these Divines let us add some royal Testimonies. King *James I.* in his *Premonition to Christian Monarchs* tells us, That his Mother (Queen *Mary*) as she was ready to lay her head upon the Block, sent him this message; *That although she was of another Religion than that wherein he was brought up, yet she would not press him to change, except his conscience forc'd him to it; not doubting but if he led a good life, and were careful to do Justice and govern well, he would be in a good case in his own Religion.*

This was perfectly agreeable to the Sentiments of his Grandson the late King *James II.* who often spoke to those Divines who had the instruction of both his Daughters, to be diligent in making them religious and good Christians, in the way of the Church of *England*, without so much as hinting at any change of their Principles towards the Church of *Rome*, as I have heard my self from two of them, Dr. *Turner* late Lord Bishop of *Ely*, and Dr. *Ken* late Lord Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*. And neither before nor after his coming to the Crown would he suffer any attempt to be made upon them as to Religion, of which there is an eminent Witness now alive, who knows if I speak truth. And when a certain Zealot pressed him to endeavour their reconciliation to the Church of *Rome*, and offered his Service for the purpose, the King answered, *No, let him alone, they are so good they will be saved in any Church.*

LORD. It is strange then he should be a Roman Catholick himself.

GENT. Not at all, for he might think that best for him, without thinking those in hazard who were sincerely of the Church of *England*, and lived up to the rules of it.

LORD. He could not think it lawful to be present at your common Prayers.

GENT. He did not think it unlawful, because he heard them at his Coronation.

LORD. That was upon a particular occasion: But does any Roman Catholick think it lawful to hear them constantly or frequently?

26. GENT. They did think so; for after the Reformation the Roman Catholicks of *England* came to our Churches and to our Common Prayer without any scruple. And this continued till about the tenth year of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when Pope *Pius V.* forbid it by his *Bull*: So that he made the separation; and if he had not sufficient Power to do it, or that there was not sufficient cause for it, then he made the Schism too, and it lies wholly at his door. Now it is the undoubted Right of every national Church to reform, alter, and model their Liturgy, as shall be most convenient, provided there be nothing put into it that is contrary to the Faith, which is not so much as alledged against our publick Offices. They

have a Breviary at *Milan* and in other places, different from that at *Rome*. And in *England* before the Reformation there were divers in several Diocesses, as what was used in the Church of *Salisbury*, of *Hereford*, of *Bangor*, of *Tork*, of *Lincoln*, &c. as is mentioned in the *Preface* to our *Common-Prayer-Book*, concerning the *Service of the Church*. But these differences did not break Communion, nor did the alteration made at the Reformation, 'till the Pope by the Plenitude of his Supremacy, and to be revenged upon Queen *Elizabeth*, took upon him to break the Communion. For which as there was no sufficient cause, our Liturgy being all orthodox, even our Enemies being Judges; so on the other hand, the Pope's Supremacy did not extend to break in upon the Rights and Liberties of any national Church, as has been and is still maintained by the whole *Gallican* Church, and others the most learned in the Church of *Rome*. And, my Lord, I know some Roman Catholicks of figure and good sense in *England*, who merely upon this account have come over to our Church, and thought themselves obliged to return to the Communion of their national Church, and to heal the breach made by that excess of the Pope's Supremacy, which no sober Man on this side the *Alps* will own. It is strange to own it in fact, and yet deny it in words. Whoever own this *Bull* of *Pius V.* for breaking Communion in *England*, must also own the full extent of the *Bulla in Cæna*, which has his Authority, in a particular manner, as well as of all the Popes since. And it damns almost all the Papists, as well as all who are not Papists.

27. LORD. We desire not to be called Papists, we think it a word of contempt, as if we were only Partisans for the Pope, and of that party or faction of Christians who would raise his power above the Church and every thing else.

GENT. I am glad your Lordship thinks so, and indeed the Church of *France* (where you were bred) are not Papists in this sense. They are got free, in a good measure from the servitude of the Pope: But they are still Roman Catholicks.

LORD. We do not delight in that word neither, as if our Catholicism were tyed only to *Rome*; we term our selves Catholicks in general, as Members of the catholick or universal Church.

GENT. We call our selves so too, and in the same sense, and pray every day for the Catholick Church in our Liturgy. Therefore we call not you Catholicks, because it would not distinguish you from us: But Roman Catholicks is calling a part the whole.

LORD. You know the meaning, not that the particular Church of *Rome* is all the Churches in the World, but she is called Catholick, as being the Head and Principle of Unity and Communion to all other Churches.

GENT. If this be the frame of this Catholick Church, it must have been so always.

LORD. Yes surely, for there was always a Catholick Church, that is, some particular Church, so called, in the same sense as *Rome* is now.

GENT. Pray then, my Lord, tell me what particular Church was so called, in this sense, before there was a Christian in *Rome*? And how came that Church to lose it? And how was it transferred to *Rome*?

Every Bishop, every Church, and every Member of it, may be called Catholick, and were so called, as being included in the general notion of the Catholick Church; but in the sense you have mentioned, as Head and Principle of Unity to all Churches, no Bishop or Church ever had it, till taken up in the latter times by the Bishop and Church of *Rome*.

28. LORD.

28. LORD. But how came the Bishop of *Rome* to that great sway he has long obtained in the Church?

GENT. It is very obvious, because *Rome* was the *Metropolis* of the Empire: And consequently her Bishop must be more conspicuous than any other, have more respect paid him, and more applications made to him, especially after the Emperors became Christian. And for the same reason, when the Seat of the Empire was translated to *Constantinople*, the Bishop of that Church took upon him, and aspired further to an universal Supremacy, but was opposed by *Gregory* the great, Bishop of *Rome*. There was no other consideration then for the superiority of one Bishop or Church, but the secular dignity of the place; for which reason the Patriarch of *Jerusalem* (which was uncontestably the Mother Church of all) was postponed, and made the lowest of all the Patriarchs. But for divine Right, and *Christ* having named any one Bishop or Church as head and superior to all others, there is not a word. And it could not be *Rome* before *Rome* was Christian; and *Christ* never named her upon any occasion whatsoever, or gave the least hint towards her, or that possibly can be applied to her. Strange and unaccountable! If he meant to build the whole christian Faith upon her, and to make her the Catholick Church, as including all other Churches of Christians, and in all ages throughout the whole World!

But, my Lord, fact (as I said before) is the surest way to give us a true light of things. And the frame or government of the Church is a fact, which must be determined by Histories and Records, not criticising upon words that afford no certainty. Let us look therefore into the frame of the Church from the beginning. I hope I have made it plain from the History of the *Acts* of the Apostles, that there was none of them appointed as Sovereign over the others, whatever words may be strained in favour of *St. Peter*; for if he was called a *Rock* or *Foundation*, so were all the others, they are called the *twelve Foundations of the Church*: which is said to be *built upon the foundation of the Apostles, and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner Stone*. And not any particular Prophet or Apostle. And if the *Keys of Heaven* were promised to *Peter*, this was fulfilled in giving them to him jointly with all the others, without any mark of superiority in him. As in the Commission to *Teach all Nations*, it was equal to them all. And we find in fact that it was exercised by them all with equal Authority.

Rev. xxi. 14.

Eph. ii. 20.

Matth. xvi. 19.

John xx. 23.

Matth. xxviii.

And all the *Regimen* of the Church which the Apostles appointed was that of Bishops in their several districts, without any Head or Sovereign Bishop over them all, as supreme Judge of Controversy: Of which there is not the least tittle to be found in any of the Histories or Writings of those ages next after the Apostles; though there were many Controversies even in Faith among them, which an appeal to this Judge had speedily ended; but no such thing appears, which could not have been missed had it been known. *Metropolitans* were early, that is, the Bishop of the *Metropolis* or chief City of a Province, who did preside in the Synods of that Province; and had other ecclesiastical Privileges granted him, by the common consent of the Bishops of the Province, for order sake, and greater harmony of discipline. But a Patriarch with jurisdiction over several *Metropolitans* or Provinces was never heard of in the Church till the Council of *Chalcedon*, four hundred and fifty years after *Christ*. And many Provinces were not put under these Patriarchs, but had exempt jurisdiction of their own as before, of which *Britain* was one; for the Patriarchat of *Rome* extended only to *Italy* and the Isles adjacent. But the first pretence to universal Supremacy was set up by *John*, Bishop of *Constantinople*, after the Seat of the

Empire

Empire was translated thither, against whom *Gregory* the great wrote, and said that though his See of *Rome* had always the precedence of *Constantinople*, yet that none of his Predecessors, the Bishops of *Rome*, had ever assumed such an arrogant title*, which he calls a *Luciferian Pride*, and declares him who should take it to be the fore-runner of *Anti-Christ*. And yet his next successor but one, that is *Boniface III.* did take it, being given him by *Phocas*, that Traytor and Usurper, who murdered his Master *Mauricius*, the Emperor, and seized his Throne, whom *Boniface* owned and abetted, and was made universal Bishop for his reward, in the beginning of the seventh Century. Thus the Supremacy now claimed by *Rome* was introduced, and has been maintained *pro Viribus* ever since. And under this *Britain* has been subdued, which never was under the Patriarchat of *Rome*. So much has the Government and Unity of the Church been altered from what it was in the Apostle's time, or in the first ages of the Church: And thus has *Rome* usurped the name of the Catholick Church, and placed all its Unity in submission to her Bishop! Here we see the degrees by which this encroachment crept on; the Patriarchat began in the fifth, and the universal Supremacy in the seventh Century. And *Britain* which held it out against the Patriarchat of *Rome*, was at last conquered by the more apparent Usurpation of her universal Supremacy, so obtained as I have told.

And yet I have heard some *Britains* say, that though they thought the Church of *Rome* the most corrupt part of the christian Church, both as to Doctrine and Worship, and to be a Cage full of unclean Birds; yet that they must be of her, and enter into that Cage, because she was the Catholick Church. This is like that desperate Maxim in the Canon Law, I quoted before out of the Decretals, That *though the Pope should draw infinite numbers of People with him into Hell, yet we must not find fault with him, nor reprove him, &c.*

29. And I must observe also here, that though *France* has thrown off the Pope's infallibility, and his deposing Power over Princes, and has limited his Supremacy, that is indeed taken it wholly away; for no Supremacy (properly so called) can be limited, for then it ceases to be supreme: Yet *France* remains still in the dreggs of the corruptions of *Rome*, both as to Doctrine and Worship. The Religion of the People there, is, the Adoration of the Host, and of the Cross, Invocation of Saints, Worship of Images, praying Souls out of Purgatory, telling their Beads, and going to Confession.

30. LORD. I have heard your self say, that Confession was a good thing rightly used.

GENT. And so I say still, but not in that sense it is generally used with you, and is expressed in your *Catechism ad Parochos, de Pœnitentiæ Sacramento*, Sect. 46, 47. That such a repentance as God will not accept, nor pardon for it, is made sufficient by the *Sacrament of Penance*, and all our sins remitted by it; and that *Paucissimi*, very few can be saved without it. They might have said, none, for they here require in repentance acceptable to God, a sense and sorrow for sin that shall be fully equal to the demerit, *Ut cum scelerum magnitudine æquari conferrique possit*, which is impossible for mortal Man; and therefore all must be damned without this *Sacrament of Penance*. And they say, it was necessary that God should institute this Sacrament, as an easier way for Men to get to Heaven. *Quare necesse fuit ut clementissimus Dominus faciliori ratione communi hominum salutem consuleret.* An easy way indeed! Confess to a Priest and get

* Epist. l. ii. Ep. 32, 36, 38. l. vii. Ep. 30, 36, &c.

absolution, and this makes up the defects of your repentance, and you are saved *ex opere Operato*, by the *Work wrought* the bare performance of this Sacrament. And the Council of *Trent* anathematizes all those who say that the very Sacraments of the Gospel do not confer grace in the same manner, by the bare performance. *Si quis dixerit per ipsa novæ legis Sacramenta ex opere Operato non conferri gratiam—Anathema sit.* Sess. 7. Can. 8. It is true that God did institute his Sacraments as means of grace (for which we bless his Name daily in our general Thanksgiving) but this turns them into charms, when the very Sacraments themselves, *ipsa Sacramenta*, confer the grace, *ex opere Operato*, by the bare performance of the Work.

Let us exemplify this to our selves by the like use made of the Institutions of God under the Law. The *Jews* had got this notion of the *Opus Operatum*, that the bare performance of the Letter of the Law, in their Sacrifices, Feasts, Fasts, and other observances was all that was required of them. Whence the Voices of all the Prophets were against these Institutions; they call them iniquity, abomination, and hateful to God: Nay, God denies that he did require them, or ever did institute them: That is, as a dead Carcass without a Soul, and working like charms by the bare *Opus Operatum*. God did never institute such, nor does require them at our hands. And may we not say? No more under the Gospel than the Law. For the Gospel introduced a more pure and spiritual Worship, but the Council of *Trent* by naming only the Sacraments of the new Law, applies the *Opus Operatum* to them also, if not chiefly.

Isa. i. 11, 12,
13, 14.
Jer. vii. 22.

What else is the meaning of tying Men to the repetition of such a precise number of *Ave's* and *Pater's*, and *Credo's*, at such particular times, whether the mind goes along with them, or not? For you will see People in the Markets, buying and selling, and discoursing of common business, and dropping their Beads all the while, to keep count if they have rightly performed their task of the *Opus Operatum*.

But if Prayers and Sacraments, which are means of grace of God's own Institution, may be thus abused, and rendered hateful to God; what shall we say of those means of grace which are of Man's mere invention? None can appoint the means but he who has the bestowing of the end to be obtained by those means: As if I have a thousand Pounds to bestow, I may put what conditions I think fit, and appoint the means for the obtaining it; and none else can appoint the means. Now grace is the gift of the Holy Ghost, and none can appoint the means of maintaining it, but who has the bestowing of the Holy Ghost; which it is the highest Blasphemy for any Creature to assume to himself; hence *Christ's* sending the Holy Ghost is a sure proof of his Divinity: But the Church of *Rome* takes upon her to appoint means of grace, many and various; the whole *Pontifical* is made up of the forms of Consecration of every thing almost one can think of into means of grace, as Bells, Books, Candles, Water, Salt, Oil, Ashes, Palms, Swords, Banners, and Vestments of divers sorts, even to Children's Clouts, besides Crosses, Pictures, Images, *Agnus Dei's*, &c. By the use of which, in the manner prescribed, several graces, both ghostly and bodily, are said to be obtained, as besides the favour of God, and the remission of sins, the saving from Fire, from Diseases, from Storms at Sea, Thunder, Lightning, and Tempest at Land, at which times they ring their consecrated Bells, to allay the Winds, and chase away the Demons of the Air, who seeing the Sign of the Cross upon such Bells, and hearing their sound, shall be frightened and fly away, as it is expressed in the Form of Consecration of Bells in the *Pontifical*. Nay there is nothing in the World so insignificant (as a Rose, or a Feather) which the Pope may not consecrate into a means of

grace, and is in use every day: And at *Rome* they are counted Atheists who have not Faith in these things: So much they place their Religion in them!

LORD. The Dissenters object all this to you, as to your Rites, Ceremonies, Habits, &c,

GENT. But without any ground, for we consecrate none of these things, nor do we attribute any virtue, ghostly or bodily to the use of them, as to the wearing a Surplice, hearing a Bell or an Organ, &c. they are purely for Decency and Order, and we may change them, or take them quite away every day, as our Governors think fit. Can they shew any outward action or thing appointed in our Church, by the use of which evil Spirits may be chased away, Women helped in Labour, or Storms at Sea quell'd? All which and many more virtues are attributed in your Church to the use of what you call holy Water, and many other such like Institutions of mechanical means of grace.

31. But that which makes up the bulk of the Romish Devotions is, the Worship and Invocation of Saints and Angels, the Adoration of their Images, and of the Reliques of Saints departed, pieces of their Bodies or of their Vestments, &c. to which great Miracles are attributed, and therefore they are made, strictly and properly, means of grace.

LORD. We desire the Prayers of one another upon Earth, why not much rather of the Saints and Angels in Heaven?

GENT. Because the one is commanded, the other not, nay forbidden, as I will shew you.

LORD. It seems to be giving greater glory to God, and more humility in us, not to approach his presence directly and immediately our selves, as we do not to any earthly King, but by the introduction and recommendation of some eminent Courtier whom we know to be in his favour.

GENT. Your simile will halt on all four, for God is nearer to us than any Saint or Angel; *in God we live and move and have our Being*; but the Angels and Saints departed are at distance from us, and we know not where to find them, or that they hear our Prayers, for they are not every where; that is an attribute of God alone.

LORD. Therefore our School-Men say, they see our Prayers *in Speculo Trinitatis*, in the *Looking-Glass of God*.

GENT. Do they see every thing in that Looking-Glass? Then they know as much as God! But if not, then how do we know they see our Prayers there? And how will this sort with your simile of an earthly King, that the Courtier must go to the King to know what I desired the Courtier to ask of him?

Rom. iv. 16. *Abraham is the Father of us all. And he was called the Friend of*
Jam. ii. 23. *God:* Therefore it is likely that he saw as far into that Looking glass as a-
Isa. lxiii. 16. nother. Yet it is said, *That Abraham is ignorant of us.* And are not we
Job xiv. 21. as ignorant of their state, and what knowledge they have of us below? We are told that they have no knowledge of it. *His Sons come to honour,*
and he knoweth it not; and they are brought low, but he perceiveth it
not of them.

LORD. It is said, that the Angels of Heaven rejoice over a Sinner that repenteth.

GENT. That is when it pleaseth God to let them know it, or that the Sinner comes thither. But that they know of every penitent upon Earth, is no where said, nor do I know it asserted by any.

But instead of the School-Men's Looking-Glass and their vain Philosophy, if we would look into the plain directions of holy Scripture, we should

should settle our selves upon a much surer foundation. See then what the Apostle says upon the very case in hand, *Let no Man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility* (or being a *voluntary in humility*, as our Margin reads it) *and worshipping of Angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puff'd up by his fleshly mind; and not holding the Head, from which all the Body by Joints and Bands having nourishment ministred, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God.* And after says, *Which things have indeed a shew of Wisdom in Will-Worship and Humility*—Here is a full answer to all your pretensions for this Will-Worship of Saints and Angels, for both go upon the same foot. It is called, *Intruding into things we have not seen*, of which we are altogether uncertain, and therefore sinful in the practice, by the Apostle's rule, *That whatsoever is not of Faith, is Sin.* This was spoke in respect of Meats, but is much more so as to our Worship and solemn Devotions to God—Your comparison of access to an earthly King, is here called a fleshly or carnal thought, measuring God after the manner of Men—And the result of this is no less than losing our reward, that is, Heaven; for it is forsaking the Head, which is *Christ*, whose Members we are, and receive nourishment from him; not so from Saints or Angels; God has given *Christ* to us as the *one Mediator between God and Men.* But we have made to our selves many Mediators to assist and help him, as if his Mediation and Intercession were not sufficient. And we make more applications to them than to him, or to God himself: You have ten *Ave Maria's*, for one *Pater Noster.*

Col. ii. 18, 19.

1. 23.

Rom. xiv. 23.

1 Tim. ii. 5.

And you have multiplied these Saints to your selves without number, like the Heathen Deities, and new Canonizations are going on every day. Every Country, City, Parish, and almost Person have a particular Saint for their Patron. You have Saints, as they had Gods, for the Sea, for the Air, Fire, &c. for Peace, for War, for Learning, and all sorts of Trades and Occupations. St. *Christopher* and St. *Clement* are for the Sea, especially the Virgin *Mary* to whom the Sea-Men sing *Ave Maris Stella.* St. *Agatha* is for the Fire, and they make Letters on her day to quench Fire with. St. *Nicholas* and St. *Gregory* are for Scholars, St. *Luke* for Painters, &c. and they have Saints for all Diseases: St. *Cornelius* cures the Falling-sickness, St. *Roche* the Pox, St. *Apollonia* the Tooth-ach, &c. And they have particular Saints for all Beasts and Cattle. St. *Loy* presides over the Horses, and St. *Anthony* over the Swine, &c. And they bring their Cattle to be blessed by these Saints on their particular days. And they pray to these Saints jointly with God: A Scholar says, *God and St. Nicolas be my speed:* And when one sneezes, *God help and St. John:* And to a Horse if he stumbles, *God and St. Loy save thee, &c.* And upon every surprize they cry, *Jesu Maria.*

32. LORD. You should not compare these to the Demons of the Heathens, for they were evil Spirits. And they called them Gods.

GENT. The word Gods is frequently given in Scripture to Angels and to Men as Ministers of God. And thus the Heathens understood it, and supposed their Gods to be such Ministers; as *Æolus* to govern the Winds, *Neptune* the Sea, &c. Therefore they call them *Dii Medioxumi, Inferior Gods*, as standing in the middle betwixt the supreme God and us, to succour or punish us, according to his Orders. St. *Augustine*, who knew them well, tells us what they argued for themselves; they said*, *We do not wor-*

* Non colimus mala Dæmonia; Angelos quos dicitis, ipsos & nos colimus, Virtutes Dei magni, & Myſteria Dei magni, *Augustin. Psal. xcvi.*

Acts x. 26.
xiv. 14, 15.

ship evil Demons or Spirits, but we worship those whom you (Christians) call Angels, the Powers of the great God, the Mysteries of the great God. But St. Augustine answered them, that they must be evil Spirits whom they worshipped, because they required Worship from Men, as the Devil did from our Saviour, which the good Angels always refused, and he quotes Rev. xix. 10. xxii 9. Where the Angel forbade John to worship him. And the same did the Saints upon Earth, as Peter refused it from Cornelius, and Paul and Barnabas from the Men of Lystra, &c.

Rom. i. 19, 20,
21, 22, 23.

Acts xvii. 23.

LORD. But we suppose not that the Heathens had any notion of the supreme and true God, but that they worshipped every one of their Gods as supreme and independent.

GENT. Some Men make Monsters of others, to hide their own Deformity! Your guides have set up this notion to hinder the parallel betwixt the heathen Worship of their inferior Gods, and yours of Saints and Angels. For there is nothing more evident than that the Heathen did acknowledge the one supreme and true God, though in much ignorance and superstition. St. Paul said that they *knew God*, that he was manifest unto them, *even his eternal Power and Godhead*. So that they were without excuse in their foolish imagination, to change the glory of the incorruptible God into an Image made like to corruptible Man, &c. And he told the Athenians, *Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you*. He did not preach a false God unto them, but they had blended the Worship of God with these inferior Gods or Demons, which was their Superstition, for so the word signifies, *Δεισιδαιμονία*, the fear of these Demons, and it is thus rendred every where in the New Testament, which we translate Superstition, and so your own vulgar Latin, Acts xvii. 22. and xxv. 19. And the Latin word *Superstitio* means the same thing, and is derived, as Servius has it, from *Super Stare*, as being a fear of those heavenly Powers, who *Supra stant* stand over us, and so Superstition is *Superstantium rerum timor*. Others derive it from *Superstites*, that these *Divi ex hominibus facti*, Men deify'd after their death, are still *Superstites*, and the fear of them as such is Superstition; or *qui Superstitem memoriam defunctorum colunt*, who worship the Memory of these dead Men.

The Worship of these lesser Gods is what is forbidden in the first Commandment, which respects the object of Worship, that no religious Worship is to be given to any but to the supreme God alone. The second Commandment relates to the manner of Worship, that is, by Images. But this your Church has hid from the People, and divided the tenth into two to keep up the number, that the People might think they still have the ten Commandments: And it is thus in your very *Catechism ad Parochos*. But of this hereafter.

1 Tim. iv. 1.

The Heathens had their good and evil *Dæmones*, as their good and evil *Genii*; but according to St. Augustine's rule, they must be evil Demons who accepted the Worship of Men, which were all the heathen Demons: Therefore the word *Dæmon* is taken in the worst sense, and translated *Devil* throughout the New Testament, and what we translate *the Doctrines of Devils*; is the Doctrine of the *Dæmones*, or of the Worship of the *Dæmones*, *διδασκαλία δαιμονίων*, and a various Lction has it *νεκροῖς λατρεύοντες*, who *Worship the dead*. The *Dæmones* of the Heathen were their dead Heroes, whom they made *Divi* by an *Apotheosis*; as the Pope does Saints by a Canonization. But it is too gross to put it upon the Heathen, that they thought every one of those Gods whom they made was the supreme God who made themselves. They owned these to be lesser Gods, and only the Virtues and Powers of the great God; and they thought that they honoured

honoured the supreme God the more, by doing honour to his Substitutes; and all their Worship was ultimately referred to him. So that * *He only was worshipped in all their Gods and Goddesses; for they made him King of all their Gods and Goddesses.*

And the common appellation given to *Jupiter* in *Homer* is, Πατήρ and Βασιλεὺς ἀνδρῶν τε Θεῶν τε, *The Father and King of the Gods as well as of Men.* And he represents him as commanding all the other Gods, sending them on his Errands, calling them to account, and sometimes chastizing them. He was called *Majus Deus*, the Great God. *Lucian* in his *Dialogues* brings in *Neptune* making Suit to *Mercury*, that he might speak with *Jupiter*.

But besides all these, we have sufficient Testimony in Scripture of the Heathens acknowledging the one supreme and true God, *Nebuchadnezzar* calls him, *God of Gods, and Lord of Kings*—*The most high God*—And says, *I blessed the most high, and I praised and honoured him that liveth for ever and ever, whose Dominion is an everlasting Dominion, and his Kingdom from Generation to Generation. And all the Inhabitants of the Earth are reputed as nothing: And he doth according to his Will in the Army of Heaven, and among the Inhabitants of the Earth: And no Man can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou?*

Dan. ii. 47;
iii. 26, 29.
iv. 34, 35.

Cyrus calls him the *Lord God of Heaven.* And *Darius* the same, in as high expressions as any Christian could use, *The living God, and steadfast for ever, and his Kingdom that which shall not be destroyed, and his Dominion shall be even unto the end, &c.*

Ezra i. 2:
vi. 10, 12:
Dan. vi. 26.

LORD. It is strange that when they acknowledged the great God so fully, they did not forsake their own little Gods.

GENT. No, for they did not think it inconsistent to acknowledge one God above all, and yet to suppose that every Nation had its own God, or Gods, in subordination to the supreme God, and as Deputies under him. This was their notion. And they supposed that *Judæa* had its own tutelar Gods, as well as other Countries. Therefore the King of *Assyria* having conquered it, sent to teach his People who went thither, *the manner of the God of the Land*; to appease his wrath who had plagued them with Lions. But yet they forsook not their own Gods, for it is said, *They feared the Lord, and served their own Gods.* And they allowed the same liberty to the *Jews*, who were not required in any of their captivities to renounce their own God; but only to worship the Gods of the Nations where they lived. And of these tutelar Gods, they supposed one might be stronger or more powerful than another, and therefore they would boast of their Gods, one Country against another; thus said *Sennacherib*, *Who are they among all the Gods of the Countries, that hath delivered their Country out of mine hand, that the Lord (the tutelar God of Judæa) should deliver Jerusalem out of mine hand? Where are the Gods of Hamath, and of Arpad, &c?* When *Moses* and *Aaron* told *Pharaoh* that the God of the *Hebrews* had met with them, he was not offended that they had another God besides those which were worshipped in *Egypt*; he took it as a thing granted, that every People had their own tutelar God.

2 Kin. xvii:
26, 27, 33:

2 Kin. xviii:
34, 35.

This then was the difference betwixt the *Jews* and the *Gentiles*, the *Gentiles* thought it lawful to worship the tutelar God of any Country, but still in subordination to the most high God, as has been shewed: On the other hand, the *Jews* were obliged to worship the Lord God, the su-

* Hi omnes Dii Deæque sit unus Jupiter. *August. de Civit. Dei* l. iv. c. 11. Ipsum enim Deorum omnium Dearumque Regem esse volunt. *Ib.* c. 9.

preme God, and him only, and they were forbid to worship any of the Gods of the Nations.

But this sin they often fell into; they worshipped these Gods, but still in conjunction with the Lord their God, as it is said, they did *Worship and swear by the Lord, and swear by Malcham*. But Samuel told them, *If ye return unto the Lord with all your hearts, then put away the strange Gods, and Ashtaroth from among you—and serve him only—Then they did put away Baalim and Ashtaroth, and served the Lord only.*

LORD. But it is said, that they had forsaken the Lord.

GENT. It is called forsaking the Lord, when we will not obey his Commandments, but worship him otherwise than he has required, and join others with him which he has forbidden: He said, *The house of Israel is estranged from me, separated from me through their Idols; yet they come and enquire of a Prophet concerning me.* And again,

When they had slain their Children to their Idols, then came they the same day into my Sanctuary. And he says to them, *Will ye burn Incense unto Baal, and walk after other Gods, and come and stand before me in this house which is called by my Name?* It is said, *They feared the Lord, and served their own Gods, after the manner of the Nations.* But it follows immediately, *They fear not the Lord, because they do not after his Statutes,* wherein he commanded them *not to fear other Gods.* And again, *They feared the Lord, and served their graven images.* Yet this was departing from the fear of the Lord, but not a downright denial of the supreme God, or throwing him off from being any more their God, and taking any other Gods in his room as the supreme God. No, but it was taking other Gods with him, of which he says, *Oh do not this abominable thing that I hate.*

Jer. xlv. 4.

This was the first sin against which God took care to guard in the first Commandment, *Thou shalt have none other Gods before me, or with me.* And for the distinction that the Worship of inferior Gods or Ministers of God is not here forbidden, we say, *Ubi Lex non distinguit, ibi non est distinguendum, Where the Law does not distinguish, we must not;* for there is no Law but may be distinguished away. And this is exactly the same notion the Heathen had of their *Dæmones*. And the worshipping of these or fearing them, is literally what we call Superstition: It is a means of grace which God has not appointed.

Exod. xx. 3, 23.

LORD. But we have reason to suspect that several of the Heathen *Dæmones*, or Men deify'd after they were dead, were supposititious, and that no such Men ever were in the World.

GENT. Many such will be found in the Catalogue of your Saints. What think you of the seven Sleepers, who slept three hundred and sixty two years, and thought it but one Night? What think you of the eleven thousand *English* Virgins, all martyred together at *Cologne*; and the fine Legend told of them? What do you believe of St. *George's* killing the Dragon, and rescuing the King's Daughter? As true as our Ballad of the Dragon of *Wantly*. Yet there are days kept for all these, and offices made for them, with Prayers to them, and to God, that we may be saved by these their merits. There are multitudes of the like, which you will find even to a surfeit, in the Devotions of the *Roman Church*, with their *Breviaries*, *Missals*, *Legends*, and Authors quoted at large. And can these Prayers be in Faith, to Persons that never were in Being, and for the merit of actions that were never done? This is a means of grace of our own invention indeed!

Besides,

Besides, many have been canonized for notorious crimes, as our St. *Thomas Becket* of *Canterbury*, whose merit was, that he would exempt all Ecclesiasticks from the secular Power, tho' even in civil or criminal causes; which was called asserting the liberties of holy Church, and it is fully asserted in the *Bulla in Cæna*. But notwithstanding all these Authorities, it is a wicked Principle, and dissolves all civil Government; it exempts from the King's obedience, the first of the three Estates of the Realm, which has or ought to have the greatest influence upon the People; and transfers their allegiance to another Sovereign, which is the highest Treason, by the Laws of all well governed Nations, as well as by the Laws of God. Yet for asserting this *Becket* was canonized; and for not giving way to it, the King was whipped by the Monks of *Canterbury*, to which he was forced to submit, in those times of papal Supremacy.

Such another was your lately Sainted Pope *Pius V.* the greater Asserter and last Practiser of the Power of the Pope to depose Princes; and who broke the Communion of the Church of *England*.

But there is one Saint (truly so) of whom I have reserved to speak in the last place, because of the excesses of your Church in their Devotions to her, bordering even upon Blasphemy to any common Ear. No less than a canonized Person St. *Bonaventure* has published what he calls, *The Psalter of the blessed Virgin Mary*, wherein every one of the hundred and fifty Psalms, as likewise the *Te Deum*, and other most solemn adorations of God, are all turned to the *Virgin Mary*. Rosaries and Books of Devotion to her are many; there is one translated into *English* for the use of the Roman Catholics here, intituled, *The Devotion of Bondage, or the Practice of perfectly consecrating our selves to the Service of the blessed Virgin*. *Permissu Superiorum*, 1632. It is licensed and highly recommended both to Clergy and People by the Bishop of *St. Omers*, with several indulgences granted to those who shall devoutly make use of it; wherein we offer up our selves, both Souls and Bodies, as Bond-slaves to the blessed Virgin: Among whose high Prerogatives you will find this the sixth, p. 32. *The Sovereign Dominion that was given her, not only over the World, but over the Creator of the World*. This indeed might well ground that Petition made to her, *Jure Matris, impera Filio. By the Right of a Mother, command your Son*. And her being call'd, *The Mother of the whole Trinity*, in the *Missal Polon.* fol. 237. In the *Primer or Office of the blessed Virgin Mary*, Printed in *English*, 1699. (and in the *Exposition* before it said to be of great Antiquity, and composed by the Church, directed by the Holy Ghost) you will find many Prayers to the *Virgin Mary*, not only of Intercession or praying for us, but to grant us Grace, Pardon of Sin, and eternal Life, in as full and positive terms as could be asked of God himself. See the Hymn, *Memento rerum Conditor*, p. 34. And *Ave Maris Stella*, p. 53. And the Prayer to her, p. 59. *Under thy Aid—Sub tuum Præsidium*—which is taken out of the *Roman Pontifical* in the Office for consecrating an Image of the blessed Virgin, where we pray for aid, &c. from her self directly, without mentioning any Intercession: Nay, they bless in her name, which was never done to any Creature. The Priesthood was ordained by God, to Bless in his Name. No Apostle or Angel ever blessed the People in his own name. But in this *Primer*, p. 16. You will see the Priest give the blessing in these words, *The Virgin Mary, with her pious Son, bless us*. To which the People answer, *Amen*. Here the principal part is given to the Virgin, her Son only blesses with her, and she is first named. But if she be not preferred, yet she is here put upon the level with her Son at least, and blesses the People jointly with him.

LORD.

LORD. Why may not the Virgin *Mary* bless as well as any Angel?
 Gen. xlviii. 16. And we find that *Jacob* prayed the Angel might bless his Grand-Sons.

GENT. That Angel was God, and so it is expressed, *God, before whom my Fathers Abraham, and Isaac did walk, the God which fed me all my life long unto this day, the Angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the Lads.* This Angel was *Christ*, who often appeared before he took Flesh. He was the Angel which wrestled with this same *Jacob*, and blessed him. He was the Angel appeared to *Moses* in the bush, and said, *I am the God of Abraham, &c.* which no created Angel could have said. It was he who appeared to *Joshua* as *Captain of the Host of the Lord*, and said, as before to *Moses*, *Loose thy Shoe from off thy Foot, for the place whereon thou standest is holy*, which no mere Angel ever said. So that this will be no precedent for blessing the People in the name of the Virgin *Mary*.

Epiphanius reckons the worship of the Virgin *Mary* * (not then so rank) among the Heresies, under the name of the *Collyridians*, who offered Cakes to the Moon as Queen of Heaven, which is the same name they give now to the Virgin, and she is painted standing upon the Moon her representative. *Epiphanius* observes that our blessed Lord fore-seeing the Superstition that would come into the World on account of his Mother, treated her always at a distance, never once called her Mother, no not upon the Cross, or by any other appellation than that of Woman, and checking her forwardness said unto her, *Woman, what have I to do with thee?* She is as little named as possible in the Gospels, where *Christ* pronounces a greater blessing to those that hear his word, than to the Womb that bare him: And she is not reckoned among those who saw him after his Resurrection. She is but once named in the *Acts* of the Apostles, and that upon no other account than that she with other Women, continued in the Communion of the Apostles after the Ascension of our Lord: But none of her Acts or Miracles are recorded, though abundance in the Legends. And she is not once named, upon any account whatsoever, in any of the Epistles. Strange! That this should be so forgot, which makes now so great a part in the Devotions of the Church of *Rome*!

But there is an honour of an extraordinary nature paid to her at the head of all the Saints, in the office of the Mass, where, before the Consecration, the Elements are offered up to God in memory of the Passion, Resurrection and Ascension of *Jesus Christ*, and for the honour of the blessed Virgin *Mary*, &c. *in honorem beatæ Mariæ semper Virginis*. Did *Christ* then suffer, rise, and ascend, for her honour? It was for the honour and glory of God indeed, but to thrust her in or any of the Saints to share in this, looks a little too familiar, and putting them, at least her, near upon the level with the Almighty, since more could not be said to him.

And here we may see a good reason why God would not have any religious Worship paid to these, or any Ministers of his Kingdom, nor would be worshipped with them; for he saw there would be encroaching, and coming nearer to him than was fit for the condition of Creatures. They would have a share with him: Nay that they might come at last to advance these above God himself, and prefer the Saints even to *Christ*! As it has been said †, *That Christ did nothing which St. Francis did not do, yea, that he did more than Christ himself.*

And now we see the reason why your *Index Expurgatorius* ‡ would not not have it seen in the Fathers, that *God only is to be worshipped*, for

* Hær. 78, 79, † Lib. Conform. fol. 1149. ‡ Adorari solius Dei est: Deleatur ex Ind. Operum Athanasii Indice Lib. Prohib. & Expurg. p. 52. Madrid. An. 1627. item ex Ind. Op. S. August. ibid. p. 56.

they have expunged this out of the *Indices* of their Works, that they might not be found by the People, who might take offence to see their Worship divided betwixt God and Creatures.

Was there ever so shameless a thing done by any Church as to take upon them to correct and alter the Fathers? It is plainly to stifle the Evidence against themselves: And renders every thing at least suspected that they quote out of them; and the Scriptures had been purged too, but that they are so common in the hands of Protestants, that it could not be done without manifest detection. But how far they have gone towards it, by mistranslations, adding or leaving out some words, I have shewed already. But to pursue the subject we are now upon.

34. Not only the Souls of the Saints in Heaven, but their dead Bodies or bits of them, a Finger, a Toe, or a Tooth, or a scrap of their Clothes, a Girdle, or a Book, or any thing else that they used are worshipped, and great Miracles said to be done by them.

LORD. Was not a dead Man raised by touching the Bones of *Elisba*? 2 Kings xiii.

GENT. Yes, God may work Miracles by what means he pleases. But does this consecrate the dead Body of every Saint to be a means of grace, and a worker of miracles? Many Miracles were wrought by the rod of *Moses*; is every rod therefore a means of grace, either ghostly or bodily? Or may we consecrate any rod to be such a means? Nothing is such a means to us but what God has commanded and appointed to be done, as Baptism and the Lord's Supper. It is the institution, not an example, that makes any thing a means of grace to us. Else we might go and imitate all the miraculous actions of *Moses* or of *Christ*, and call them means of grace to us, because so used by them.

But as to the reliques in your Church, many of them have been notoriously detected, and it has been found out, that the dead Bodies of Malefactors have been taken for the reliques of Saints, and great miracles said to be done by them. The same relique of such a Saint, the Head or Finger is shewn in several places, and each contend that theirs is the right, and each have miracles avouched for them. Many instances of this, with vouchers undeniable, you will find in *The Devotions of the Roman Church*. How then can you worship such reliques in Faith? Without which it is a Sin!

35. But not only the Saints, and their reliques, but their Images are with you made a distinct means of grace; for in the consecration of the Image of a Saint, it is said, that whoever shall worship such a Saint, *coram hac Imagine, before this Image*, may obtain so and so, for which end the Image is blessed and sanctified. So that it is not enough to worship the Saint, but if I do it before such a consecrated Image, I shall obtain more grace than otherwise. This makes the Image it self a means of grace, for there is virtue there. Why else would it not do as well to pray, and not before such an Image? Why else indeed are such Images so formally consecrated, if there be no virtue in the Consecration? And why do Men go Pilgrimages, or send Vows to *Loretto*, or any other distant place, if they think there is no virtue in the Image there, more than in forty of the same sort which they may have at home? And the Saint represented by the Image is as near them in the one place as in the other; there must be then some virtue communicated to one Image more than to another.

LORD. Then you are against any Pictures or Images of the Saints, or paying any honour to the holy Men departed.

GENT. No, my Lord, we are not so stingy, we scruple not Pictures for Ornament, but not for Worship, or for worshipping before them, as you speak. And we honour the Saints departed, as far as we think lawful, and as we are verily persuaded, as far as they desire; since according to St. *Augustin's* rule before-mentioned, if they accepted our Adoration, it would prove them to be evil Spirits. And then you are to consider, that instead of Intercessors, as you hope for by your Worship of them, they will vindicate themselves, and become your Accusers. But in our honour of them, we first take care not to specify any particular Person as a Saint, but who is so recorded in holy Scripture; for we understand not Canonizations by Men who know not the heart: In the next place, we limit the honour we pay them by the rule of God's Commandments, which we suppose most pleasing to them. We keep particular Holy-Days for the Apostles, St. *John* Baptist, St. *Stephen*, &c. we bless God for them, commemorate their virtues, and pray that we may follow their good examples. We have one day for all the Saints in general, and another for St. *Michael* and all Angels. Thus we honour them, and for this we bear the reproach of our four Dissenters, as if we were too much inclining to Popery. You think we give too little honour to the Saints, and they think we give too much! But we hope we keep the mean. We abstain from the Pictures or Images of the Saints in our Churches, because they have been abused to Superstition, and to avoid Offence: But in places not dedicated to Worship, as in private Houses, we think them not unlawful, more than the Picture of any good Man.

Epiphanius was very zealous against having them brought into Churches, and tells *John*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, in a Letter translated by St. *Jerom*, that finding a Linen Cloth hung up on a Church Door, (it is likely, to keep out the Wind) whereon was a Picture of *Christ*, or of some Saint, he tore it, and ordered a dead Corps to be buried in it. And he lamented the Superstition he saw coming, by these Pictures and Images then beginning to creep into the Church.

The abuse of things, tho' otherwise lawful, which are not instituted by God for standing means of grace, as Baptism and the Lord's Supper, may justly take away the use of them. Thus the Brazen Serpent was appointed by God as a means of grace for miraculous Cures in the Wilderness, and was preserved until the days of *Hezekiah*; but when they burned Incense to it, it became an Idol, was broke to pieces and called by a contemptible name *Nehushtan*, that is, *A bit of Brass*. How much more reason is there to remove the Pictures and Images of Saints (which God never appointed) out of our Churches, when we see Incense burned to them, and they worshipped in your Churches, as means of grace? And yet there is no evil in the Pictures themselves.

36. But there is one Picture I think has evil in it, and is unlawful any where; and yet it is seen in your Churches, and commonly over the Altar, that is, the Picture or Image of God the Father, like an old Man, &c. We are forbid to make it, and then we cannot worship it. See how positively God forbids it, *Take good heed unto your selves, for ye saw no manner of similitude* (that is of God) *in the day that the Lord spake unto you—lest ye corrupt your selves, and make you a graven Image, the similitude of any Figure, the likeness of Male or Female, &c.* And again, *They changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an Image made like to corruptible Man, &c.*

Deut. iv. 15,
&c.

Rom. i. 23.

LORD.

LORD. Both these Texts are quoted and answered in our *Catechism ad Parochos*, upon the *first Commandment*, and the answer is this, * that the sin here forbidden is to paint or carve *Imaginem Divinitatis, a Picture or Image of the Divinity*, or of the divine Nature.

GENT. Pray, my Lord, did you ever know a Painter or Statuary who attempted to draw a Picture, or make an Image of a Thought, or of a Soul?

LORD. No, for they cannot be seen. Pictures and Images are made for the Eye. How then can a likeness or similitude be drawn of what is invisible?

GENT. And is not the great God more invisible, and the divine Nature much more incomprehensible even to our thoughts or imagination? How then can it be represented to our Eye? I dare say there never was a Man since *Adam* who would own any such thing, or ever had so foolish a thought: No, but when they drew any Picture or Similitude of God, it was only meant to express some of his Attributes or Perfections; as by Fire, his Purity; by a Giant with many Hands, his Power; with many Eyes, his Providence, &c. And so you own that by an old Man you only mean to express his Antiquity. And will not this excuse the Heathen as well as you? See the same Excuse made by *Maximus Tyrius, Dissert. 38. Whether Statues were to be made for the Gods?* But here you would put an impossible meaning upon the prohibition of God, to make it of no effect, and which will excuse the Heathens as much as your selves.

LORD. Our *Catechism ad Parochos* (which is our Text) in the place last quoted, *Sect. xxxiv.* teaches us, that the Heathen when they made Images of Serpents, Beasts, &c. *they worshipped all these as God. Hæc enim omnia tanquam Deum venerabantur.* And that the Israelites thought the same of the golden Calf, for that they said, *These are the Gods that brought thee out of Ægypt*, and therefore that they were Idolaters, because they thus *Changed their Glory into the similitude of a Calf that eateth* Psalm. cvi. 20.
Grass.

GENT. It is very absurd to say, that the Heathen thought their Images to be the things of which they were the Images: That was impossible, for then they would not be the Images but the Things themselves. Who ever said, that a Man's Picture was himself? Though they are called the Persons, as when we look upon Pictures we say, *This is such a Man, or such a Man*: But if any should put it upon us, that we meant the Persons themselves, we must think them Idiots, or School-Men, that loved Distinctions and Wrangling. *Maximus Tyrius* in the *Dissertation* before quoted, tells us, that they had many Images of the same God, as of *Venus, Diana, &c.* and yet that they did not think there was more than one *Venus* or one *Diana*. Have not you multitudes of the Pictures and Images of the Virgin *Mary*? And yet you say not that there is more than one such Virgin. Now the Heathen worshipped their Images, and if you believe your own *Catechism*, you must think that they took every one for God, for *hæc omnia*, they worshipped all these as God!

And it is as absurd to think that they took that Serpent or Beast whose Image they made, to be God. Or if they meant not any particular Serpent or Ox (for example) by the Image, they must think every Ox or Serpent to be God: But they were not so ridiculous, as *Maximus Tyrius*, and all, as many of them as have wrote, will satisfy you. But that they made use of their Images only as Symbols, which being dedicated to such a God, they thought that this God would afford his Presence with his Symbol, and

* De Cultu & Invocatione Sanctorum, *Sect. xxxiv, xxxv.*

by it secure to them his Favour and Protection. How near your Consecration comes to their Dedication of Images, I leave to your selves to judge: But you put such monstrous things upon the Heathen, as they disown, detest, and abhor: And yet you must do it, that your Case and theirs may not appear so very like.

But you must draw in the *Jews* too, else all this will stand you in no stead. And you have no Mercy upon them, you suppose them full as ignorant as you have made the Heathen. They must believe that the *golden Calf*, on the same day they made it, to be the great God who made themselves and all the World, and to have brought them out of *Ægypt* long before itself was made! But the *Jews* will not let this go with you more than the Heathen: They were not quite so foolish: They had learned the use of Images and Symbols in *Ægypt*; and it is plain they did here imitate it. They had seen *Osiris* worshipped in *Ægypt* under the figure of an Ox, from which they took their figure of the Calf: And it was to secure God's presence among them, upon the supposed loss of *Moses*, by whom they had received their Law from God, and directions from him upon all occasions. But *Moses* had been absent from them forty days, and took neither meat nor drink with him, so that they thought he had been quite gone or dead, and that they should never see him more. And then how should they do to secure the presence of God among them? And they took to this way of an Image or Symbol of God, not that they forsook God, but to take care that he might not forsake them: And they meant his Worship in that of the *golden Calf*: Therefore they proclaimed the dedication of it, *A Feast unto the Lord*: And that it was wholly for the want of *Moses* they did it, (by whom they had found, by long experience, the presence of God secured among them) they themselves gave the Reason: *Up, (said they) make us Gods which shall go before us; for as for this Moses, the Man that brought us up out of the land of Ægypt, we wot not what is become of him.*

Exod. xxxii. 5.

ŷ. 1.

Pray, my Lord, let me ask you, suppose it were made Treason to draw a Picture of the King, or to bow to it, would you venture your Life upon all these distinctions and excuses which are made for the Pictures of God? Yet we venture our Souls upon it, if it be a sin; and though we think it may be beneficial to us, as putting us in mind of him, or paying respect unto him.

Now by this let us learn how dangerous a thing it is to make means of Grace of our own invention, and to think that by our consecrations or dedications, without warrant of God's Word, we can secure his Presence with us, and procure the Grace of Health or any benefit either to Body or Soul: This is turning Religion into Superstition.

37. But the strangest instance of this that ever was in the world is that of Transubstantiation, a mere school-nicety which no Man alive understands, and yet transformed into an article of Faith by the Council of *Trent*.

Christ said, *This is my Body*, but as to the manner or means how it was so, he said not a word, whether only sacramentally, figuratively, or symbolically: Or on the other hand, whether substantially, con-substantially, or transubstantially. These are inventions of our own, from our poor Philosophy! And yet about these is our whole dispute; which has tormented the christian Church in our later age more than all the other mysteries of Religion. Had we kept to the words of Institution as *Christ* left them, and gone no farther, there might have been various opinions in the Schools concerning the manner of the presence of *Christ* in the Sacrament; and they who had nothing else to do might have spent their idle hours and vain distinctions about it: But it had never broke the Communion of the Church,

if it had not been adopted into an Article of Faith, and made a condition of Communion: And now we must dispute it. And the first thing I have to say is, that it seems very strange there should be any dispute about it. For our Saviour was then fulfilling a type of himself, which was the Passover, and he kept to the same Phrase or Form of Words which was customary with the Jews in their Celebration of it, only putting himself in the room of his type, as instead of *This is the paschal Lamb which was slain for us in Ægypt*, he said, *This is my Body which is given for you*. And when Moses sprinkled the Blood, it was with this form of words, *This is the Blood of the Testament which God hath enjoined unto you*. Heb. ix. 20. Instead of which Old Testament, Christ said, *This is my Blood of the New Testament*. Mat. xxvi. 28. In which words there is no difficulty at all, for no mortal ever understood these words of Moses in a transubstantial sense, and why should they the same words when Christ spoke them, following the very form of the words of Moses? This made it familiar and easy to the Apostles, who called many things hard sayings which were not so difficult as this, and yet expressed no wonder or astonishment at these words of Christ, which had been impossible for them not to have done, if they had taken them in the sense of Transubstantiation, for it was a new thing never before heard or thought of in the World! To deny all their senses at once!

LORD. I wonder you should stand so much upon this; you object your senses and your reason, and yet you must give them both up in the Mystery of the Trinity, Incarnation, &c.

GENT. No, my Lord, I must give neither of them up, for I cannot believe any Revelation but by my Reason, upon the evidence that appears for it: And my Reason tells me that there must be many things in the infinite nature which I cannot comprehend, and therefore I acquiesce in the Revelation, being once fully satisfied of it. This I have discoursed already: But for the other point that of contradicting my outward senses, I think it an invincible objection.

LORD. Why, must you not give them up too, as to the Trinity, and Incarnation?

GENT. Not at all, my Lord, they contradict none of my senses. Pray tell me, which of them do they contradict? Is it the sense of seeing, hearing, or smelling?

LORD. They are not objects of sense.

GENT. Therefore they contradict them not. But in Transubstantiation they are every one contradicted. And I stand upon it, that since the Creation of the World God never did or said any thing which contradicted the sense of any Man. It would be destroying the certainty of every thing. Miracles are appeals to our senses, and without believing our senses, we can trust to no Miracle, and consequently to no Revelation.

LORD. I mean not a general disbelief of our senses in every thing; but if a Revelation (which you are satisfied is true) should bid you disbelieve your senses, in such a particular only—

GENT. It is a needless Supposition, for there is no such Revelation. But if there were, if an Angel should appear to me, and bid me believe that I saw him, but not to believe any thing else that I saw of a hundred things I saw round about him; I should without more ado either believe that I saw the other things I did see, or if I must not believe I saw them, I should not believe I saw him: And I take it as a certain rule, that we must either believe our senses in every thing or in nothing. Had not the Apostles at the Lord's Supper as much reason to doubt whether it was Christ they saw, and that he spoke to them, as that it was Bread which they saw and eat? If you

you come once to *deceptio Visus*, it will go quite through, and you cannot be sure of one thing more than of another; because the fault is in the Eye, not in the Objects: So that if Transubstantiation be true, there is nothing else in the World true but it!

And it is no small prejudice to this Miracle of Miracles, and contradiction to it self and to all other Miracles, and to every thing else in the World, that it should be put upon us just for — nothing — but to stagger our Faith, and make us doubt of every thing!

For if all the benefits of the death of *Christ* be conveyed to us in this Sacrament, by a figurative and symbolical representation of his Body and Blood, and that it be so instituted for this end; it is to all intents and purposes as beneficial to us, as if we had eat the Flesh of *Christ* off his Bones, or drank the very Blood, that came out of his side; which is abhorrent to think, and to avoid which you call this an unbloody Sacrifice. But how is it unbloody, if it be real Blood, even the self same Blood which was shed upon the Cross? Yet you your selves allow, that this must be taken in a spiritual, not a carnal sense, because *Christ* himself said, speaking of this Sacrament (as you own) and to solve that hard saying at which many were offended, of giving them his Flesh to eat, he made it easie to them by this explanation, *It is the Spirit that quickneth, the Flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I speak unto you they are Spirit, and they are Life.* May we not then take his words in a spiritual sense?

John vi. 63.

LORD. But you would have the words of Institution taken figuratively, as when *Christ* said, *I am a Vine, I am a Door, &c.*

Luke xxii. 20.

GENT. There is not one Man in your Communion but must own that the words of Institution are figurative, for example, *This Cup is the New Testament in my Blood, which is shed for you.* Here is first the Cup for the Wine, by a Metonymy, called *Continens pro Contento*. Then the Cup being the New Testament, I suppose you will allow is another figure. And it is another, to say *which is shed, for which shall be shed*, for his Blood was not then shed. This last figure you have boldly avoided in your Mass, where it is put *Effundetur, shall be shed*, instead of *Effunditur*, or *Effusum*, according to the Greek *ἐκχυνόμενον*. However the two former figures stand unalterable.

Mat. xxvi. 29.

Mark xiv. 25.

1 Cor. xi. 26,

27, 28.

But to shew that the words were figurative, and that the Elements did not lose their Nature by the Consecration, they are called by their own names after the Consecration, as the Wine is called the *Fruit of the Vine*, after the Consecration. And it is called Bread which they eat in the Sacrament. And we are called Bread because we partake of that Bread. We are Bread by the same figure that Bread is Flesh.

LORD. We believe that there is no Bread in the Sacrament, but we are sure we are not Bread.

GENT. You are no more sure of the one, than of the other. But see now the arbitrariness of your interpretation: When it is said of Bread, *This is Flesh*, that is so very plain it must be taken literally; but when it is said of the Bread in the Sacrament, *This is Bread*, the expression is so obscure, that it must be taken figuratively! Is not this destroying the meaning of all expressions, to take words figuratively or literally, just as you think fit, and contrary to the common usage as understood in all other things?

LORD. No, it is not as we think fit, but as the ancient Church and Fathers did understand it. Here we stick.

GENT. And to this we appeal. *Tertullian* says, that *Christ* made the Bread his Body, by saying, * *This is my Body*, that is, the *Figure of my Body*.

* Hoc est Corpus meum, id est, Figura Corporis mei. *Contr. Marcion.* l. iv. c. xl.

Origen says of it, that it goes into the belly, like other meat, and so into the draught, but says he speaks * concerning the typical and symbolical Body of Christ in the Sacrament.

It was said of the Body of Christ, † that it should not see corruption; but we know the Sacrament will corrupt, therefore it is not the same.

Theodorit likewise calls it the ‡ Symbols of the Body and Blood of Christ: And says, that ** upon their Consecration they are changed indeed, and made other things, but still remain in their own proper Nature, and Substance, and Shape and Form, and are visible and tangible, as they were before.

And writing against the Eutychians, who said that the human Nature of Christ was absorpt or swallowed up in his Divinity, so that there remained now none but the divine Nature in him, and that he was no more a Man; and used this comparison, that it was in like manner as in the Sacrament, where the Bread was changed into the Body of Christ; †† Yes, said Theodorit, it is in the same manner, that is, in no manner at all; for that the Bread though changed in its use and significancy, yet lost not its Nature, but remained truly and properly Bread as before. But had he believed Transubstantiation, this had been a full and absolute confirmation of the Eutychian Heresy, instead of a confutation; for then there had remained no more of the human Nature in Christ, than you believe the Substance of the Bread to remain in the Sacrament. This explains the meaning of Theodorit, even beyond his words, and he says in the same place, *That our blessed Saviour, who called himself the living Bread and Wine, hath also honoured the visible signs with the title and appellation of his Body and Blood, not changing their Nature, but adding to Nature, Grace.*

Pope Gelasius says, †† That the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, which we take, is a divine thing, by which we are made partakers of the divine Nature: And yet it ceases not to be the Substance and Nature of Bread and Wine: And certainly (says he) the Image and Similitude of the Body and Blood is celebrated in the Mysteries.

And Facundus says the same, *** Not (says he) that the Bread is properly his Body, or the Cup his Blood; but that they contain the Mystery of his Body and Blood.

And St. Augustin says, ††† If Sacraments did not bear some similitude to the things of which they are the Sacraments, they would not be Sacraments at all: But from this similitude they often take the name of the things themselves. — As, says he, the Sacrament of Faith, which is Baptism, is called Faith.

And St. Chrysostom speaking of the Vessels in which the Sacrament was put, ††† In which, says he, there is not the true Body of Christ, but the Mystery of his Body is contained in them.

But, my Lord, not to trouble you with more quotations, I refer you to Bishop Cosin his *History of Transubstantiation*, where beginning at the Institution, he sets down in every century the words of the Fathers upon this point: A little Book, long printed both in *English* and *Latin*, not yet answered, (that I hear) and I believe unanswerable; wherein you will see a

* Hæc quidem de Typico Symbolicoque Corpore. In Matth. c. xv. † Psal. xvi. 10. Acts ii. 27, 31. ‡ Τα σύμβολα τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος. Dial. 2. ** Μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ πρῶτῳ φύσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ χῆμα, καὶ τὸ εἶδος, καὶ ὁρμή ἐστὶ, καὶ ἀπὸ αὐτῶν οἷα καὶ πρῶτον ἦν. Ibid.

†† See his Dialogue called The Immoveable. †† Et tamen non desinit esse Substantia vel Natura Panis & Vini: Et certè Imago & Similitudo Corporis & Sanguinis Christi in Actione Mysteriorum celebrantur. Gelas. contr. Nestorium & Eutychetem. *** Non quòd propriè Corpus ejus sit Panis, & Poculum Sanguis; sed quòd Mysterium Corporis ejus, sanguinisq; contineant. lib. ix. c. v.

††† Si Sacramenta, &c. Ep. xxiii. And contr. Faust. Manich. l. x. c. ii. Sic Sacramentum Fidei, quod Baptismus intelligitur, Fides est. ††† In quibus non est verum Corpus Christi, sed Mysterium Corporis ejus continetur. See St. Chrysost. opere imperf. in Matth. and Epist. ad Casarium, in Biblioth. P. Colon. 1618.

cloud of witnesses, through the first ages of the Church, and so downwards, in perfect contradiction to this new article of your Faith.

And as the Scriptures, primitive Church and Fathers are all against you, so have you nothing in the world on your side but an unintelligible jargon of Metaphysics, upon which the School-Men ring changes, till the noise of their Bells have deafen'd common Sense and Reason. Such are their Subtilties upon Substance, Accidents, Subsistence, Moduses, and Modalities, and many more such Quiddities; and their Distinctions of *materialiter* and *formaliter*, *per se* & *per accidens*, and a thousand more, to solve all difficulties, and reconcile contradictions! No absurdity can be named out of the reach of a Distinction: And when we understand it not, it operates most effectually, because then we may suppose there is something in it! Pray, my Lord, let me ask you, do you know the difference betwixt Substance and Accident?

LORD. Substance is that which *Sub stat*, stands under or supports another thing; so the Substance stands by it self, and the Accidents do adhere or stick in it: Therefore we say, that *essentia Accidentis est inherencia*, that *inherence or insticking is the essence or very being of an Accident*, so that there cannot be an Accident without it, for whatever sticks must have something to stick in.

GENT. When the Substance then is gone, what becomes of the Accidents?

LORD. They are no more, for their essence is gone, which is inherence, and they cannot inhere or stick in nothing.

GENT. Now to apply this; when the Substance of the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament is gone, as you suppose, then their Accidents are no more, for there cannot be Accidents of nothing, nothing has no Accidents: And they cannot be the Accidents of Bread when there is no Bread: * And you will not endure they should be called the Accidents of the Body and Blood of *Christ*: Therefore they are the Accidents of nothing, that is, they are Accidents and no Accidents; they are Accidents without the essence of Accidents, which is inherence: There is roundness and nothing round, whiteness and nothing white, a taste and nothing tasted, liquidness and nothing liquid, &c. And if these Accidents stand by themselves, why are they not Substances? For that is the definition you give of Substance. If you say they stand by Miracle, then by Miracle they are Substances: And there is an end of the jargon! But who sees not that roundness without any thing round, and the like which you call Accidents are nothing at all in nature, but abstracted notions of our own heads, creatures of our making, which, like *Ens Rationis*, have no existence but in our brains? Yet we dispute about these as if they were real things, which we come at last to fancy, by their being dinned so long in our ears at the Schools: And we fight for them, as *pro Aris* & *Focis*; we make them articles of our Faith, and excommunicate for them!

LORD. Notwithstanding your ridiculing Philosophy, you will not say that we can see the Substance of any thing: But that whatever comes under our outward Senses, that is, whatever can be seen, felt, heard, smelled, or tasted, are only the Accidents of things.

GENT. And the same Philosophy will tell me that neither can Accidents be seen, felt, &c. For example, a round or a white thing is a Substance, but the roundness or the whiteness are the Accidents: Now I cannot see or feel roundness or whiteness, they are only conceptions in my mind, and come not under any of my outward senses, they are too thin to bear either

* *Catechis. ad Paroch. de Eucharist. Sacram. Sect. xxv. xlii.*

my sight, smell, touch, or taste: Nay, I will say that they are beyond my imagination too, for who can think of roundness or whiteness without some thing that is round or white? Therefore if I see or feel any thing, it is the Substance I see or feel, that is, some thing which is round or white. What colour, taste or smell, has insticking or inherence? For that is Accident. Is it more like Bread than a Tulip? Thus easily may we dispute our selves not only out of our senses, but out of our thoughts too: And the Miracle of Accidents without Substance must not only work upon our senses, but give us new thoughts, new conceptions, which never before came into the head of mortal Man! This is that Philosophy and vain deceit or fallacy which the Apostle says will *spoil* or hurt our *Faith*. Doting about *questi-^{1 Tim. vi. 4,}* ons and strifes of words—Perverse disputings—And oppositions of ^{5, 20, 21.} science falsely so called: which some professing, have erred concerning the *Faith*.

But if you are in earnest about this Logick of Substance and Accident, will you lay a good wager upon it?

LORD. *Hudibras* says, *Fools for arguments lay wagers*.

GENT. Yet you have laid all your Honour and Estate upon it—But are you so sure of it that you would take your oath upon it?

LORD. These are foolish questions, and were never asked in any School-dispute.

GENT. Nor ought to be, if you had let them stay there. But when you will bring them out of your Schools into your Creed, and make them articles of Faith, you do as good as take your oath upon the truth and certainty of them; and you guard them with *Anathemas*. And it is impossible you can believe Transubstantiation, or know any thing of it, unless you be perfectly skilled in the nature and difference of Substance and Accident, and how far their Powers do reach: You must distinguish between Substantiation, Consubstantiation, and Transubstantiation, and determine whether the Nature of Accidents will best agree with *Sub*, *Con*, or *Trans*.

LORD. I trouble not my head with any of these things, but I believe as the Church believes, and there is an end of it.

GENT. Can you believe as the Church believes, without knowing what she believes? This is believing nothing, it is implicit indeed! At this rate you need but one article of your Creed, to believe the holy catholick Church: And all the rest may go off implicitly, though you should know nothing of any other of the Articles: And what a Man knows nothing of, he can give no reason for. But St. Peter bids us *be ready always to give an answer to every Man that asketh us a reason of the Hope (or Faith) that is in us.* ^{1 Pet. iii. 15,} Which supposes our understanding it our selves, and not an implicit Faith in others, of we know not what.

So that if you make Transubstantiation an article of your Faith, you are obliged to understand it aright.

But there is something yet more terrible behind, for if there be no Transubstantiation, then you worship Bread and Wine with *Latria*, by which you mean the supreme Worship due to God alone.

Nay tho' Transubstantiation were granted, and fully understood, yet it is impossible for any Man to know whether he worships plain Bread and Wine, or the Body and Blood of *Christ*? Because in the Rubrick of the Mass, *de defectibus circa missam*, there are several cases put wherein the Consecration is void, and there is no Sacrament made, and then there is nothing there but plain Bread and Wine: One of these cases is, if there be a greater mixture of any other grain than of wheat in the wafer; another is, if the wine be made of sour grapes, or grapes not ripe, *Si vinum fit ex uvis acerbis, vel non maturis*; which is pretty hard for the People to know,

who never taste it, or the Worshippers who see or taste neither but only a *Pyxis* or a Cup they look not into: And in both these cases (besides others) it is said, *Non conficitur Sacramentum, there is no Sacrament made.* And so it is said if the intention of the Priest be wanting, which is impossible to know: Upon which head they put a pleasant case, as suppose a Priest intends to consecrate ten Wafers (for example) and after Consecration there be found eleven or more, then none of them are consecrated, because the intention going only to ten, it cannot be known which these ten are. But if there be nine or fewer, they are all consecrated, because the intention going to ten, it includes all within that number. Besides you must take it wholly upon trust, whether there be any Consecration at all; because your Priests do not consecrate before the People when they administer the Sacrament, but at set times they consecrate numbers of Wafers together, which they reserve for occasions, and for daily worship. Again it is said in some cases, *Dubium est an conficiatur Sacramentum*, that it is doubtful whether the Sacrament is made or not. And what shall we do in this case? Is it a doubt whether we worship God or a Creature? Or is it indifferent to which we give *Latria*?

LORD. If there should be a mistake in any of these matters, and we worship mere Creatures, not knowing it, for which we have been charged with Idolatry, we have an answer ready, that this could amount to no more than material Idolatry, but it could not be formally so, while our intention was right, and we meant our worship to God.

GENT. These School-distinctions are Cobwebs, and will bear no weight; for material Idolatry is Idolatry, else it were not material Idolatry. And if our intention will solve it, it will solve it also as to the Heathen, who directed their worship and referred it ultimately to the true God, as has been shewn. But I hope you will not make *Solomon* so stupid as you have made the Heathen, and to think that he believed *Ashtaroth* the Goddess of the *Zidonians*, and *Milcom* the abomination of the *Ammonites*, and the other Gods of the Nations whom he worshipped, to be every one of them the one only supreme God! Yet he is charged with Idolatry, whether material or formal is not the question, nor is there a word of it in the Scriptures, for Idolatry is Idolatry, let it be of what sort it will. And these distinctions are only to excuse it, and let it loose among us. God has forbidden it generally, of every kind and sort. The *Arians* were charged with Idolatry for worshipping *Christ*, supposing him but a Creature: And they were so far from disowning the true God, that it was his honour they pretended in denying Divinity to *Christ*. So of the *Socinians*, and our *Unitarians* among us, who give themselves that name for their supporting the Unity of the Godhead. Yet they are charged with Idolatry for worshipping *Christ* as an inferior God. And they have the same distinction as you of *Latria* and *Dulia*, a higher and lower degree of Worship: But all religious Worship is forbidden to any but to God alone. These degrees of it are of humane invention, to excuse our breach of the commands of God. But we are to keep far from the forbidden thing, not try how near we can come to it, by distinctions of our own coining. We ought to make a Hedge about the Law, as the Phrase of the *Jews* was, to guard against any approaches towards the breach of it. Or in the Apostles words, to abstain from all appearance of evil. And remember that we venture our Souls upon these distinctions. Which then are in the safest way, we who follow the direct rule of God's Commandments as they are plainly laid down to us in holy Scripture, without Turning to the right hand or to the left, without either adding to them, or diminishing from them, as we are commanded:

Or

1 Kin. xi. 5.

1 Theff. v. 12.

Deut, iv. 2.
v. 32.

Or you who distinguish the plainest Precepts, and make them speak Metaphysics?

By which the worship of the Devil may be justified; for it is plain that when he offer'd to our Saviour all the Kingdoms of the World, he meant not that he was the supreme God and sovereign disposer of them, but only as having received this power from the sovereign disposer; for he said, *That is delivered unto me, and to whomsoever I will, I give it.* And it is as plain by the answer our Saviour gave him, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve,* that all sort of religious Worship was forbidden to be given to any but to God only. And St. Augustine makes all to be Devils who require or accept it: *Latria* and *Dulia* signify both the same thing, that is, Service; and here all religious Service is reserved to God only. The distinction of the Schools is vain, and meant only to elude the commands of God, and introduce all Superstition.

There are other unworthy cases put in the *Rubrick* of the Mass, which flow from hence, as if a Dog or a Mouse should eat the Sacrament—If the Priest should vomit it up again, in which case, he is to lick it up reverently, unless it be nauseous, (that was well put in) and then it is to be disposed of so and so. And again, if a Fly should drop into the Cup, how the Fly was to be dealt with—And one reason given for taking the Cup from the Laity was, That the Laity (at that time I suppose) wore long Beards, and lest the Blood of *Christ* should drop upon them, or stick to their Whiskers! All these are the genuine effects of Superstition, occasioned by the notion of Transubstantiation.

And here, my Lord, let me observe, that the natural effect of Superstition is Atheism or Deism. As one extreme runs into another, like East to West: For Men of sense must find out the deceit that is in Superstition, and then placing all Religion on the same foot (as in your Communion upon the Authority of your Church) they must think the whole to be a Deceit, or in the modish word, Priest-craft, and the contrivance of those who gain by it. Whence it is, that the holy Scriptures and the Legends have the same foundation in the Church of *Rome*, that is, her Authority; therefore the common People believe them both alike, and the Men of Sense believe neither. And this does so lead towards the general defection foretold, that in a great measure it is it; for it destroys the foundation of Religion, and turns it all to Superstition. And when the infidelity which that begets shall come to be publickly owned, then where shall Faith be found upon the Earth? It is now acted in the *Opus Operatum*. And instead of the two Sacraments which *Christ* has appointed as a means of grace, the whole Face of your Religion is covered with ten thousand of your own invention. The unlimited Power taken in your Church of consecrating every thing into a means of grace, your worship of Saints (many of them Legendary) their Reliques and Images, of Crosses, and of the Host, make up the bulk of your Religion and Devotions.

38. But not only the Host, or Body of *Christ* supposed to be corporally in the Sacrament, but the Cross of *Christ*, or any Effigies of that Cross; and the Images of *Christ*, are worshipped in your Church with the supreme divine Adoration of *Latria*. As is told us by a great Saint of your Church, whom you call the Angelical Doctor, St. *Thomas Aquinas*, who says that * *Crux Christi est adoranda adoratione Latriæ*. And again, *Crucis Effigies in aliquâ aliâ materiâ*—*Latriâ adoranda est*. And in the *Roman Pontifical* it is ordered, that in the Procession of the Emperor and a Legate of

* Par. 3 Qu. 2 Art. 4. in Cor. Conclusio.

the Pope, the Legate's Cross shall be carried on the right hand of the Emperor's Sword, because * *Latria* is due to the Cross.

And in the Adoration of the Cross upon *Good-Friday* (which is the principal part of the office for that day) the Cross being veiled, is discovered to the People by degrees, first one Arm of the Cross, then another, and at last the whole Cross is unveiled: And at each time the Priest says, *Ecce lignum Crucis, Behold the Wood of the Cross*: And the People answer, *Adoremus, Let us Worship*: And then the Priests first, and afterwards the People, come upon their Knees and pay their Adoration to the Cross; and remember that it is the Adoration of *Latria* which they give to it.

Now for Images, the same *Aquinas* before mentioned tells us the worship we pay them is, † *Religionis Cultus, a religious Worship*, and that it is not a different *Latria* which is given to *Christ* and to his Images, but says, ‡ *That when worship is paid to the Images of Christ, the reason of the Latria is not different, nor the virtue of Religion*.

If then there be but one *Latria*, and the same that is paid to *Christ* and to his Images, it will justify what *James Naclantus*, Bishop of *Clugium* writes in his *Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans*, chap. i. ** *That the faithful ought not to worship before an Image (as some perhaps out of caution speak) but to worship the Image it self, without any scruple at all, and with the same sort of worship as the Proto-type, or whom it represents; and if that is to be worshipped with Latria, so its Image with Latria, if with Dulia, or Hyperdulia, so the Image is to be worshipped with the same worship*.

39. There is another strange *Latria* paid to the *Præputium* of *Christ*, or the fore-skin which was cut off at his Circumcision. Your Doctors are at great pains to know what is become of it. They might as well ask what is become of the parings of his Nails! Whither will Superstition run? They had it at *Antwerp*, but the Hereticks took it away. From thence it travelled by many Miracles to the Church of *St. John Lateran* at *Rome*, and how it was thence translated to the Church of *Cornelius*, and *Cyprian* at *Calcata*, about twenty Miles from *Rome*, I have read the account at large in a Book in *Folio*, intituled, *De Basilicâ & Patriarchio Lateranensi, ad Alexand. VII. Pont. Max. auctore Cesare Raspono, ejusdem Basilicæ Canonico*. Romæ, 1656. p. 364, &c. And of the miraculous difference it shewed when it was touched by Virgins and by married Women! See the *Devotions of the Roman Church*, p. 31. where you will find other Authors quoted, as *Bollandus*, *Act. Sanct. ad Jan. i. de Præputio Christi*, and *Rivet. Apologia pro S. Maria Virgine: Lib. i. c. xvii.* Cardinal *Tolet*, in cap. ii. *Luc. Annot.* 31. and *Salmeron*, in *Evang. Tom. 3. Tract. 36.* And that though it is still at *Calcata*, yet it is carry'd about at *Podium* with great veneration upon the Feast of the Ascension. *Salmeron* in the place above quoted tells out of the Legend of *Jacobus de Voragine*, that the blessed Virgin gave this *Præputium* first to *Mary Magdalen*, and that it was brought afterwards by an Angel to *Charles the great* at *Aken*, and how after it came to be laid up in the *Lateran*. Whence these Verses,

* Quia debetur ei (Cruci) *Latria*. † 2da. 2dæ. Quæ. 81. Art. 3. Resp. ad 3. ‡ Quod imaginibus Christi exhibetur cultus, non diversificatur ratio *Latriæ*, nec virtus Religionis. ** Ergo non solum fatendum est, fideles in Ecclesiâ adorare coram Imagine (ut nonnulla ad cautelam forte loquuntur) sed & adorare Imaginem, sine quo volueris scrupulo, quin & eo illam venerantur cultu, quo & Prototypum ejus; propter quod si illud habet adorari *Latria*, & illa *Latria*, si *Dulia*, vel *Hyperdulia*, & illa pariter ejusmodi cultu adoranda est. *Veneriis.*

*Circumcisa caro Christi, Sandalia sacra,
Atque Umbilici viget hic Præcisio chara.*

Put thus into English.

*Christ's fore-skin and blest Sandals are kept here,
And what was cut from off his Navel dear.*

I suppose they meant the cutting of his navel string. And his *Sandals* (though it is not said that he wore any, he is always painted bare-foot) will come in here too for *Latria*, for the same reason which *T. Aquinas* gives for *Latria* as due to the Cross, **Propter Membrorum Christi contactum*, because it touched the Body of *Christ*. Then all his Clothes must come in for the same reason, and the Nails and Spear that pierced him. And why not the Spittle that was thrown in his Face? For the Cross was as much his Enemy (as far as Wood could be) as any of the other, or the Spittle it self. And I know not why the Crucifiers should not be admitted too, though they touched him with a hostile mind, as some have fainted *Judas*, because he was an instrument in our Redemption. For there is no stop in Superstition more than in other Arts.

But I must not forget my Friends the School-Men upon this occasion, they dispute, that the fore-skin being of the intireness of the Body, it must have been re-united to the Body of *Christ* upon his Resurrection, else that the intire Body did not arise. † *Suarez* therefore concludes, that the Body of *Christ* at the Resurrection had a fore-skin, and has now in Heaven: But what then will he do with that fore-skin, which is shewed in the Church here below? He says, that the fore-skin belongs to the intireness of the Body, *non formaliter, sed materialiter, not formally, but only materially*; and so the business is made up! But he adds, that *Innocent III.* did call in question the truth of this fore-skin upon Earth: Is it a question then? And do the People still pay *Latria* to it? How comes this to be suffered in the Church? In the Church that is infallible!

But several parcels of the Blood of *Christ* shed upon the Cross are likewise shewed, and ‡ *Cressy* quotes *Matth. Paris* for a signal Testimony of it.

To this says *Aquinas*, ** that whatever belongs to the nature of an humane Body was wholly in the Body of *Christ* when he arose, as his Flesh and Bones, and his Blood, and that entirely without any diminution, otherwise (says he) it had not been a perfect Resurrection. And afterwards, †† that all the Blood which flowed from the Body of *Christ*, rose again in his Body. But as for that Blood (says he) which is preserved in some Churches for Reliques, it did not flow from *Christ's* side, but is said to have flowed miraculously from a certain Image of *Christ* that was pierced. Yet the People pay *Latria* to it, grounded wholly upon a Legend! And *Aquinas* gives no farther assurance of it, than that it was said. Is not this worshipping in Faith? What Blood was that which came out of the Image? Was it *Christ's* Blood? And how was it made so? Was it transubstantiated? Or was it Blood materially, though not formally? Or had it only the colour of Blood, the Accidents remaining without the Substance? *Vasquez* comes pretty near this when he says, †† That no porti-

* Par. 3. Qu. 2. Art. 4. in the Conclusion.

† Suar. in 3. Par. Qu. 54. Act. 4. Disp. 47. §. 1.

‡ Ch. Hist. l. 2. c. 13.

** Part. 3. Qu. 34. Artic. 2. Responder Dicendum.

†† Ibid. act. Tertium.

†† In 3. par. Thomæ. Qu. 5. Artic. 2. Disp. 36. c. 8. See also c. 4.

on of the Blood of Christ did remain on Earth under the form of Blood, but only under its Colour, *amissa formâ Sanguinis, having lost the form of Blood.*

LORD. What is this matter and form with which they keep such a stir?

GENT. They make three constituting Principles in every thing; these they call *materia, forma, et privatio*. That is, the matter of which any thing is made; the form, which is wholly unknown to us; and the want of that form; for you must know that we must want a thing, before we have it!

LORD. Trouble me no more with this *Jargon*: I pin not my Faith upon School-Men.

GENT. Yet this Article of your Faith, that is, Transubstantiation, is nothing else, as I have (I hope) made it plain. And I will shew you another instance wherein you follow them too, and are grossly misled by them that is, the distinction of Concomitancy.

LORD. What is that? I know it not.

40. GENT. I have before told of several injuries done to our Lord Christ, in adding to his Commandments, and making to our selves means of Grace which he has not instituted. What I am to speak of now is an error on the other hand, that is of subtracting from his Institutions, and the means of Grace which he has appointed: I mean in taking away the Cup from the Laity in the holy Sacrament. Christ instituted the Sacrament of his Body and Blood as an effectual means of Grace, calling it the *Communion of his Body and Blood*: Particularly of the Cup it is said, *The Cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Christ?* And that we all partake of the Cup, according to several Manuscripts of your own vulgar Latin, *Omnes de uno pane, & de uno calice participamus*. But that the Laity might not think themselves deprived of this so beneficial a means of the greatest Grace, the Schools have invented a distinction they call Concomitancy, which is, that in all Flesh there is some Blood goes along, or is concomitant with it, so that whoever eat the Flesh partake also of the Blood.

1 Cor. x. 16,
17.

LORD. And is not that true?

GENT. Really, my Lord, I know not. But I am sure it is a nicety: For Flesh may be so dried that no Blood shall appear in it, and in a Wafer there can be none, without having recourse to Miracle. I think it is making too bold, to throw off the institution of Christ, upon such imaginations of our own; which imply that there was no need of the institution of the Cup, for if it be not necessary now, it was not so then. But, my Lord, this Sacrament was ordained, not only to express the death of Christ, but also the manner of it, that is, by the shedding of his Blood, according to the bloody types of him under the Law, as it is said, *without shedding of Blood there is no Remission*. It was therefore necessary, says the Apostle. But whatever Blood may be concomitant in the Flesh, yet here is no shedding of it expressed in the Wafer.

Heb. ix. 22.

LORD. But the Cup always goes along with the Bread in our Church, to compleat the Sacrifice, though the Priest only who officiates partakes of the Cup.

But when the *Hostia* is carry'd in Procession, as upon *Corpus Christi* day, or frequently to the sick there is no Cup, nor does the Priest himself communicate. But however, if the People are to partake of the Sacrifice, as it was under the Law, here they are defrauded of half of it! And they are as much commanded to partake of the Cup as of the Bread. And the

Church

Church may as well take away the Bread, and leave only the Cup, and say, that the Flesh is contained in the Blood, as well as the Blood in the Flesh. Strange power of Church! What Institution of God can stand at this rate? Suppose the *Jews* had neglected to pour out or sprinkle the Blood of their Sacrifices as commanded, and said it was sufficient that it was by concomitancy in the Flesh; would this distinction have served in that case? And why not as well in this?

It is observable that *Christ*, as foreseeing this taking away of the Cup from many, added the word *All* to the drinking of the Cup, *Drink ye all of it*. And it is said, *they all drank of it*; it is not said so of the Bread. Mat. xxvi. 27.
Mark xiv. 23.

LORD. There were none there but the Apostles: So that this refers not to the Laity.

GENT. So you may say of the Bread, and take that too from the Laity by the same rule, and you take the Cup from the Priests who do not officiate. But *Christ* said to the People to the Laity, *Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you*. And this is understood by all you of the Church of Rome as spoken of the Sacrament. Joh. vi. 53.

LORD. * *Bellarmino* says, that the *And* there, *And drink*, is to be understood as an *Or*, that is, except ye either *eat or drink*.

GENT. That is to say, I may understand all the *And*s in the Creed to be *Or*s, and instead of I believe this, *And* this, *And* this, I may say, I believe this, *Or* this, *Or* this, so that if I believe any one article, it is sufficient, though I believe never another. If you send your Servant to Market, and bid him bring Beef and Mutton and Pork, and he buys only Beef, and says, he understood all your *And*s for *Or*s. And so if you bid him bring so much meat and so much drink, and he brings only the meat, for the same reason— Thus we may easily get over all the commands of God, and give the reverse to St. *James*, that *he who offends in one point is guilty of all*. No, but *he who keeps one point, keeps the whole Law*. This is bantering instead of arguing: And it shews a cause to be very destitute, when so great a Man as *Bellarmino* could content himself with giving such an answer. Jam. ii. 10.

And the doctrine of concomitancy will not do here, for if I eat a piece of Flesh, suppose some Blood may be said to be concomitant there; yet I cannot be said to drink where there is not one drop: And the threatening is, except ye *drink* there's no Life in you.

If it be but a Man's Testament (saith St. *Paul*) *yet if it be confirmed, no Man disannulleth, or addeth thereto*. This holy Sacrament was the last Testament which *Christ* left to his Church, instituted the evening before he entered upon his sacred Passion. Therefore Pope *Gelasius* had good reason to call it † *Sacrilege* in any who should mutilate this Sacrament, and commanded that they who would not drink of the Cup should be denied the Bread too. Gal. iii. 15.

LORD. This was only to discover the *Manichæans*, who would not drink of the Cup, for other reasons than the Church of Rome had to take it from the Laity.

GENT. I never heard a tolerable reason for it except because they were Laity: But the dispute is not about the reasons for it, but the thing itself. To take away the Cup is to mutilate the Sacrament: And that is sacrilege by *Gelasius* his determination.

And this last Testament of our Lord, which was confirmed by the practice of the Church for fourteen hundred years was mutilated by the

* De Sacram. Eucharist. l. 4. c. 25.

† Apud *Gratian*. can. *Comperimus de Consecr.* Dist. 2.

* Council

* Council of *Constance*, and the Cup taken from the Laity, with a *non obstante* as well to the Institution of *Christ*, as the practice of the primitive Church. It was declared no Sacrilege, and the Priest was excommunicated who should communicate the Laity under both kinds.

The Council of *Trent* † likewise puts in its caveat to the Institution in both kinds, and that notwithstanding the Laity must be excluded from the Cup. And they make it a heresy to say, that whole *Christ* is not under each species. Then the Flesh is as much in the Blood, as the Blood in the Flesh: And it is all one which species we take. But since the Body and Blood of *Christ* were separated at his Death, and he ordained them to be so separated in the Sacrament of it, I see not how we can take away either part upon the account of their not being separated.

LORD. Our *Catechism ad Parochos* gives six reasons for taking away the Cup. ‡ *First*, The danger of spilling it. *Secondly*, Of its turning sour. *Thirdly* and *Fourthly*, For our health, because some could not bear the taste or smell of Wine without being sick. *Fifthly*, That Wine was very dear in some places. And the *Sixth*, That we might believe whole *Christ* to be under each Species. *Gerson's* reason about the long beards of the Laity, before-mentioned, comes under the first of these heads concerning spilling.

GENT. Now, my Lord, I leave it to your self, whether these reasons be not very childish, or are of weight to maim the Institution of *Christ*?

There must no comparison be made betwixt the Body and Blood of *Christ*, as to preference, or which is most valuable: But our Redemption is oftner attributed in holy Scripture to his Blood than to his Body. *We are saved by his Blood—Propitiation through his Blood—By the sprinkling of his Blood—*&c.

LORD. There is mention made sometimes of the breaking of Bread, when there is nothing said of the Cup; and this we make use of as an argument that the Cup is not necessary. This is mainly insisted upon in our *Catechism*, the Chapter you just now named, *Seçt. lxx.* And *Joh. vi. 51.* is quoted, *I am the living Bread—If any Man eat of this Bread—And the Bread I will give is my Flesh.*

GENT. We take not this to be spoke of the Sacrament, but of Faith in *Christ*, here expressed by Eating, that is, spiritually, as himself explains it, *Ÿ. 63. It is the Spirit that quickneth, the Flesh profiteth nothing: The words that I speak unto you, they are Spirit, and they are Life.* But let it be taken of the Sacrament, as you do, you will find the Blood joined with the Flesh, in the next words, *Ÿ. 53. Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood—*as before quoted. And again, *Ÿ. 54. Whoso eateth my Flesh, and drinketh my Blood—*And *Ÿ. 55. For my Flesh is Meat indeed, and my Blood is Drink indeed.* And *Ÿ. 56. He that eateth my Flesh, and drinketh my Blood—*Is not the Blood here named with the Flesh? But if it were not, there are a hundred places, as I now observed, where the Blood of *Christ* is named as *cleansing*, as *redeeming* us, &c. without any mention of his Flesh or Body. Are they therefore excluded? This is such a sort of reasoning, as if I invite you to eat with me, you must have no drink to your dinner, because it was not named. But if by eating we commonly mean the whole meal, and drinking is likewise included, this criticism upon the Lord's Supper, of calling it Eating, will appear what it is, and not be thought sufficient to exclude the Cup in

* *Licet Christus—* Administraverit sub utrâque specie Panis & Vini— tamen hoc non obstante— Et sim. lter quod licet in primitivâ Ecclesiâ hujusmodi Sacramentum reciperetur à fidelibus sub utrâque specie; tamen— Præcipimus sub pœnâ excommunicationis quod nullus Presbyter communicet Populum sub utrâque specie Panis & Vini. *Sess. 13.* † *Sess. 21. Can. 1, 2, 3.* ‡ De Eucharist. Sacrament. *Seçt. lxx.*

the Sacrament. And other foundation you have none in Scripture. But if I once call it eating the Lord's Supper, and several times call it both eating and drinking, will not the latter explain the former? Or will eating exclude drinking, though drinking be expressly named? To eat the Lord's Supper is the only Phrase we use, I never heard any Body call it drinking the Supper: And you may thence prove that we have not the Cup in our Sacrament, as well as that the Apostles had it not, because it is said they eat Bread, or broke Bread. But I have over-laboured this point, because you lay so much stress upon it.

I will now shew you another restriction your Church has made upon the institutions of God. As she has taken the Cup from the Laity, so has she taken another of your Sacraments, that is Marriage from the Clergy. I pass by the politick views and advantages the Court of *Rome* has in this, as giving the Pope the more absolute command, and making him in effect Heir of all the great possessions of the Clergy, for the Canon Law obliges the regular Bishops not to dispose of their Estates by * Will, and the other Clergy not to be too liberal of their alms in their sickness. And what they leave, the Pope disposes of, as grand Treasurer of the Church. But waving all this, I will insist now only upon what relates to Conscience. You reckon it a defilement in your Church for a Clergy-Man to marry. No great complement to the married state, which yet was instituted by God in Paradise while Man was in his innocence. And the Apostle says, *Marriage is honourable in all, and the Bed undefiled.* And forbidding to marry is reckoned one of the *Doctrines of Devils.* And directions are given how a Bishop should govern his Wife and Children, *for if a Man know not how to rule his own House, how shall he take care of the Church of God?* Yet your Interpreters would have this Wife and this House to be the Church! St. Peter was a married Man, and forsook not his Wife after he was an Apostle, but *led her about* with him as other Apostles did. And that in the primitive Church the Clergy did marry is plain from *Socrates's Eccles. Hist.* lib. i. cap. 11. and l. v. c. 22. The vow of single life was not imposed upon the Clergy till Pope *Hildebrand.* See *Matth. Westmon.* ad An. 1074. *Vincent. Spec. Hist.* l. 24. c. 45. *Antonin.* l. 16. c. 1. ff. 21. And it was without Precedent (says *Sigebert. Chron.* ad An. 1074.) and, as many thought, out of an indiscrete Zeal, contrary to the opinion of the holy Fathers. But *Hildebrand*, was not obeyed in this in *England* for above a hundred years after, for our ancient Records say, † *All those decrees availed nothing, for the Priests by the King's consent still had their Wives as formerly.* And *Gregory the great* said, ‡ *That it was lawful for such of the Clergy as could not contain to marry.* And *Pius the second* said the same, ** *That they may be allowed to marry.* And your greatest Canonist *Panormitan* says, †† *There is as great reason to allow Priests to marry now, as ever there was to restrain it.* Let St. Bernard bear witness in his time what reason there was for allowing it, he says, ††† *There are many who cannot be hid for their multitude, nor do seek to be concealed through their impudence, who, being restrained from the nuptial Remedies, run into all filthiness.* And another says, *** *That few in those days were free from Fornication.* And *Matthew Paris* tells that the Pope thought it almost a Miracle that a Candidate for a Bishoprick was said to be a pure Virgin. Whence the *Gloss. ad Gratian.* in the place just before quo-

* Decretal Gregor. lib. 3. de Testam. tit. 26. cap. 7, 9. † Hist. Petriburg. An. 1127. ap. Spelm. T. 2. p. 36. ‡ Respons. ad Interrog. Secund. Aug. Cantuar. ** Pius 2. in Gest. Concil. Basil. See also Platina in his Life, p. 329. †† De Clericis conjug. can. cum olim. ††† De Convers. ad Cleric. cap. 29. *** Gloss. ad Gratian. Dist. 82. c. 5.

Mark vii. 9.

ted, calls * Fornication but a venial Sin. And it is tolerated, if not allowed, † however it was reckoned a less Sin in a Priest than Marriage: For this reason, deadly Sin is added to Fornication in our Litany. But why was Celibacy enjoined to the Priests? And why Marriage a greater Sin than Fornication? Because the first is a breach of the command of the Church and the latter of the command of God! And the difference of the Punishment of these in your Church, shews that she thinks so; for a Priest committing Fornication comes off for a small Penance, whereas if he marries he is degraded. May we not then say to the Church of *Rome*, as *Christ* to the Church of the *Jews*, in a parallel case? *Full well ye reject the Commandment of God, that ye may keep your own Tradition.*

1 Cor. vii. 9.

But if Marriage be such a defilement as is unworthy a Priest, how came you to make a Sacrament of it? I suppose you cannot mean less by a Sacrament than a means of grace; you have made many less things so, as is shewed before. And would you deprive the Clergy of any means of grace? Or is it your modesty to put them upon the level with the Laity for depriving them of the Cup in the Sacrament of *Christ's* own Institution?

1 Pet. iii. 2.

Marriage is honourable and undefiled in all, says the Apostle: *No, say you, it is neither in a Priest.* He says, *If Men cannot contain, let them marry; for it is better to marry than to burn; no, say you, it is better to burn than to marry.* And this you must say, unless you suppose that all the many thousands of your Clergy, and many of them young Men, are every one of them endowed with the gift of Continency. Which would be a Miracle, if experience did not contradict it.

1 Cor. vii. 2.

All sober Christians, and even the Heathen, look upon Marriage as a preserver and not a breach of Chastity. *St. Peter* calls it a *chaste Conversation*. If it were not so, we may presume that *Christ* would not have honoured it with his own Presence, and with his first Miracle, nor made it so frequently as he does, the type and representation of Heaven, and of his Union with the Church, calling himself the Bridegroom and her his Spouse.

The Apostle says, *To avoid Fornication, let every Man have his own Wife, and every Woman her own Husband.* No, say you, we except all the Clergy, the Friars and the Nuns, whom we have put under vows to the contrary. And we will find other means for them to obtain the grace of Continency! Yes, and the World is full of the effects of those means! And know whether they are better than those of God's appointment!

It is strange that you who have so many means of grace of your own, should not let those very few which *Christ* has made, stand as he left them!

41. But you extend yours farther than he did his, for he appointed none to be used for those in the other World: But you have offices to deliver Souls out of Purgatory.

LORD. That seems a charitable office.

GENT. But it is a very dark one. We have not a word in Scripture of any such state of the dead, where Souls are put under pains equal to those of Hell, except for the duration.

LORD. No unclean thing can enter into Heaven.

1 John. i. 9.

GENT. Is not the Blood of *Christ* sufficient to cleanse us from all unrighteousness?

LORD. Yes, surely: But though God pardons the guilt of Sin, yet his Justice will punish in some degree.

* Decret. P. Alex. l. 3. tit. 2. c. 3. Gloss. ad Gratian. dist 82. c. 5.
Costerus Enchirid. de Cœlibat. c. 17.

† Ibid. Dist 34. Can. 7.

GENT. Then the guilt is not fully forgiven.

LORD. Not so, but that we may be punished for it, as when afflictions, diseases, &c, are sent to us here upon Earth. God said to *David*, *I have put away thy Sin, but the Child shall die.* 2 Sam. xii. 13.

GENT. And the reason is given in the next words, *because by this deed thou hast given great occasion to the Enemies of the Lord to blaspheme*; as if God did countenance such wickedness; therefore *David* was punished so as his Enemies might perceive it. God punishes here either to vindicate his own honour before Men: Or for a tryal of our Faith, as in the case of *Job*, and to set forth such as examples to others: Or for a proof and confirmation of our Religion, as in the case of the Prophets and Apostles, Confessors and Martyrs: Or to correct and recall obstinate Sinners; many have been reformed by this means: But all these reasons respect this life only: For you say not that Souls are made better in Purgatory, since you suppose them to die in the love of God, and to be in his favour, before they go thither. And why then are they punished, since they are not purified by it?

LORD. To satisfy the vindicative Justice of God.

GENT. That is satisfy'd before they are forgiven and received into the favour of God. Unless you mean by vindicative such a spite and revenge as is seen among the most ignoble part of Mankind to say, *I will forgive, but I will at the same time be revenged for what is past*: Which indeed is not forgiveness, but a plain unwillingness to forgive. But a generous forgiveness, upon a sincere repentance, loves and embraces, and rejoices to comfort and heap favours, like the Father of the returning Prodigal. God says, He will not remember our sins, that they shall not be mentioned unto us, in the day when we turn from our wickedness. And how is that consistent with enduring the pains of Hell for a hundred, perhaps a thousand years for ought we know? And how do we know what Souls go to Purgatory? How long they remain there? And which of them are released? Can Prayers then for the Release of such and such be made in Faith? Otherwise they are Sin, by the Apostle's determination.

LORD. But the intention is pious.

GENT. So it is in all Superstition, very pious, and that is it which deceives. But God has required that our zeal to him should be according to knowledge: And that we, *intrude not into things we have not seen*. We have not seen any Revelation for Purgatory, or the state of Souls there. Rom. x. 2. Col. ii. 18.

LORD. But we have the Tradition of the Church for it.

GENT. There are good and bad Traditions. And they are much oftner taken in the bad sense throughout the New Testament, *Ye have made the Commandment of God of none effect by your Tradition*—*Holding the Tradition of the Elders*,—*Laying aside the Commandment of God, ye hold the Tradition of Men*—*Ye reject the Commandment of God, that ye may keep your own Tradition*—*Vain deceit, after the Tradition of Men*—*Your vain Conversation received by Tradition from your Fathers, &c.* Matth. xv. 6. Mark vii. 3, 8, 9. Col. ii. 8. 1 Pet. i. 18.

Yet there is a Tradition which (for the evidence of it) we are willing to admit, that is, according to the rule of *Vincentius Lirinensis*, *Quod semper, ubique, & ab omnibus*, *That which was always received every where, and by all*. And we are willing to join issue with you upon this Tradition as to Purgatory: This is universal Tradition: And you would not desire we should be concluded by any particular Tradition of this or that Church or Place, for you know there are many deceits in such.

But *Veron* in his *Rule of Faith* (a Book much applauded in *France*, and put into *English* for the use of the Roman Catholicks here) sets out in the beginning

beginning with a definition of the *Rule of Faith*, of which he makes the first requisite to be for an Article of Faith, that it be clearly revealed in Scripture (and by no pretended Revelation since to any whatsoever) in express words, or thence to be deduced by necessary consequence. Which when made appear as to Purgatory (or any other of the Doctrines in dispute) we shall readily allow it. And till then, we cannot be arraigned of Heresy for not professing to believe it.

Col. ii. 18.

Joh. iii. 14, 15.

Luke xxiii. 43.

This *intruding into things we have not seen*, proceeds, as the Apostle observes, from a *fleshy mind*, measuring spiritual things by carnal. We see it takes time to purge the Flesh of diseases and defilements it has contracted, and it takes a great deal of filing and scrubbing to cleanse Iron that has been long rusted. Hence we conjecture the same as to Souls departed, that they must be purged by fire. But the work of God upon the Soul, when he grants true Faith and Repentance operates far otherwise; it effects the cure all at once, as with those who looked upon the Brazen Serpent. Our Saviour himself makes the comparison. And he gave us an example of it in the Thief upon the Cross, who was translated to Paradise the same day he died. And yet he had been a grievous Sinner, and suffered justly for his offences; his Repentance was late, and he had made no restitution; yet he did no Penance in Purgatory.

LORD. That was an extraordinary case, his Faith must be very strong to be converted upon the Cross.

GENT. That is more than we know, whether he might not have been converted before. But however, it shews there is no necessity for Purgatory, even for very great offenders.

LORD. No doubt God may excuse whom he pleases.

GENT. How then do we know whom he excuses, and whom not? And how can we pray in Faith, that is, without Sin, to deliver such a particular Person from thence?

But if there be no necessity for it, as you have granted in the case of the Thief, how is it to be imagined that God should keep so many thousand Souls, for many years or ages, in the most extreme torments, when there was no necessity for it? And if the Pope has Power to release out of Purgatory, he must be a very cruel Father who keeps one Soul there an hour longer.

LORD. We see the Church imposing Penance and yet excusing some, shortning the time more than to others.

GENT. The Church knows not the Heart, and must judge by signs, which yet secure not from Hypocrisy. But this is all foreign as to God, who searcheth the Heart, and knoweth all that is in Man. And tho' our Physick of discipline works by degrees, and the issue is uncertain; yet God never cures imperfectly, *Christ* never half-healed any Man. And so it is when he pardons Sinners, *Thy Sins are forgiven thee*. It is not said, *shall be forgiven*, or when thou hast performed such and such Penance, but the forgiveness of his Sins was as immediately wrought as the Cure of his Body. And God gives us all the assurances that can be, in the strongest expressions, of our Sins being absolutely and totally forgiven, as being *all blotted out, all cast into the depths of the Sea*. Never to be remembered or mentioned unto us any more, as before quoted, *I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely*. He is ready to forgive. He waiteth to have mercy. He earnestly remembreth. His Bowels are troubled for Sinners that they may repent, and in the day they turn from their wickedness, he forgiveth. For he doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the Children of Men. It is for their Repentance and Reformation, but that consideration is not in Purgatory.

Luk. v. 20.

Psal. li. 9.

Isai. xlv. 22.

Col. ii. 14.

Mic. vii. 19.

Hos. xiv. 4.

Psal. lxxxvi. 5.

Isai. xxx. 18.

Jer. xxxi. 20.

Ezek. xxxiii. 12.

Lam. iii. 33.

But

But how will the poor Souls there (if any are there) be deluded, if the stock of Supererogation should fail them, that is, the merits of Saints for their good works which they have done over and above their duty and what they were obliged to for their own Salvation, and therefore are applied to others who had come short of their duty, to supply their deficiencies; which is the fund provided for the discharge of the prisoners in purgatory? And this is dispensed by the Pope to whom he thinks fit, as being the grand Treasurer of the Church, and consequently of these super-abundant merits of the Saints: But we want a text where St. Peter was constituted such a Treasurer: Or that there is or can be any such Treasury. For can a Creature merit at the hands of God, for ever so great endowments bestowed upon him? Is it a merit to receive great gifts? And if we employ them to the best advantage, is it more than is our duty to do? And we are still *unprofitable Servants*, as Christ himself has told us. But was there ever a Man (Christ only excepted) who did all his duty? Are not all sinners? And if their repentance entitle them to pardon, yet this is far from merit: My doing my duty to day makes no amends for my having neglected it yesterday. We find the greatest Saints applying to the Mercy of God, and not pleading their own merits. Jacob said, *I am not worthy of the least of all thy Mercies.* And Job who had none like him in the Earth, a perfect and upright Man, &c. said, *I abhor my self, and repent in dust and ashes.* And Daniel, the Man greatly beloved, confessed his own sins as well as the sins of the People. And St. Paul called himself the chief of sinners, not worthy to be an Apostle, &c. And if the Saints own no merit in themselves, then surely they will disown all those who apply to their merits; and, as I said before concerning the Worship and Invocation of them, by which you hope to gain them to be Intercessors for you, they must become your Accusers, by their denial of their acceptance of such Worship from you, which if they should accept, it would make them evil Spirits, as I have quoted out of St. Augustine.

But what Creature dare plead Purity before God? Behold he chargeth his Angels with folly, and he putteth no trust in his Saints; yea the Heavens are not clean in his sight. How much more abominable and filthy is Man, who drinketh iniquity like water? And what is Man that he should be clean? And he that is born of a Woman, that he should be righteous? And if All our righteousness are as filthy rags; if there be iniquity in our holy things, in the holy Sanctuary and Altar; what then is clean? And if the righteous themselves shall scarcely be saved, what merits have they to spare for others? Especially when they are not saved even by their own works. For by Grace ye are saved—Not of works, lest any Man should boast. Can any Man then boast of his works, as not only sufficient for his own salvation, but over and above as meritorious to be apply'd to others, and to deliver souls out of Purgatory? No, my Lord, the Saints make no such boasts: And will disown all those who make them in their name: For they know that All have sinned, and come short of the Glory of God; being justified freely by his Grace, through the Redemption that is in Jesus Christ—Where is boasting then? It is excluded. By what Law? Of Works? Nay, but by the Law of Faith. And every Man is saved by his own Faith, not by the Faith of others. And God will reward every Man according to his works, not the works of others. Miserable then is the condition of those Souls supposed to be in Purgatory, if they must not thence be delivered but by works of Supererogation, when no Man can be saved by his own works, for we are saved—Not according to our works, but according to the Grace of God in Christ Jesus. Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his Mercy he saved us—through Jesus Christ our Saviour. We have no other Saviour, nor can be

saved by the merits of any other: None other can merit from God: The greatest Saint that ever was is saved only by Mercy, and the forgiveness of his sins. Let us therefore not trust to the supererogated works of those which were not able to save themselves. *That every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become guilty before God. For in his sight shall no Man living be justified. There is none righteous, no not one.*

Rom. iii. 19.

Psal. cxiv. 2.

But besides all this, there are degrees of Glory in Heaven: So that if any could supererogate, yet has he nothing to spare to others, because he has received the full of his reward himself. This shuts up Purgatory for ever, by exhausting every penny of that Treasury reserved for Redemption from thence.

And the expectation of having those many sins, called venial with you, remitted after death, does naturally make Men more careless in their life: And trusting to the merits of others, will abate their diligence in being nicely righteous themselves.

LORD. But we find some instances among the Fathers of Prayers for the Dead.

GENT. Some few among the Fathers you may, but none in Scripture. But what were these Prayers? They were for peace and rest to those who were supposed to be in peace, yet might receive increase of happiness even before the Resurrection, as some suppose Heaven itself to consist in an eternal increase of Bliss. But without this, we may pray for continuance of peace to those who are in peace, though we know it will surely be; as when we pray *Thy Kingdom come. Thy Will be done.* We know it must be, but this shews our assent and wishes for it. And in this sense we also pray for the Dead, that it would please God * *shortly to accomplish the number of his Elect, and to hasten his Kingdom; that we, with all those that are departed in the true faith of his holy Name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in his eternal and everlasting Glory.* And we bless him, † *for all his servants departed this life in his faith and fear; beseeching him to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of his heavenly Kingdom.* So that we pray for them as well as for our selves, that we *with them may be partakers, &c.* But neither these Prayers of ours nor those of the Ancients, have any relation to Purgatory, or delivering souls from thence, as from a place of torment.

Some of the Ancients had an imagination of a purging Fire, through which sinners were to pass, but they meant the general Conflagration at the last day: Which comes not at all to your notion of Purgatory. But I would not trouble your Lordship with excursions, or debating every branch of these disputes, only give you a summary view of the heart of the cause, and to see where the matter pinches. And indeed, my Lord, my endeavour with your Lordship is rather to state the Case, than to argue upon it; for Truth needs no more than to be fairly shewn, it convinces of itself, and best when it is naked, without the *Fucus* of philosophy and distinctions, which are endless.

These will put a colour upon implicit itself, and make you believe you understand what you know nothing of! My Lord, give me leave to say, your whole Religion is implicit, not only as to the particular points we have discoursed, but your whole publick Worship is such, while your Prayers are in a language not understood by the People. How then can they *pray with the Understanding*, as the Apostle requires? And *how can they say Amen, seeing they understand not what is said?*

1 Cor. xiv. 15, 16.

LORD. They have Prayers of their own, and carry little Prayer-Books with them, which they read while the Priest is repeating the publick Offices.

* Order for the Burial of the Dead. † Communion Office. Prayer for the Church Militant.

GENT. But this is not joining with the Priest, and they cannot say *Amen* to his Prayers.

What then have they to do at Church? This is not Communion: It is purely implicit, and nothing else but *opus operatum*: It is an invention without precedent, for it never entered into the head of Man or Church since the Creation, except only the Church of *Rome*: And of which the Apostle gives this character, *Will they not say ye are mad?* 1 Cor. xiv. 23.

What is it short of this which *Suarez* says, **That it is not necessary to Prayer that the Person praying should think of what he speaks.* This is *opus operatum* with a witness! And a Parrot may be taught thus to pray. And how do they pray with the Priest who are talking of business, or chattering of news, while he is offering up their Prayers to God in a language of which they understand not one word; and therefore cannot give attention to it? And these are the greatest number, *viz.* of the common People, who cannot read, and so cannot carry private Books of Devotion with them; though if they did, it would not be joining with the Priest, nor could these be called Common Prayers, which are offered up with *one accord*, pursuant to St. *Chrysostom's* Prayer, with which our daily publick Prayers do conclude.

And now, my Lord, upon the whole, if the advantage does not seem to your Lordship to lie on our side in all the particulars before-mentioned, yet can you have any doubt of the safety of your Soul in our way? Since all our danger is, omitting some things that might be profitable, but cannot be called necessary: Whereas if the error lies on your side, you are involved in manifold superstitions, and of adding to, and subtracting from the Word of God.

LORD. I confess nothing sticks with me but the Church, of being in the Church, and preserving the Unity of the Church.

GENT. Therefore I began with that, and desire to close with it, for it is the *jugulum causæ*.

I have shewed wherein the Unity of the Church did consist, according to the Institution of *Christ*, and as the primitive Fathers understood it; that is, an Unity in Faith, and in the mutual love and good correspondence of Christians and Sister-Churches; though one Sister must be elder than another, and *Rome* was not the eldest: One might be greater or more powerful than another, and this did vary according to the course of this world: *Jerusalem* was at first the only Church of *Christ*, then *Antioch* became the greatest of the *Gentile* Church, where Christianity first received its name, afterwards *Rome* became the greatest, from being the Seat of the *Roman* Empire, but *Constantinople* was the first assumed an universal Supremacy, when she became the head of that Empire. And this was it which broke the Unity of the Sister-Churches, and filled them with Schisms and Divisions among themselves, one affecting superiority over another, and encreasing it to an absolute temporal dominion: Of which *Christ* said to the Apostles, *It shall not be so among you.* And again, (for they contended more than once for the superiority) after the institution and celebration of the holy Eucharist, just as he was going to enter upon his sacred Passion, and to take his final leave of them, this dispute arose again, *which of them should be the greatest*, and that was the time to determine it if ever; but he again checked their ambition, and the error of their thought, as if the Church were to be governed with temporal sway and authority, like the grandeur of secular Princes, but told them plainly, *Ye shall not be so.* Mat. xx. 25.

And in his farewell Sermon, continued upon the same occasion, and at the same time, he insisted much upon their Unity, and placed it not upon the superiority of any one of them over the others, but in their mutual Luke xxii. 26.

* *De Orat. lib. 3. c. 14. and Salmeron, &c.*

Joh. xiii. 33.

Joh. xviii. 36.

Psal. xlvii. 7.

love and good agreement with each other, in their Union with God and with himself, upon which he wonderfully expatiates in most exalted words, which take up four whole chapters in St. *John*, and begins, *Little Children, yet a little while I am with you — A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another — By this shall all Men know that ye are my Disciples, if ye have love one to another.* This is the Unity of which *Christ* speaks in these his last words to the Apostles: He said, *My Kingdom is not of this world: If my Kingdom were of this world, then would my Servants fight —* But he that calls himself *Servus Servorum*, the Servant of his Servants, has fought, and raised bloody wars in defence, as he says, of this his Master's Kingdom! And he will have the government of it just the same as of other Kingdoms of the world, and its Unity to consist, like theirs, in being under one absolute and despotick Head or King. But no Kingdom of the Earth will content him: He will be universal Monarch of the whole world. And why? Because *Christ* is the Head of all Churches, and therefore must have an universal Vicar. And from the same parity of Reason, because *God is the King of all the Earth*, therefore he must have an universal Vicar in temporals. And if *England, France, Spain, &c.* should contend which of them were this universal Vicar, would not the answer be easy? That the contest was foolish and vain, for though one Kingdom might be greater or more ancient than another, yet was it still but a part of the whole, that is, of the world: And that God had appointed no such universal Vicar. The case is exactly parallel, unless it can be shewed, that *Christ* has appointed such an universal Vicar in the Church; and told us plainly who it is, that we may obey him: Which when done, we will own our selves Hereticks, Schismatics, and what you will, till we return and pay our obedience to him.

But on the other hand, if *Christ* has appointed no such universal Vicar, then are you under a mortal mistake concerning the Unity of the Church, which you place wholly upon our being united in obedience to such an one: And your Church is the great breaker of ecclesiastical Unity, while she will bear no Sister Church, but will be the Mother of all Churches, though she be not the eldest.

This, my Lord, is the very heart of the cause: And we are verily persuaded that there is not the least ground for this universal Supremacy, either in the holy Scriptures, or in Antiquity, or in the Reason of the thing, or in fact, since the first foundation of Christianity to this day, or that it was ever acknowledged, or is now, by the majority of christian Churches: And yet this is the foundation of all the disputes betwixt your Church and ours, and all other christian Churches.

Christ foresaw the consequences of trusting an universal Supremacy in the hands of fallible Men: An universal King must ruin the world, for appeals to him must lye in all causes from all the parts of the Earth, and Men must attend with their Witnesses, and all other things necessary to carry on a Law-Suit. The oppression of this (beyond all other tyrannies) may appear by the appeals to *Rome*, in the times of Popery, no farther than from *England* thither, where causes lasted from age to age, loudly complained of in those times, and attempts made to restrain it in some measure by several of our Acts of Parliament, but not to purpose till the Reformation: And this indeed made the Reformation even necessary, for the preservation of the People, as well Laity as Clergy, who groaned under this burden which neither they nor their Fathers were able to bear. Dr. *Parker* late Lord Bishop of *Oxford*, in his excellent *Discourse sent to the late King James*, when he was Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, printed here in the year 1690. says upon this head, p. 29. *I my self enjoy a small office in this Church, wherein my predecessors had a Suit for a privilege belonging to it,*

it, hanging in the Court of Rome for some hundreds of years, till the very time of the dissolution of the Pope's power. Hence we may judge how it would be with the Churches in the *Indies*, and the most remote places in the world, if it were all under his power, as he pretends! But the good Providence of God has not suffered it to extend to half of the christian Churches, (as before is said) and his Wisdom and Goodness has still preserved the major part true Protestants against this Usurpation; besides the great number he has rescued from it, and has never suffered any of these reformed Churches or Nations to return to it again, as before has been observed: And besides that the principle itself, and the pretensions of the Pope to this universal and unlimited Supremacy are beat down and exploded by the *Gallican* Church, and others the most learned who still remain in his Communion whether he will or not, and though he excommunicates them afresh every year!

And now, my Lord, I cannot but think it made plain to a demonstration, that this universal Supremacy is a thing impracticable; and that if it could be in fact, it would be the greatest ruin and oppression to the Church that is possible. And if an universal King would be insupportable to the World, how much more an universal Bishop to the Church? For he must have an absolute dominion over our Faith, over the holy Scriptures, and over the Church, which must suddenly fall (as I before quoted *Gregory* the great) if it comes to depend upon one: And whoever should assume it, would be, as he prophesied, a *Lucifer*, and the fore-runner of *Anti Christ*. And can he be less, if he has usurped so vast an Authority, and infallibility it self to support it?

I said before, that an universal King would make all Wars to be Rebellion, and so incurable but by utter destruction. Thus it is with the universal Bishop, opposing his Supremacy is Heresy, Schism, and Excommunication; and is the only Article in your Creed to be believed explicitly; as for the others, implicate will do for them all! That is, it is no matter whether you believe them or not, so the sovereignty of the universal Bishop be maintained inviolably!

But though every King is not a Bishop, yet the universal Bishop must likewise be universal King, with Power to depose all Kings at his Pleasure: Of this I have spoke at large.

And though nothing need be said to this almighty claim, both in spirituals and temporals, but to put you to the proof of its institution by *Christ*, who disowned all civil Power himself, and said, *Who made me a Judge?* Luke xii. 14. Yet I have gone farther, (that this cause might be put out of all dispute) and shewed the inconsistency of your own claim to be the only catholick Church, and to enjoy the true Unity of it, in these particulars following.

I. There never was a Church called catholick, in the sense of *Rome*, that is, which was owned by all other Churches as their Head, at least since that of *Jerusalem*.

LORD. But we admit none other to be christian Churches but those who do own it.

GENT. That is to say, it must do one way or other; if the Mountain will not come to *Mahomet*, *Mahomet* must go to the Mountain. It is like the Bed *Procrustes* made to fit all Persons, by stretching those to the length of it who were shorter, and cutting off part of those who were longer than it. Thus the Church of *Rome* becomes universal, by stretching her Communion to those who stand excommunicated by her, and cutting off all Churches who will not own her Supremacy. And thus she must still be universal, tho' she had no more left than the Diocess of *Rome*; or suppose none but the Pope himself, then he would be the universal Church! And it may well be preserved in a Pope, if it may in one *Laick*, a Woman or an Infant.

Matth. xxv.
31, &c.

2. And then there will be perfect Unity; and I am afraid not till then: For perfect Unity is not only in outward Communion, that is, being within the same Walls together; or in subscribing a *Formula* of Articles of Faith, half of which must be believed implicitly: But an Unity likewise in saying or damning Principles and Practices, in Love and Charity, for which chiefly we shall be judged at the last day. If these are wanting, the Unity will be very imperfect, and stand us in little stead.

3. There ought to be also an Unity where to place your infallibility (else it is none) of which I have given four schemes, each one contradictory to all the rest, and not yet determined by your Church. And this is an Unity in Faith among you. It is the foundation upon which your Church is built.

4. There must be an Unity and full agreement which of the Articles of your Creed are to be believed explicitly, and which implicitly; that is indeed which are necessary to be believed, and which not? Without this, your Faith is wholly uncertain.

And till these things be adjusted, you cannot be said to have Unity even in Faith.

And if you have not Unity in Faith, nor in those Principles and Practices which are no less necessary to Salvation; nor in that Love and Charity which *Christ* has made the characteristick of Christians, and without which
John xiii. 35. *no Man can know who are his Disciples*: But instead of that, if you have envyings and strife among you, among your several religious Orders, betwixt national and national Church, concerning the infallibility and supremacy of the Pope, and of his power to depose Princes, upon which the Peace and Unity of the World, and our eternal Salvation does depend; and in short, if you have no Unity concerning your Rule of Faith it self, or of your Practice, what will the Unity of outward Communion do, upon which you lay the whole stress? It will not so much as denominate you Christians, far less to be the only Christians in the World, or the catholick Church.

It is true that Unity in Communion is a desirable thing, and ought to be preserved among all Churches; but it is still a part only of the Unity of the Church, as I have shew'd. And that the Supremacy of the Pope has been the chief cause of the breach of it. But yet it is not such a breach as destroys all other parts of the Unity of the Church, their Unity in one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism. It may be called an essential part of the perfect Unity of the Church; but, alas! What is perfect upon Earth? And it is not so essential as that the want of it should quite un-church; so that if there were not a Church upon Earth that did communicate with another, yet they would not all cease, for that cause only to be christian Churches. As if all the Nations in the World were at War with each other, yet it would be the same World still, and God's one Kingdom upon Earth, and each Nation a part of it.

LORD. But the Unity of the Church ought to be more than that of the temporal World.

GENT. True: But we say, *Magis & minus non variant speciem, that more or less alter not the kind*, as a greater or less quantity of Gold (for example) alters not the species of the Gold; so Unity is Unity, be it more or less. And there is an Unity among all Nations, even though at War; the Unity of Blood, and of Reason, being all made of one Blood, and all endowed with the same Reason, which makes them all agree in some common Principles, and all appeal to Reason in the Justice of their Wars. But this Unity is not perfect while they bite and devour one another.

And though the Unity is greater, where Revelation is added to Reason, and Men agree in the same Religion which we call the Church; yet this
Unity

Unity is not perfect, while there are disputes, animosities, and various opinions about it. And in the Church of *Rome* her self there are great variety of opinions among those of her Communion, and animosities thereupon raised, so great as gives her much trouble to compose, and sometimes finds it past her Power, and is forced to be, what she cannot remedy.

LORD. What do you mean then by the holy catholick Church in the Creed?

GENT. This Article was but late put into the Creed, on occasion of divisions which arose among the Churches, to mind them that they were all Members of the same Body, of the one catholick Church. The next Article explains this, and may be called a part of it, *viz.* The Communion of Saints, and these are only the elect, who are not visible upon Earth; and therefore must be referred to Heaven, where only is the true Communion of Saints, without mixture of the Reprobate, who are not Members of *Christ*, and but in appearance of the Church. We have no Unity of the Spirit with these, and consequently are not one Body with them: *For what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? And what Communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial?* And what Unity hath that Church where these are mixed together? Therefore the archetypal and truly catholick Church in Heaven, is that which is chiefly and principally meant by the holy catholick Church, and the Communion of Saints in the Creed. And there only is perfect Unity. 2 Cor. vi. 14.

There is the great Body of the Church, there are but few at a time upon Earth, and of them we know not which belong to that truly catholick Church or not: And who do not, cannot be truly Catholics, though they bear that name with us. And of them so called, you your selves will not say that there is perfect Unity among them, in all the necessary and most essential parts of it before mentioned,

But if that Article in the Creed had been meant in your sense, it must have been the holy Roman Catholick Church, and not left us to seek where to find this Church, the infallible guide. And you your selves have not found it, while you are in quite contrary opinions where to find it. But by leaving it in the general and indefinitely under the name of the catholick Church only, it is rather exclusive of any particular Church, and extends to all christian Churches which make up the catholick Church upon Earth, in such an Unity as our fallen state will bear, where human Passions are not subdued, but mix themselves in our religious as well as temporal Concerns. Therefore by the Unity of the Church you cannot mean a perfect Unity; no not even with your Head, and in Doctrines which are indispensable towards your eternal Salvation, as in the deposing Doctrine, upon which the Apostle has pronounced damnation; and which, if not true, Cardinal *Perron*, as before quoted, gives up the Church of *Rome*, for many ages past, for the very Synagogue of *Anti-Christ*. See also the Morals of the *Jesuites*, which though condemned by some, are defended by others. This is not perfect Unity, even in necessities; and the *Bulla in Cæna* breaks it to pieces, where whole Churches and Nations are excommunicated of those you say are in the Unity of the Church, and in his Communion who has excommunicated them! 81. 1. 1111

But if we will be content with no Unity in the Church but what is perfect in all things, the consequence must be, that we have no Unity at all: As our pretence to infallibility is the greatest instance of our fallibility. And if we will have no guide but who is infallible, we must have none upon Earth. And so the Church is rendred wholly useless to us, if we may not take their help, as instructors and rational guides, or in the Apostle's words, as *Helpers of our Joy*, without giving them the *Dominion over our Faith*. 2 Cor. i. 24. And

And indeed the security you demand of an outward infallible guide, is altering the course of nature, or as I called it, finding fault with the Creation; for God has made us rational Creatures, and given us no other guide but our own Reason, with the assistance of his grace, to come at the knowledge of himself, and consequently of all other things. And to find fault with this, is the Clay saying to the Potter, *Why hast thou made me thus?* To bid us divest our selves wholly of our Reason, or to believe implicitly, which is the same thing; and is not in our power, whatever we may think, because Reason is our Nature; and that we should not believe our outward Senses, is indeed to make us other Creatures than God has made us. And to refuse the assistance of a Church, because she is not infallible, is depriving our selves of a means which God has appointed; and is the same perverseness, as if we should refuse to consult a Lawyer or Physician, because it is possible they may err in their Judgment. But tho' I allow their skill to be better than mine, in their several professions, yet we still keep to our selves so much use of our Reason, that if I knew it was Poyson the Physician were going to give me, I would not take it: And there are some things so plain, that no Lawyer could persuade me to. Much more ought we to be careful in our eternal Concerns, and not to give our selves up implicitly to any whatsoever, that if they should direct us against the most express commands in Scripture, or the dictates of Reason and common Morality, or bid us deny all our Senses, we must acquiesce without any examining! This is abandoning both Sense and Reason which God gave us as a guide, and therefore will require it of us; and this only is that which will render us self-condemned, and bear witness against us at the last day: For as I said, it is not in our power to extinguish Reason in us; tho' we may blindfold it, and keep it down for a time, yet it will recoil upon us, and convict us, wherein we have departed from it. Without this there could not be such a thing as a sting of conscience, for what is that but a check to our Reason? What else is repentance, or returning from any error, or from any evil we have done? You endeavour to convert Men to your Church wholly upon their Reason, for you can have no other topick whereby to lay hold of an Adversary: In vain therefore would you persuade him to trust to that choice of his Reason, in coming over to you, but never to trust any other choice his Reason should make afterwards, because it is very fallible; I say this could not go down with any Man, but it must make him doubt whether his Reason has led him right in the first choice too of going to your Church, and from the same argument, because his Reason is very fallible. God says to us, *Come now and let us Reason together.* We ask no more of you: Nay, you cannot refuse it us, whether you will or not; for your own Reason will, as I said, one time or other return upon you, and convince you of obstinacy in not hearkening to Reason, for without this you cannot be said to have acted according to Reason. This renders me inexcusable, whether I be right or wrong; for if my Reason misleads me after due examination, the error is human, and will be more easily pardoned; but if I will not hear, if I will not open my Eyes, it makes me guilty tho' I were in the right, because that is by chance, and not my choice upon reasonable conviction, which I have refused. And truth is never afraid, for the more it is canvassed it appears the brighter. It is strange to see those who pretend to such an assurance as is infallible, and yet seek to avoid the Light of Reason, as if afraid of being detected! And to confess it in the very Body of their * Canon Law, where they excom-

Isai. i. 18.

* Inhibemus quoque ne cuiusque Laicæ personæ liceat publicè vel privatim de Fide Catholicâ disputare. Qui verò contrà fecerit, Excommunicationis laqueo innodetur. *Corp. Jur. Can. Sext. Decretal. lib. Quint. Tit. ii. cap. ii. §. 1. Paris. 1687.*

municate any *Laick*, who shall publicly or privately dispute concerning the catholick Faith.

This method will secure to them all that they have caught: But if observed by others as well as by themselves, they would never catch another. And it is a plain indication that who are against Reason, Reason is against them.

For if Reason could be heard, it would make it very obvious to you, that in all the particular points before mention'd, the certainty is on our side, and the doubt (at least) on yours. For example, none make a doubt but that we may lawfully pray to God, and not before any Image of him: Or without the worship or invocation of any Saint joined with him; and so of all the rest. But on your part, if what I have said make them not appear unlawful to your Lordship, yet they must remain at least doubtful, till some stronger evidence be produced for them than has hitherto been given. There is not a Prayer in the publick offices of our Church to which you may not heartily say *Amen*, in full Faith and Assurance: Which is impossible to say as to Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, &c. And then such Prayers must be sinful, *Rom. xiv. 23.*

But you are pinned down in all these particular points by the Authority of a supposed universal Bishop, wherein likewise you place the Unity of the Church. And yet there never was such a Bishop, or universal Monarch, unless any Prince calling himself so, would make him such. What is an universal Monarch who was never owned by half of those he calls his Subjects; and whose Authority is limited and restrained, and his Excommunications despised, by those who pretend to own him, and to be subject to him? What is it to fancy ones self King of all the Earth? And to place the Unity of the World in such a Monarch as never was in the World? And to call those Rebels from him, who never were in subjection to him? This my Lord, I have shewed to be the case of the greatest part of the christian Churches, and from the beginning. And consequently this universal Supremacy is merely imaginary. It was never named by *Christ*, nor ever was in fact. And so far is it from being the center of Unity, that the pretence to it has been the great breach of Unity among christian Churches, and is at this day: For this is it which stops the Bishops in the Communion of *Rome* from exercising the freedom of their own Judgments, and that Authority which *Christ* has given them over their own Flocks, and will require an account of it from them; and which was freely exercised by the Bishops in the primitive Church; and which, if restored, would open the way to that catholick Communion so greatly desired, and wherein the true Unity of the Church does consist. Which never can be hoped, while a Negative is given to the Pope in all the particular points disputed, and especially concerning his own Supremacy. But if the Bishops of his Communion would think themselves at liberty and under obligation to act of themselves, as in the primitive Church; and as ordained by *Christ*; the points we have discoursed as to Doctrine and Worship seem to me so very plain, that there could be no dispute, which were the safer side to take: At least that it would not be thought a sin so to purge their publick offices as that other Christians might lawfully join in them: And let opinions remain as opinions, not made Articles of Faith, and Conditions of Communion. And to this nothing stands in the way of the Bishops of *France*, at least, but the fear of that Excommunication from the Pope which is renewed against them every year, and which they pretend not to regard. But they are kept under by the shadow of the Phantom of an universal Supremacy, which never was in Being; and if it were, would be insupportable and ruin the Church; and which they themselves have in effect already rejected, as inconsistent with the Liberties of the *Gallican* or any other national Church,

and has bred all the dispute betwixt them and the Church of *Rome*: And can never be healed in good earnest, if the Pope be Judge of the Controversy. See then the cause of the breach of catholick Unity.

Isai. xlv. 8.

Acts xvii. 11,
12.

v. 5.

And now, my Lord, forgive me, for I am sensible that there is an uneasiness at first and a prejudice to hear any thing contrary to those Principles in which one has been educated from his infancy, and thinks most certain. But this must be overcome so far as to hear Reason, which will confirm us the more if we be in the truth, or otherwise convince us of our error; at least make it so far excusable, that we have not refused the reasonable means of Information: Without this, no Man could have been a Christian at first, nor has been since but by accident, according to the place where he was born, or received his Education. But the Prophet calls a due examination of these things a *showing our selves to be Men*. And St. Luke gives it the character of a nobleness of Spirit in those who *sought the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so*: And therefore (says he) *many of them believed*, of the honourable both Men and Women. Whilst those bigotted who stuck to implicit Faith in the Church, it is said, they *Believed not* but were *moved with envy*, and stirred up Persecution against those who disturbed them in their security, like waking one out of his sleep; though when it is done, he will thank those who have raised him from darkness to light, to seeing with his own Eyes, instead of being led by others implicitly in the dark, and lulled into dreams of security from his blindness, in which he is persuaded there is less danger of stumbling, than if his Eyes were open, because every Man's sight is not good, and has deceived many! Have I not taken a Horse for a Man at a distance? And does not a stick look crooked in the Water? Why then should I trust my Eyes any more? This is all the Reason ever I could hear for not trusting to our Reason! And what is the remedy proposed? If it were to give us rules whereby to judge of true reason, to help it and to trim this Lamp which God has lighted for us, this would be rational, like clearing our Eyes if they were dim: But the remedy you propose, is, to shut Reason quite out, to make no more use of it, to silence, to extinguish it, and take implicit Faith in its room; like pulling out one's Eyes, because they are not good, and chusing to be led by the hand, and never examine our way any more. But I think the Apostle recommends examining to us, and I will conclude with his advice:

Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good, 1 Thess. v. 21.

Books decisive and not answered.

Dr. Barrow of the *Pope's Supremacy*, and the *Unity of the Church*. 1680.

Dr. Cosin (since Bishop of *Durham*) his *Scholastical History of the Canon of the holy Scripture*. 1657.

This is concerning the apocryphal Books.

His *History of Transubstantiation* (the *English Translation*) 1676. Writ in *Latin*. 1657.

The Devotions of the Roman Church. 1674.

This is concerning the Invocation of Saints, of Reliques, and the Legends.

The incurable Scepticism of the Church of Rome. 1688.

This is concerning the rule of Faith.

APPENDIX. Numb. I.

Ex Bullario Laertii Cherubini, Romæ 1638.

T O M. III. p. 183.

*Constitutio Pauli V. 63.**The sixty third Constitution of Paul V.*

EXcommunicatio & Anathematizatio quorumcunque Hæreticorum, eorumque fautorum ac Schismaticorum, vel ecclesiasticam libertatem lædentium, aut quoquo modo dispositis in hac Bullâ, de more in die Coenæ Domini publicari solitâ contravenientium.

Quoad omnia quasi capitula hujus Bullæ (ultra Extravagan. 3. Pauli II. & Extravagan. 5. Sixti IV. in tit. de poenitentia & remissionibus) habes supra Constitut. 1. Urbani V. fol. 215. Constitut. 25. Julii II. f. 482. Constitut. 10. Pauli III. f. 522. necnon Constitut. 81. Gregorii XIII. f. 348. l. 2. Aliorum autem Bullas ejusmodi Coenæ Domini nuncupantes volens prætermisi, his duntaxat contentus, ex quibus pro temporum conditione Romanos Pontifices aliquid immutasse cognoscatur. Non tamen posthabui proximè indicandas, uti apprime necessarias, & super hujus Bullæ capitibus specialiter editas.

Extat ergo in hoc opere specialis edita sanctio Nicolai III. circa §. primum hujus Bullæ in ejus Const. 2. sup. fol. 143. & circa §. 2. extat. Const. 5. Pii II. f. 290. l. 1. Circa §. 4. extat Const. 7. Pii V. f. 137. l. 2. Circa §. 7. extat Const. 3. Nicolai V. f. 283. l. 1. Circa §. 10. extat Canon Callisti. l. in c. 23. caus. 24. q. 3. Circa §. 11. respectu Cardinalium extat Const. 16. Leonis X. f. 420. l. 1. & alia 93. Pii V.

THE Excommunication and Anathematization of all Hereticks whatsoever, and their favourers, and Schismaticks, or of those who violate the ecclesiastical liberty, or any ways infringe the contents of this Bull, which is wont to be published on Maunday-Thurday.

As for almost all the chapters of this Bull, (besides the 3^d Extravagant of Paul II. and the 5th Extravagant of Sixtus IV. in the title of penance and remissions) you have them before ordained in the first Constitution of Urban V. f. 215. in the 25th Constitution of Julius II. f. 482. in the 10th Constitution of Paul III. f. 522. and in the 81st Constitution of Gregory XIII. f. 348. lib. 2. Other Bulls of this nature, called Bulls in Coenâ Domini, I have purposely omitted, being content with these; from which it may appear that the Popes have made some variation in them, according to the exigency of the times. Yet I would not omit those which follow, as being especially necessary, and particularly published upon the several chapters of this Bull.

There is extant therefore in this collection a particular Edict of Nicolas III. about the 1st Section of this Bull in his 2^d Constitution, Sup. fol. 143. Concerning Sect. 2. there is extant Const. 5. of Pius II. f. 290. l. 1. Concerning §. 4. there is extant Const. 7. of Pius V. f. 137. l. 2. Concerning §. 7. is extant, Const. 3. of Nicolas V. f. 283. l. 1. Concerning §. 10. is extant a Canon of Callistus. in c. 23. Const.

f. 222. l. 2. Circa §. 12. extat Const. 11. *Alexandri VI.* f. 352. Circa §. 14. extat Const. 2. *Martini V.* f. 239. & alia 17. *Innocentii VIII.* f. 343. ac altera 30. *Leonis IX.* f. 440. necnon alia 39. *Clementis VII.* f. 505. l. 1. & altera 19. *Gregorii XIII.* f. 290. l. 2. Circa §. 15. multi sunt Canones in Corpore Juris, & extat Const. 10. *Martini V.* f. 247. Circa §. 19. extat Const. 3. *Urbani VI.* f. 222. Et Circa §. 20. extat Const. 8. *Joannis XXII.* f. 174. & alia 3. *Clementis VI.* f. 212. alia 13. *Leonis X.* f. 314. & altera 11. *Pauli IV.* f. 595.

Alia hujusmodi excommunicatio in die Coenæ Domini promulgari solita est in S. D. N. *Urbani VIII.* Const. 62. *Pastoralis* infr. Tom. 4.

Paulus Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

Pastoralis *Romani* Pontificis vigilantia & sollicitudo, cum in omni Reipublicæ Christianæ pace & tranquillitate procurandâ pro sui muneris officio assidue versatur, tum potissimum in Catholicæ Fidei sine quâ impossibile est placere Deo unitate atque integritate retinendâ, maximè elucet: Nimirum ut fideles *Christi* non sint paryuli fluctuantes, neque circumferantur omni vento doctrinæ in nequitia Hominum ad circumventionem erroris, sed omnes occurrant in unitate Fidei & agnitionis Filii Dei in virum perfectum, neque se in hujus vitæ societate & communione lædant, aut inter se alter alteri offensionem præbeant; sed potius in vinculo charitatis conjuncti, tanquam unius corporis membra sub *Christo* capite, ejusq; in terris Vicario *Romano* Pontifice beatissimi *Petri* Successore, à quo

24. qu. 3. Concerning §. 11. in respect of the Cardinals is extant Const. 16. of *Leo X.* f. 420. l. 1. and Const. 93. of *Pius V.* f. 222. l. 2. Concerning §. 12. is extant Const. 11. of *Alexander VI.* f. 352. Concerning §. 14. is extant Const. 2. of *Martin V.* f. 293. and Const. 17. of *Innocent VIII.* f. 343. and Const. 30. of *Leo X.* f. 440. and Const. 39. of *Clement VII.* f. 505. l. 1. and Const. 19. of *Gregory XIII.* f. 290. l. 2. Concerning §. 15. are many Canons in the Body of the Law, and Const. 10. of *Martin V.* f. 247. Concerning §. 19. is extant Const. 3. of *Urban VI.* f. 222. Concerning §. 20. is extant Const. 8. of *John XXII.* f. 174. and Const. 3. of *Clement VI.* f. 212. and Const. 13. of *Leo X.* f. 314. and Const. 11. of *Paul IV.* f. 595.

Another like excommunication usually published on Maunday Thursday, is extant in the 62^d Constitution of our holy Lord *Urban VIII.* inf. Tom. 4.

Paul Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, in perpetual memory of the thing now decreed.

THE pastoral vigilance and care of the Bishop of Rome, being by the duty of his office continually employed in procuring by all means the peace and tranquillity of Christendom is more especially eminent in retaining and preserving the unity and integrity of Catholick Faith; without which it is impossible to please God: That so the faithful of *Christ* may not be as Children wavering, nor be carried about with every wind of doctrine by the cunning craft of Men, whereby they lay in wait to deceive; but that all may meet in the unity of the Faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect Man: That in the communion and society of this life they may not injure nor offend one another; but rather being joined together with the bond of Charity, as

totius

totius Ecclesiæ unitas dimanat, augeantur in ædificatione, atque ita divinâ gratiâ adjutrice sic præsentis vitæ quiete gaudeant, ut futurâ quoque beatitudine perfruantur. Ob quas fanè causas *Romani* Pontifices prædecessores nostri hodiernâ die, quæ anniversariâ Dominicæ Coenæ commemoratione solennis est, spiritualem Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ gladium, & salutaria justitiæ arma per ministerium summi Apostolatûs ad Dei gloriam & animarum salutem solenniter exercere consueverunt. Nos igitur, quibus nihil optabilius est, quàm Fidei inviolatam integritatem, publicam Pacem & Justitiam, Deo autore, tueri, vetustum & solennem hunc morem sequentes.

§. 1. Excommunicamus et anathematizamus ex parte Dei Omnipotentis, Patris & Filii & Spiritûs Sancti, auctoritate quoque Beatorum Apostolorum *Petri & Pauli*, ac nostrâ, quoscunq; Hussitas, Vuichlephistas, Luterannos, Zuinglianos, Calvinistas, Ugonottos, Anabaptistas, Trinitarios, et à christianâ Fide Apostatas, ac omnes & singulos alios Hæreticos, quocunque nomine censeantur, & cujuscunque sectæ existant: Ac eis credentes, eorumque receptatores, fautores, & generaliter quoslibet illorum defensores; ac eorundem libros hæresin continentes, vel de Religione tractantes, sine auctoritate nostrâ & Sedis Apostolicæ scienter legentes aut retinentes, imprimentes, seu quomodolibet defendentes, ex quâvis causâ publicè vel occultè, quovis ingenio vel colore; necnon Schismaticos, & eos qui se à nostrâ et *Romani* Pontificis pro tempore existentis obedientiâ pertinaciter subtrahunt vel recedunt.

§. 2. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes & singulos, cujuscunq; statûs, gradûs, seu condi-

members of one body under Christ the Head, and his Vicar upon Earth the Bishop of Rome, St. Peter's successor, from whom the unity of the whole Church doth flow, may be increased in edification, and by the assistance of the divine Grace may so enjoy the tranquillity of this present life, that they may also attain eternal happiness. For which reasons the Bishops of Rome, our predecessors, upon this day which is dedicated to the anniversary commemoration of our Lord's Supper, have been wont solemnly to exercise the spiritual sword of ecclesiastical discipline and wholesome weapons of Justice by the ministry of the supreme Apostolate to the glory of God and salvation of Souls. We therefore, desiring nothing more than by the guidance of God to preserve inviolable the integrity of Faith, publick Peace and Justice; following this ancient and solemn custom.

§. 1. *We excommunicate and anathematize in the name of God Almighty, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and by the Authority of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and by our own, all Hussites, Wiclephists, Lutherans, Zuinglians, Calvinists, Hugonots, Anabaptists, Trinitarians, and Apostates from the christian Faith, and all other Hereticks by whatsoever name they are called, and of whatsoever Sect they be: As also their adherents, receivers, favourers, and generally any defenders of them; together with all who without our authority, or that of the Apostolick See, knowingly read, keep, print, or any ways for any cause whatsoever publickly or privately on any pretext or colour defend their Books containing heresie, or treating of Religion; as also Schismaticks, and those who withdraw themselves, or recede obstinately from the obedience of us, or the Bishop of Rome for the time being.*

§. 2. *Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all and singular, of whatsoever station, degree or con-*

tionis, fuerint Universitates, Collegia, & Capitula, quocunque nomine nuncupentur, interdicimus, ab ordinationibus seu mandatis nostris ac Romanorum Pontificum pro tempore existentium ad universale futurum Concilium appellantes; necnon eos quorum auxilio vel favore appellatum fuerit.

§. 3. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes Piratas, Curfarios, ac Latrunculos Maritimos, discurrentes Mare nostrum, præcipue à Monte *Argentario* usque ad *Terracinam*, ac omnes eorum fautores, receptatores & defensores.

§. 4. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes & singulos, qui Christianorum quorumcunque navibus tempestate, seu in transversum (ut dici solet) jactatis, vel quoquo modo naufragium passis, seu in ipsis navibus, sive ex eisdem ejecta in mare, vel in litore inventa, cujuscunque generis bona, tam in nostris, *Tyrrheni* & *Adriatici*, quàm in cæteris cujuscunque Maris regionibus & littoribus, furripuerint; ita ut nec ob quodcunque privilegium, consuetudinem, aut longissimi etiam immemorabilis temporis possessionem, seu alium quemcunque prætextum excusari possint.

§. 5. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes qui in terris suis nova *Pedagia* seu *Gabellas*, præterquam in casibus sibi à jure, seu ex speciali sedis Apostolicæ licentiâ permissis, imponunt vel augent, seu imponi vel augeri prohibita exigunt.

§. 6. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes falsarios literarum Apostolicarum, etiam in formâ Brevis, ac Supplicationum, Gratiam vel Justitiam concernentium, per Romanum Pontificem, vel *S. R. E.* Vicecancellarios seu gerentes vices eorum, aut de mandato ejusdem Pontificis signatarum, necnon falsò publicantes literas Apostolicas, etiam in formâ Brevis, & etiam falsò signantes Supplicationes hujusmodi sub nomine *Romani* Pontificis seu Vicecancellarii, aut gerentium vices prædictorum.

dition they be; and interdict all Universities, Colleges and Chapters, by whatsoever name they are called, who appeal from the orders or decrees of us, or the Popes of Rome for the time being to a future general Council; and those by whose aid and favour the appeal was made.

§. 3. Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all Pirates, Corsairs and Robbers by Sea, roving about our Sea chiefly from Mount *Argentiere* to *Terracina*, and all their abettors, receivers and defenders.

§. 4. Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all and singular, who when the Ships of any Christians are either driven out of the way by tempest, or any way suffer shipwreck, convey away any goods of what kind soever, either in the Ship themselves, or cast out of the Ships into the Sea, or found on the Shore, as well in our *Tyrrhenian* and *Adriatick* Seas, as in any other divisions of Shores of all Seas whatsoever; so that they shall not be excused by any privilege, custom, or possession of time immemorial or any other pretext whatsoever.

§. 5. Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all who impose or augment any new Tolls or Gabells in their dominions, except in cases permitted to them by Law, or by especial leave of the Apostolick See; or, who exact such Taxes forbidden to be imposed or augmented.

§. 6. Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all forgers of Apostolick Letters, even in form of a Brief, and of Supplications respecting Indulgence or Justice, signed by the Pope of Rome, or by the Vicechancellors of the holy See of Rome, or by their Deputies, or by the command of the said Pope; as also those who falsely publish the Apostolick Letters, even in form of a Brief; and those who falsely sign such Supplications in the name of the Pope of Rome, or the Vice-chancellor, or their Deputies.

§. 7. Item,

§. 7. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes illos, qui ad *Saracenos, Turcas, & alios Christiani nominis hostes, & inimicos, vel Hæreticos* per nostras vel hujus Sanctæ sedis sententias expressè vel nominatim declaratos deferunt seu transmittunt Equos, Arma, Ferrum, Filum Ferri, Stannum, Chalybem, omniaque Metallorum genera atque Bellica Instrumenta, Lignamina, Canabbem, Funes, tam ex ipsâ Canabbe quàm aliâ quacunque materiâ, & ipsam materiam, aliaque hujusmodi, quibus Christianos & Catholicos impugnant; necnon illos qui per se vel per alios de rebus statum Christianæ Reipublicæ concernentibus, in Christianorum perniciem & damnum ipsos *Turcas & Christianæ Religionis inimicos, necnon Hæreticos, in damnum Catholicæ Religionis, certiores faciunt, illisque ad id auxilium, consilium, vel favorem quomodolibet præstant: Non obstantibus quibuscunq; Privilegiis, quibusvis Personis, Principibus, Rebus publicis per nos & Sedem prædictam hætenus concessis, de hujusmodi prohibitione expressam mentionem non facientibus.*

§. 8. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes impediētes seu invadentes eos, qui victualia seu alia ad usum *Romanæ Curiaē* necessaria adducunt, ac etiam eos qui ne ad *Romanam Curiam* adducantur vel afferantur, prohibent, impediunt seu perturbant, seu hæc facientes defendunt per se vel per alios, cujuscunq; fuerint ordinis, præeminentiæ, conditionis & statûs, etiamsi Pontificali seu Regali aut aliâ quavis ecclesiasticâ vel mundanâ præfulgeant dignitate.

§. 9. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes illos, qui ad sedem Apostolicam venientes, & recedentes ab eadem, sua vel aliorum opera interficiunt, mutilant, spoliunt, capiunt, detinent; necnon illos omnes qui jurisdictionem ordinariam vel delegatam à nobis vel nostris Judicibus non habentes, illam sibi temere

§. 7. Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all those, who carry or transmit to the *Saracens, Turks, and other enemies and foes of the christian Religion, or to those who are expressly and by name declared Hereticks, by the sentence of us, or of this holy See, Horses, Arms, Iron, Wire of Iron, Tin, Steel, and all kind of Metals, and Warlike Instruments, Timber, Hemp, Ropes made as well of Hemp as of any other matter, and that matter whatsoever it be, and other things of this nature, which they make use of to the prejudice of Christians and Catholicks; as also those who by themselves or others, give intelligence of matters relating to the State of Christendom to the Turks and Enemies of the christian Religion to the hurt and prejudice of Christians, or to Hereticks to the prejudice of the Catholick Religion, or who any ways afford to them Counsel, assistance or favour; notwithstanding any privileges hitherto granted by us and the aforesaid See to any Persons, Princes or Common-wealths; wherein express mention is not made of this prohibition.*

§. 8. Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all hindering or invading those, who bring provisions, or any other things necessary, for the use of the Court of Rome; as also these who forbid, hinder or obstruct the bringing or conducting of them to the Court of Rome; or who abet the doers of these things either by themselves, or by others; of whatsoever order pre-eminence, condition or quality they be, even although they be Bishops or Kings, or invested with any other ecclesiastical or secular Dignity.

§. 9. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all those, who kill, maim, spoil, apprehend or detain by themselves, or by others, those who come to the Apostolick See, or return from it; as also all those who having no ordinary jurisdiction, nor any delegated by us or our Judges, rashly challenging it to themselves, vendi-

vendicantes similia contra morantes in eadem Curiâ audent perpetrare.

§. 10. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes interficientes, mutilantes, vulnerantes, detinentes, capientes seu deprædantes Romipetas seu Peregrinos ad urbem causâ devotionis accedentes, & in eâ morantes, vel ab ipsâ recedentes, & in his dantes auxilium, consilium, vel favorem.

§. 11. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes interficientes, vulnerantes, mutilantes, percutientes, capientes, carcerantes, detinentes, vel hostiliter insequentes S. R. E. Cardinales, ac Patriarchas, Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, Sedisq; Apostolicæ Legatos vel Nuncios, aut eos à suis Diocesis, Territoriis, Terris, seu Dominiis ejicientes, necnon ea mandantes vel rata habentes, seu præstantes in eis auxilium, consilium, vel favorem.

§. 12. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes illos, qui per se vel per alios, personas Ecclesiasticas quascunque, vel seculares ad Romanam Curiam super eorum causis & negotiis recurrentes, ac illa in eadem Curiâ prosequentes aut procurantes negotiorumque gestores, advocatos, procuratores & agentes, seu etiam Auditores vel Judices super dictis causis vel negotiis deputatos, occasione causarum vel negotiorum hujusmodi occidunt seu quoquo modo percutiunt, bonis spoliunt; seu qui per se vel per alios, directè vel indirectè delicta hujusmodi committere, exequi vel procurare, aut in eisdem auxilium consilium vel favorem præstare non verentur, cujuscunque præminentia et dignitatis fuerint.

§. 13. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes tam Ecclesiasticos quàm Seculares, cujuscunque dignitatis, qui prætexentes frivolam quandam appellationem à gravamine vel futurâ executione literarum Apostolicarum etiam in formâ Brevis, tam gratiam quàm justitiam concernentium, necnon citationum, inhibitionum, sequestrationum, monitoriorum,

presume to commit any like actions against those who reside at the Court of Rome.

§. 10. Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all who kill, maim, wound, detain, apprehend, or rob Travellers to Rome, or Pilgrims for the sake of Devotion or Pilgrimage going to that City, staying in it, or returning from it, and those who give aid, counsel, or favour in these cases.

§. 11. Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all who slay, wound, maim, strike, apprehend, imprison, detain, or in hostile manner pursue the Cardinals of the holy Church of Rome, and Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Legates, or Nuncios of the Apostolick See; or those who drive them out of their Territories, Dioceses, Lands or Dominions; or those who command or allow these things to be done, or give aid, counsel, and favour to them.

§. 12. Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all those, who by themselves or by others slay, or any ways strike or despoil any ecclesiastical or secular Persons having recourse to the Court of Rome for their Causes and Affairs, and prosecuting and managing them in the said Court, or even the Auditors or Judges deputed for the hearing and managing of the said Causes and Affairs, upon occasion of these Causes and Affairs; as also those who by themselves or by others directly or indirectly presume to act or procure the said Crimes, or to give aid, counsel or favour to them, of whatsoever prebeminence or dignity they be.

§. 13. Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all those as well Ecclesiastics as Seculars, of whatsoever dignity they be, who under pretence of a certain frivolous appeal from the injustice or future execution of the Apostolick Letters, even in form of a Brief, respecting as well indulgence as justice, as also from the injustice and future ex-

processuum, executorialium, & aliorum Decretorum, à nobis & sede prædictâ seu Legatis, Nunciis, Præfidentibus, Palatii nostri & Camera Apostolicæ Auditoribus, Commissariis, aliisque Judicibus & delegatis Apostolicis emanatorum, & quæ pro tempore emanaverint, aut aliàs ad Curias Seculares & Laicam potestatem recurrent, & ab eâ instante etiam Fisci Procuratore & Advocato, appellationes hujusmodi admitti, ac lites, citationes, inhibitiones, sequestra, monitoria, & alia prædicta, capi & retineri faciunt. Quive illa simpliciter, vel sine eorum beneplacito & consensu vel examine, executione, demandari, aut ne Tabelliones & Notarii super hujusmodi literarum & processuum executione, instrumenta vel acta conficere, aut confecta parti, cujus interest, tradere debeant, impediunt vel prohibent, ac etiam partes seu eorum agentes, consanguineos, affines, familiares, notarios, executores & sub-executores literarum, citationum, monitoriorum, & aliorum prædictorum capiunt, percutiunt, vulnerant, carcerant, detinent, ex Civitatibus, Locis, & Regnis ejiciunt, bonis spoliunt, perterrefaciunt, concutiunt & comminantur per se vel per alium seu alios, publicè vel occultè; quive aliàs quibuscunque personis in genere vel in specie, ne pro quibuscunque eorum negotiis prosequendis seu gratiis vel literis impretrandis ad Romanam Curiam accedant, aut recursum habeant, seu gratias ipsas vel literas à dictâ Sede impetrent seu impetratis utantur, directè vel indirectè prohibere, statuere seu mandare, vel eas apud se aut notarios seu Tabelliones, vel aliàs quomodolibet retinere præsumunt.

§. 14. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes & singulos,

execution of Citations, Inhibitions, Sequestrations, Monitories, Processes, Executorials and other degrees, issuing out, or which shall at any time issue out from us and the aforesaid See, or our Legates, Nuncios, or Presidents, from the Auditors of our Palace and Apostolick Chamber, from our Commissaries, and other Apostolick Judges and Delegates; as also those, who any other ways have recourse to secular Courts and the lay Power; and who cause such appeals to be admitted by the secular Court, even although the Procurator and Advocate of the Exchequer should require it; or who cause the aforesaid Letters, Citations, Inhibitions, Sequestrations, Monitories, &c. to be seized or retained; or those who hinder or forbid the said Letters to be put in execution, either simply or without their good will, consent, or examination; or who hinder or forbid Scriveners or Notaries from making or delivering when made to the Parties concerned any Instruments or Acts concerning the execution of these Letters and Processes; or who apprehend, strike, wound, imprison, detain, drive out of Cities, Places and Kingdoms, despoil of their goods, terrify, vex, and threaten either by themselves, or by others, publicly or privately, the Parties or their Agents, kindred on both sides, their Friends, Notaries, the Executors or Sub-Executors of the said Letters, Citations, Monitories, &c. or who any other way presume directly or indirectly to forbid, ordain, and command, any Persons in general or in particular, to betake themselves, or have recourse to the See of Rome to prosecute their Affairs of any kind, or to obtain Indulgences or Letters, or who forbid them to obtain the said Indulgences, or to make use of them when obtained of the said See; or who presume to retain the said Indulgences in their own hands, or in the hands of a Notary or a Scrivener, or any other way.

§. 14. Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all and singular

qui per se vel alios auctoritate propria ac de facto, quarumcunq; exemptionum vel aliarum gratiarum & literarum Apostolicarum prætextu, beneficiales, & decimarum, ac alias causas spirituales ac spiritualibus annexas, ab Auditoribus & Commissariis nostris, aliisque; Judicibus Ecclesiasticis avocant; illarumve cursum & audientiam; ac Personas, Capitula, Conventus, Collegia, causas ipsas prosequi volentes impediunt ac se de illarum cognitione tanquam Judices interponunt. Quive partes actrices, quæ illas committi fecerunt, & faciunt ad revocandum & revocari faciendum citationes vel inhibitiones aut alias literas in eis decretas, & ad faciendum vel consentiendum eos contra quos tales inhibitiones emanarunt, à censuris & poenis in illis contentis absolvi, per statutum vel alias compellunt; vel executionem Literarum Apostolicarum seu executorialium, processuum ac decretorum prædictorum quomodolibet impediunt, vel suum ad id favorem, consilium aut assensum præstant, etiam prætextu violentiæ prohibendæ, vel aliarum prætensionum, seu etiam, donec ipsi ad nos informandos, ut dicunt, supplicaverint aut supplicari fecerint, nisi supplicationes hujusmodi coram nobis & Sede Apostolicâ legitimè prosequantur, etiamsi talia committentes fuerint, Præsidentes, Cancellarium, Consiliorum, Parlamentorum, Cancellarii, Vice-cancellarii, Consiliarii, ordinarii vel extraordinarii quorumcunq; Principum Secularium; etiamsi Imperiali, Regali, Ducali, vel aliâ quacunq; præfulgeant dignitate; aut Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, Abbates, Commendatarii seu Vicarii fuerint.

§. 15. Quive ex eorum pretenso officio, vel ad instantiam partis, aut aliorum quorumcunque Personas ecclesiasticas, Capitula, Conventus, Collegia ecclesiarum quarumcunque coram se ad suum Tribunal, Audientiam, Cancellariam, Concilium, vel Parlamentum, præter juris Canonici dispositionem, trahunt, vel trahi faciunt

who by themselves or by others, by their own authority and de facto, under pretence of any exemptions, or any other Apostolick Indulgences and Letters, take away the cognizance of Benefices and Tythes, and other spiritual Causes, or annexed to spirituals from our Auditors and Commissaries, and other Ecclesiastical Judges; and hinder the proceeding and audience of them, and the Persons, Chapters, Convents, Colleges, desiring to prosecute the said Causes; or who intrude themselves as Judges in the cognizance of them; or who by order, or any other way compel the Plaintiffs to withdraw, or cause to be withdrawn, their citations or inhibitions, or any other Letters decreed in the spiritual Court; and the Defendants against whom such inhibitions were issued out, to procure, or consent to be absolved from the censures or punishments contained in them; or who any ways hinder the execution of Apostolick Letters, Executorials, Processes and Decrees aforesaid; or give their allowance, counsel, or assent to it, even under pretence of hindring violence, or any other pretexts whatsoever, or even until they shall petition us, or cause us to be petitioned for our better information, as is commonly pretended, unless they prosecute such Petitions before us and the Apostolick See in lawful form; even although those who commit such things should be Presidents of Chanceries, Councils, or Parliaments, Chancellors, Vice-Chancellors, ordinary or extraordinary Councillors of any secular Princes (whether they be Emperors, Kings, Dukes, or any other dignity) or Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Commendatories or Vicars.

§. 15. Also those who under pretence of their office, or at the instance of any party, or of any others, draw, or cause and procure to be drawn, directly, or indirectly, upon any pretext whatsoever, ecclesiastical Persons, Chapters, Convents, Colleges of any Churches, before them to their Tribunal, Audience, Chan-

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vel procurant, directè vel indirectè, quovis quæsito colore; necnon qui Statuta, Ordinationes, Constitutiones, Pragmaticas, seu quævis alia decreta in genere vel in specie, ex quavis causâ & quovis quæsito colore, ac etiam prætextu cujusvis consuetudinis & privilegii, vel aliàs quomodolibet fecerint, ordinaverint & publicaverint, vel factis & ordinatis usi fuerint, unde libertas Ecclesiastica, tollitur, seu in aliquo læditur vel deprimitur, aut alio quovis modo restringitur, seu nostris & dictæ sedis, ac quarumcunq; Ecclesiarum juribus quomodolibet directè vel indirectè, tacitè vel expressè præjudicantur.

§. 16. Necnon qui Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, aliosq; superiores & inferiores Prælatos, & omnes alios quoscunque Judices ecclesiasticos ordinarios quomodolibet hâc de causâ directè vel indirectè, carcerando vel molestando eorum Agentes, Procuratores, Familiares, necnon consanguineos & affines, aut aliàs impediunt, quo minùs jurisdictione suâ ecclesiasticâ contra quoscunque utantur, secundùm quod Canones & sacræ Constitutiones ecclesiasticæ, & decreta Conciliorum generalium, & præsertim Tridentini, statuunt; ac etiam eos qui post ipsorum ordinariorum ac etiam ab eis delegatorum quorumcunq; sententias & decreta, aut aliàs fori ecclesiastici Judicium eludentes, ad Cancellarias & alias Curias seculares recurrunt, & ab illis Prohibitiones & Mandata etiam poenalia, Ordinariis aut Delegatis prædictis decerni, & contra illos exequi procurant; eos quoque qui hæc decernunt & exequuntur, seu dant auxilium, concilium, patrocinium & favorem in eisdem.

§. 17. Quive Jurisdictiones seu fructus, redditus & proventus ad nos & sedem Apostolicam, & quascunque ecclesiasticas Personas ratione Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, & aliorum beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum pertinentes usurpant, vel etiam quavis occasione vel causâ sine Romani Ponti-

cery, Council, or Parliament, against the rules of the Canon-Law; as also those who for any cause, or under any pretext, or by pretence of any custom or privilege, or any other way, shall make, enact, and publish any Statutes, Orders, Constitutions, Pragmaticks, or any other degrees in general or in particular, or shall use them when made and enacted; whereby the ecclesiastical Liberty is violated, or any ways injured or depressed; or by any other means restrained; or whereby the rights of us and of the said See, and of any other Churches, are any way directly or indirectly, tacitely or expressly prejudged.

§. 16. Also those who upon this account directly or indirectly hinder Archbishops, Bishops, and other superior and inferior Prelates, and all other ordinary ecclesiastical Judges whatsoever by any means, either by imprisoning or molesting their Agents, Proctors, Domesticks, kindred on both sides, or by any other way from exerting their ecclesiastical jurisdiction against any Persons whatsoever, according as the Canons and sacred ecclesiastical Constitutions and Decrees of general Councils, and especially that of Trent, do appoint; as also those who after the Sentence and Decrees of the Ordinaries themselves, or of those delegated by them, or by any other means eluding the judgment of the ecclesiastical Court, have recourse to Chanceries or other secular Courts, and procure thence Prohibitions and even penal Mandates to be decreed against the said Ordinaries and Delegates, and executed against them; also those who make and execute these Decrees, or who give aid, counsel, countenance or favour to them.

§. 17. Also those who usurp any Jurisdictions, Fruits, Revenues, and Emoluments belonging to us and the apostolick See, and any ecclesiastical Persons upon account of any Churches, Monasteries, or other ecclesiastical Benefices; or who upon any occasion or cause sequester the said Revenues
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ficis vel aliorum ad id legitimam facultatem habentium expressâ licentiâ sequestrant.

§. 18. Quive collectas, decimas, talleas, præstantias & alia onera Clericis, Prælati & aliis Personis ecclesiasticis, ac eorum & Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum & aliorum Beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum bonis, illorumve Fructibus, Reditibus, & Proventibus hujusmodi, absque simili *Romani Pontificis* speciali & expressâ licentiâ imponunt, & diversis etiam exquisitis modis exigunt, aut sic imposita à sponte dantibus & concedentibus recipiunt. Necon qui per se vel alios directè vel indirectè prædicta facere, exequi vel procurare, aut in eisdem auxilium, consilium vel favorem præstare non verentur, cujuscunque sint præeminentiæ, dignitatis, ordinis, conditionis aut statûs, etiamsi Imperiali aut Regali fulgeant dignitate; seu Principes, Duces, Comites, Barones, et alii Potentatus; quicunq; etiam Regnis, Provinciis, Civitatibus & Terris quoquo modo Præsidentes, Consilarii & Senatores, aut quavis etiam Pontificali dignitate insigniti. Innovantes decreta, super his per Sacros Canones, tam in *Lateranensi* novissimè celebrato, quàm aliis Consiliis generalibus edita, etiam cum censuris & poenis in eis contentis.

§. 19. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes & quoscunq; Magistratus & Judices, Notarios, Scribas, Executores, Sub-executores, quomodolibet se interponentes in causis capitalibus seu criminalibus contra Personas Ecclesiasticas, illas processando, banniendo, seu sententias contra illas proferendo vel exequendo sine speciali, specificâ & expressâ hujus sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ Licentiâ; quique ejusmodi Licentiam ad Personas & Casus, non expressos extendunt, vel aliâs illâ perperam abutuntur, etiamsi talia committentes fuerint Consilarii, Senatores, Præsidentes, Cancellarii, Vice-cancellarii, aut quovis alio nomine nuncupati.

without the express leave of the Bishop of Rome, or others having lawful power to do it.

§. 18. Also those who without the like special and express licence of the Pope of Rome impose Tributes, Tenths, Tallies, Subsidies, and other charges upon Clergy Men, Prelates, and other ecclesiastical Persons and the Goods, Fruits, Revenues and Emoluments of them and of the Churches, Monasteries, and other ecclesiastical Benefices; and exact them by divers artifices, or even receive them so imposed from the Clergy, although they should of their own accord grant and give them: Also those who by themselves or others directly or indirectly, fear not to do, execute or procure the said things, or to give aid, counsel or favour to them, of whatsoever prebeminence, dignity, order, condition or quality they be, although they be Emperors, or Kings, or Princes, Dukes, Earls, Barons, and other Potentates whatsoever, even Presidents of Kingdoms, Provinces, Cities and Territories, Counsellors and Senators, or invested even with any Pontifical Dignity. Renewing the decrees set forth concerning these matters by the sacred Canons, as well in the last Council of Lateran, as in other general Councils, together with the censures and punishments contained in them.

§. 19. Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all and every Magistrates and Judges, Notaries, Scribes, Executors, Sub-executors, any ways intruding themselves in capital or criminal causes against ecclesiastical Persons by processing, banishing, or apprehending them, or pronouncing or executing any Sentences against them, without the special, particular and express Licence of this holy Apostolical See; also those who extend such Licences to Persons or Cases not expressed or any other way unjustly abuse them; altho' the Offenders should be Counsellors, Senators, Presidents, Chancellors, Vice-chancellors, or intitled by any other name.

§. 20.

§. 20. Item, excommunicamus & anathematizamus omnes illos, qui per se seu alios directè vel indirectè, sub quocunq; titulo seu colore invadere, destruere, occupare & detinere præsumpserint, in totum vel in partem, Almam Urbem, Regnum Siciliae, Insulas Sardiniae & Corsicae, Terras circa Pharium, Patrimonium B. Petri in Tuscia, Ducatum Spoletanum, Comitatum Venetianum, Sabinensem, Marchiam Anconitanam, Massam, Trebariam, Romandiolam, Campaniam, & Maritimas Provincias, illarumque Terras & loca, ac Terras specialis commissionis Arnulforum, Civitatesq; nostras Bononiam, Casenam, Ariminum, Beneventum, Perusium, Avenionem, Civitatem Castellum, Tuderum, Ferrarium, Comaculum, & alias Civitates, Terras, & loca, vel jura ad ipsam Romanam Ecclesiam pertinentia, dictæque Romanae Ecclesiae mediatè vel immediatè subjecta, necnon supremam jurisdictionem in illis, Nobis & eidem Romanae Ecclesiae competentem, de facto usurpare, perturbare, retinere & vexare variis modis præsumunt, necnon adherentes, fautores, & defensores eorum, seu illis auxilium consilium, vel favorem quomodolibet præstantes.

§. 21. Volentes præsentis nostros processus, ac omnia & quaecunq; his literis contenta, quousque alii hujusmodi processus à nobis aut Romano Pontifice pro tempore existente fiant aut publicentur, durare, suosq; effectus omnino sortiri.

§. 22. Cæterum à prædictis sententiis nullus per alium quam per Romanum Pontificem, nisi in mortis articulo constitutus, nec etiam tunc, nisi de stando Ecclesiae mandatis & satisfaciendo cautione præstita, absolvi possit, etiam prætextu quarumvis facultatum & indultorum quibuscunque personis Ecclesiasticis, secularibus & quorumvis ordinum, etiam mendicantium & militarium regularibus, etiam Episcopali vel aliâ majori dignitate præditis, ipsisque ordinibus & eorum Monasteriis, Conventibus, & Domibus ac Capitulis, Collegiis, Confraternitatibus, Congregationibus,

§. 20. Farther, we excommunicate and anathematize all those, who by themselves, or by others, directly or indirectly, under any title or colour whatsoever shall presume to invade, destroy, seize, and detain, in whole or in part, the City of Rome, the Kingdom of Sicily, the Islands of Sardinia and Corsica, the Territories about Faro, St. Peter's Patrimony in Tuscany, the Dukedom of Spoleto, the County of Venoso, and Sabinum, Marca di Ancona, Massa, Trebaria, Romandiola, Campania, and the Maritime Provinces, and their Territories and Places, and the Lands held in special Commission by the Arnulfi, and our Cities of Bononia, Casena, Ariminum, Beneventum, Perusium, Avignon, Citta di Castello, Todi, Ferrara, Comaclo, and other Cities, Lands and Places and Rights belonging to the Church of Rome; and subjected mediately or immediately to the said Church of Rome; also those who presume by divers means to usurp, disturb, detain, and vex the supreme Jurisdiction to the said dominions belonging to us and the Church of Rome; also their adherents, favourers, and defenders, or those who any way give assistance counsel or favour to them.

§. 21. Willing that our present processes, and all and every thing contained in these Letters, continue in force, and be put in execution; till other processes of this kind be made and published by us and the Pope of Rome for the time being.

§. 22. In fine, none may be absolved from the aforesaid Censures by any other than by the Pope of Rome, unless he be at the point of death; nor even then, unless he giveth caution to stand to the commands of the Church, and give satisfaction; in all other cases none shall be absolved, not even under pretence of any faculties or indulgences granted and renewed by us, and the said See, and the decrees of any Council, by Words, Letters, or any other Writing, in general or in particular, to any Persons ecclesiastical, secular, and regular of any

Hospitalibus, & locis piis, necnon Laicis, etiamſi Imperiali, Regali, & aliâ, mundanâ excellentiâ fulgentibus per nos & dictam Sedem ac cujuſvis Concilii decreta, verbo, literis, aut aliâ quacunque Scripturâ in genere & in ſpecie concedendorum & innovatorum, ac concedendorum & innovandorum.

§. 23. Quod ſi fortè aliqui contra tenorem præſentium talibus excommunicatione & anathemate laqueatis, vel illorum alicui abſolutionis beneficium impendere de facto præſumpſerint, eos excommunicationis ſententiâ innodamus, gravius contra eos ſpiritualiter & temporaliter, prout expedire noverimus proceſſuri.

§. 24. Declarantes ac proteſtantes quancunque abſolutionem, etiamſi ſolenniter per nos faciendam, prædictos excommunicatos ſub præſentibus comprehenſos, niſi prius a præmiſſis cum vero propoſito ſimilia ulterius non committendi, deſtiterint, ac quoad eos, qui contra eccleſiaſticam libertatem, ut præmittitur, ſtatuta fecerint, niſi prius ſtatuta, ordinationes, conſtitutiones, pragmaticas, & decreta huiusmodi publicè revocaverint & ex Archivis ſeu Capitularibus, Locis aut Libris, in quibus annotata reperiuntur, deleri & caſſari, ac nos de revocatione huiusmodi certiores fecerint, eos non comprehendere, nec eis aliter ſuffragari; quinetiam per huiusmodi abſolutionem, aut quoscunque alios actus contrarios, tacitos vel expreſſos, ac etiam per patientiam & tolerantiam noſtram vel ſucceſſorum noſtrorum, quantocunq; tempore continuatam, præmiſſis omnibus & ſingulis, ac quibuſcunque juribus Sedis Apoſtolicæ ac ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ undecunque & quandocunque quæſitis, vel quærendis nullatenus præjudicari poſſe aut debere.

§. 25. Non obſtantibus Privilegiis, Indulgentiis, Indultis, & Literis apoſtolicis, generalibus vel ſpecialibus ſu-

Orders, even of the mendicant and military Orders, or to any Perſons inveſted with episcopal, or any greater dignity, and to Orders themſelves and their Monasteries, Convents, Houſes and Chapters, to Colleges, Confraternities, Congregations, Hospitals, and pious places, as alſo to Lay-Men, although they ſhould be Emperors, Kings, or eminent in any other ſecular dignity.

§. 23. If by chance any ſhould againſt the tenor of theſe preſents, de facto, preſume to beſtow the benefit of abſolution upon any ſuch involved in excommunication, and anathema, or any of them; we include them in the ſentence of excommunication, and ſhall afterwards proceed moſt ſeverely againſt them, both by ſpiritual and temporal puniſhments, as we ſhall think moſt convenient.

§. 24. Declaring and proteſting that no abſolution, altho' ſolemnly made by us, ſhall comprehend, or any other way avail the aforeſaid excommunicated Perſons comprehend- ed under theſe preſent Letters; un- leſs they deſiſt from the premiſſes with a firm purpoſe of never com- mitting the like thing; nor thoſe, who, as was before ſaid, have made Statutes againſt the eccleſiaſtical li- berty; unleſs they firſt publicly re- voke theſe Statutes, Orders, Con- ſtitutions, Pragmaticks and Decrees, and cauſe them to be blotted and ex- punged out of the Archives, Rolls, and Registers wherein they are pre- ſerved, and farther certify us of this revocation: Moreover, that by any ſuch abſolution, or any other con- trary acts, tacit or expreſs, or even by the connivance and toleration of us and our ſucceſſors for how long time ſoever continued, none nor any of the Premiſſes, nor any right of the apoſtolick See and holy Church of Rome howſoever and whenſoever ob- tained, or to be obtained, can or ought to be prejudged or receive any prejudice.

§. 25. Notwithſtanding any Pri- vileges, Indulgencies, Grants, and apoſtolic Letters general or ſpecial, prædictis

prædictis vel eorum, alicui, seu aliquibus aliis cujuscunque ordinis, statûs vel conditionis, dignitatis & præeminentiæ fuerint, etiamsi ut præmittitur, Pontificali, Imperiali, Regali, seu quavis ecclesiasticâ & mundanâ præfulgeant dignitate, vel eorum Regnis, Provinciis, Civitatibus seu locis à prædictâ sede ex quavis causâ etiam per viam contractûs aut remunerationis, & sub quavis aliâ formâ & tenore, ac cum quibuscunque clausulis, etiam derogatoriis concessis, etiam continentibus quòd excommunicari, anathematizari vel interdici non possint, per Literas Apostolicas non facientes plenam & expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto hujusmodi, ac de ordinibus, locis, nominibus propriis, cognominibus & dignitatibus eorum mentionem necnon consuetudinibus, etiam immemorabilibus, ac præscriptionibus quantumcunque longissimis, & aliis quibuscunque observantiis scriptis vel non scriptis, per quæ contra hos nostros Processus ac Sententias, quo minùs includantur in eis, se juvare valeant ac tueri. Quæ omnia quoad hoc, eorum omnium tenores, ac si ad verbum, nihil penitus omisso, infererentur, præsentibus, pro expressis habentes, penitus tollimus, & omnino revocamus cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque.

§. 26. Ut verò præsentis nostri processus ad publicam omnium notitiam faciliùs deducantur, Chartas seu Membras Processus ipsos continentes, valvis Ecclesiæ S. Joannis Lateranensis, & Basilicæ Principis Apostolorum de Urbe appendi faciemus, ut ii, quos processus hujusmodi concernunt, quòd ad ipsos non pervenerint, aut quòd ipsos ignoraverint nullam possint exculationem prætere de aut ignorantiam allegare; cum non sit verisimile, id remanere incognitum, quod tam patenter omnibus publicatur.

granted by the holy See to any of the aforesaid Persons, or any one of them, or any others, of whatsoever order, quality or condition, dignity, and preheminance they be; although, as was before said, they should be Bishops, Emperors, Kings, eminent in any other ecclesiastick or secular Dignity, or to their Kingdoms, Provinces, Cities, and Dominions, for any cause whatsoever, even by way of contract or reward, and under any other form and tenor, and with any clauses whatsoever, even derogatory of those which should derogate from them, or even containing that the said Persons or Places shall not be excommunicated, anathematized or interdicted by any apostolick Letters, which do not make full and express mention and exact repetition of the said grant, and of the orders, places, proper names, surnames and dignities of the said Persons: As also notwithstanding all Customs, even immemorial, and prescriptions how long soever, and any other observances written or not written, by which the said Persons may help and defend themselves against these our Processes and Censures from being included in them. All which grants, as far as relates to this matter, and the whole tenor of them, accounting them expressed in these presents, as if they had been verbatim inserted, nothing omitted, we utterly abolish and wholly revoke; and notwithstanding any other pleas which may be alledged to the contrary.

§. 26. But that these our present Processes may more easily come to the knowledge of all Persons; We have caused the Papers and Parchments containing the Processes themselves to be affixed in the City to the doors of the Church of St. John Lateran, and of the Church of the Prince of the Apostles; that those whom these Processes concern, may pretend no excuse, or alledge ignorance, as if they had not come to their knowledge; since it is not probable that should remain unknown which is so openly published to all Men.

§. 27.

§. 27. Insuper ut Processus ipsi & præsentes literæ, ac omnia & singula in eis contenta, eò fiant notiora, quò in pleriq; Civitatibus & Locis fuerint publicata; universis & singulis Patriarchis, Primatibus, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, & locorum Ordinariis, & Prælati ubilibet constitutis, per hæc scripta, committimus & in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ districtè præcipiendo mandamus; ut per se vel per alium seu alios, præsentes literas, postquam eas receperint, seu earum habuerint notitiam, semel in anno, aut si expedire viderint, etiam pluries, in Ecclesiis suis, dum in eis major populi multitudo ad Divina convenit, solenniter publicent, & ad Christi fidelium mentes, reducant, nuncient, & declarent.

§. 28. Cæterum Patriarchæ, Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, alique locorum Ordinarii, & Ecclesiarum Prælati, necnon Rectores, cæterique curam animarum exercentes, ac Presbyteri seculares & quorumvis ordinum regulares, ad audiendas peccatorum confessiones quavis autoritate deputati, transumptum præsentium Literarum penes se habeant, easq; diligenter legere & percipere studeant.

§. 29. Volentes earundem præsentium transumptis etiam impressis, Notarii publici manu subscriptis, & sigillo Judicis Ordinarii Romanæ Curiae vel alterius personæ in dignitate ecclesiasticâ constitutæ munitis, eandem prorsus fidem in judicio, & extra illud ubiq; locorum adhibendam fore, quæ ipsis præsentibus adhiberetur, si essent exhibitæ vel ostensæ.

§. 30. Nulli ergo omnino Hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ excommunicationis, anathematizationis, interdicti, innovationis, innodationis, declarationis, protestationis, sublationis, revocationis, commissionis, mandati & voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire: Siquis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, in-

§. 37. Moreover, that the Processes themselves, and these present Letters, and all and every thing contained in them, may become more manifest by being published in many Cities and Places; we by these writings intrust, and in virtue of holy obedience strictly charge and command all and singular Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, Ordinaries of places, and Prelates wheresoever constituted, that by themselves or some other or others, after they shall have received, these present Letters, or have knowledge of them they solemnly publish them in their Churches once a year or oftner, if they see convenient, when the greater part of the People shall be met for celebration of divine Service; put faithful Christians in mind of them, relate them, and declare them.

§. 28. Lastly, all Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Ordinaries of Places, and Prelates of Churches, as also all Rectors, and others having cure of Souls, and Priests secular and regular of whatsoever Orders, deputed by any Authority to hear confession of sins, shall have a transcript of these present Letters by them, and shall diligently study to read and understand them.

§. 29. Our farther pleasure is, that the same credit in judgment and out of judgment, shall in all places be given to Copies, although printed, of these presents, subscribed by any publick Notary, and sealed by the ordinary Court of Rome, or any other Person in ecclesiastical dignity; as would be given to these presents themselves, if they should be produced or shewn.

§. 30. Let no Man therefore infringe, or boldly and rashly oppose this our letter of excommunication, anathematization, interdict, innovation, innodation, declaration, protestation, abolition, revocation, commission, command and pleasure: But if any one shall presume to attempt it, let him know that he shall incur

dignationem omnipotentis Dei ac Beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incurfurum.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, anno Incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo sexcentesimo decimo, sexto idûs Aprilis, Pontificatûs nostri anno quinto.

Anno à Nativitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi millesimo sexcentesimo decimo tertio, indict. II. die verò quartâ mensis Aprilis, Pontificatûs sanctiss. in Christo Patris & D. N. D. Pauli divinâ Providentiâ Papæ V. anno octavo, supradictæ literæ affixæ & publicatæ fuerunt ad valvas Basilicarum S. Joannis Lateranensis & Principis Apostolorum, & in acie campi Floræ per nos Baldassarem Vacham & Brandimartem Latinum Cursores.

Jacobus Brambrilla,
Mag. Curs.

the displeasure of almighty God, and of his blessed Apostles Peter and Paul.

Given at Rome from St. Peter, in the year of our Lord's Incarnation, one thousand six hundred and ten, the eighth of April, in the fifth year of our Popedom.

In the year, from the Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1613. indict. II. the fourth day of the month April, and the eighth year of the Popedom of our most holy Father in Christ, and our Lord Paul V. by divine Providence Pope, the aforesaid Letters were affixed and published at the doors of the Churches of St. John Lateran, and the Prince of the Apostles, and in the field of Flora, by us Balthazar Vacha and Brandimars Latini Cursors.

James Brambrilla.
Mag. Curs.

Numb. II.

The PROCEEDINGS of the Parliament of Paris upon the Pope's BULL, concerning the Franchises in the City of Rome, and the following Ordinance of the 26th of December, 1687. Translated into English by order of his Excellency Monsieur Barillon, his Most Christian Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary to the King of Great Britain.

An Extract out of the Registers of the Parliament of Paris.

THIS day the Parliament of Paris being assembled, the King's Council appearing, Mr. Denys Talon his Majesty's Advocate-General, made this following Speech, That among the rest of the Court of Rome's attempts upon several occasions, in prejudice of the liberties of the Church of France, and of the rights and preheminences of the Crown; there has been nothing observ'd in the history of late ages, parallel to what was done in the month of December last, and which is nothing more but what the Pope has been contriving many years, in declaring himself an enemy of France, &c. —

In the assembly held upon occasion of the affairs of the *Regalia*, the Bishops being inform'd that the *Italian* Doctors, and the Emissaries of the Court of *Rome*, omitted not any means to spread about the Kingdom the new opinions of the Pope's infallibility, and the indirect power which *Rome* strives to usurp over the temporality of Kings; that Assembly, We say, did not pretend to frame a decision of a doubtful controversy, but give a publick and authentick testimony of a certain truth, taught by all the Fathers of the Church, and determined by all the Councils, and especially by those of *Constance* and *Basil*. And it's well known that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* assisting at the Council of *Trent*, publicly declared that the Faculty of Divinity at *Paris*, the Universities of the Kingdom, and in a word, all *France* was persuaded, that the Pope, far from being infallible, ought to submit to the decisions of Councils, and it does not appear that this assertion made him incur any reproach from the Court of *Rome*.

Yet has the world with amazement seen, that the Pope look'd upon this declaration as an injury done to his authority; insomuch that the King having nominated to the Episcopacy some of those that assisted at that Assembly; and who are as well recommendable for their Piety and Virtue, as for their Knowledge and Learning; Bulls were refused them, on pretence that they do not make profession of a sound doctrine.

If this foundation is solid, we are like to have no more Bishops for the future: Since all the Ecclesiasticks of the Kingdom, and particularly those that in the Universities take the necessary degrees to attain to Prelacies, with an invincible steddiness maintain the propositions which the Pope complains of.

Tho' this refusal has not the least glimmering of Reason, yet does it nevertheless raise a very great scandal, and produce disorders beyond expression. And indeed the Pope's obstinacy is the cause that thirty five cathedral Churches remain destitute of Pastors, and this in a time when a vast number of newly converted Persons stand in need of instruction, for their being fortified and confirmed in the orthodox belief, and when the presence of the Bishops is very necessary in their Dioceses.

Who could ever imagine that the Pope, who is proposed to us as an image of Holiness and Virtue, should remain so wedded to his opinions, and so jealous of the shadow of an imaginary authority, that he should leave the third part of the Churches of *France* vacant because We will not own him to be infallible?

Those that inspire these thoughts into the Pope, can they fancy they shall make us change our opinions? And are they so blind as not to know that those unhappy times are past, when a gross ignorance joined to a faintness in the Government, and false prepossessions, render'd the Pope's Decrees so very dreadful, however unjust they might be; and that those disputes and quarrels, far from augmenting their power, do only serve to cause enquiry to be made into the origine of their usurpations, and lessen the veneration of the People rather than encrease it? &c. —

And to give some colour to so scandalous an innovation, he refers to that famous Bull, styl'd in *Cæna Domini*, because it is read at *Rome* every *Thursday* of the holy week. True it is, that if this Decree, whereby the Popes declare themselves sovereign Monarchs of the World, be legitimate; the Majesty Royal will then depend on their humour, all our liberties will be abolished, the secular Judges will no longer have the power to try the possession of Benefices, nor the civil and criminal causes of ecclesiastical Persons; and we shall quickly see our selves brought under the yoke of the inquisition.

Thus, however unjust and abusive this new Decree may be, it is much less dangerous by the frivolous menaces it contains, than by its being built upon a title altogether void and vicious; and that in this conjuncture it looks as if *Rome* would at present follow the steps of *Julius II.* renew his animosity and rage against *France*, without making reflexion how odious his memory is in the christian Commonwealth.

When Pope *Gregory IV.* meaning to render himself arbitrator of the dispute that arose between *Lewis the Debonnair* and his Children, threatened the Bishops of *France* to excommunicate them if they did not close with his designs; those Prelates being surprized at a procedure so contrary to the Canons, courageously answer'd. that *they would not obey the Pope's will; and that if he come with a design to excommunicate them, he should himself return excommunicated: Si excommunicaturus veniret, excommunicatus abiret*: As if they meant to say, that he, who without lawful cause, and through human motives, undertakes to suspend one of the members of *Jesus Christ* from the Communion of the Church, does separate himself from it by such an unjust attempt.

Let us farther urge, that the ill use which the Popes have on so many occasions made of the authority with which they are entrusted in giving it no other bounds than those of their own will, has been the source of almost all the incurable mischiefs with which the Church is afflicted, and the most specious pretences of the Hereticks and Schismatics that the last age produc'd, so as the Divines assembled by Pope *Paul III's* order, did sincerely own; and besides at present, the bare idea of the infallibility and indirect power which the complaisance of the *Italian Doctors* do attribute to the See of *Rome*, upon the temporality of Princes, is one of the greatest obstacles that oppose the conversion not only of individual Persons, but of whole Provinces; and Peoples Minds cannot be too thoroughly convinc'd that these new opinions do not make part of the doctrine of the universal Church, &c. —

If he had been an Envoy from the Emperor of the *Turks*, from the King of *Persia*, or some other infidel Prince, he would not have been so rigorously us'd. Is it that the Pope means to have no more commerce with *France*? Is he persuaded that his power reaches no farther than the Diocese of *Rome*, and his Patriarchship than the neighbouring Provinces, styled suburbicarial? Does he intend to renounce the quality of *Head of the Church*, and common Father of the Faithful? &c. —

And in this occasion the thunders of the *Vatican* have nothing formidable; they are transitory fires, that exhale into smoak, and which do neither hurt nor prejudice, save to those who darted them.

And tho' this Bull be neither published nor executed in the Kingdom, it is not the less abusive. We do not doubt but that a more moderate Pope, reflecting upon the disorders which such an innovation is capable of producing, would imitate the example of *Clement V.* who, by a solemn Decree, did for ever abolish the memory of what his predecessor *Boniface VIII.* had unjustly undertaken against King *Philip the Fair*: And this retractation, which proves that the Popes are not infallible, since the one destroys what the other had built, among others, revokes the Bull, *Unam Sanctam*; wherein *Boniface*, whose proud conduct was blamed by the whole Church, declares that the Sword of Sovereigns is subjected to the Pope's spiritual Faulchion, &c. —

If then we put in an appeal to the future Council against the censures contain'd in the Bull, and against the interdict that is a consequence and necessary of it; it is because that not only the decisions of Popes, but their very Persons, when they fail in their duty in the government of the Church,

are

are to submit to the correction and reformation of the general Council, in what regards as well Faith as Discipline: An indisputable truth whence We shall never depart, whatever endeavours the partizans of the Court of *Rome* may use.

The Pope's denying to grant Bulls to all the Bishops nominated by the King, occasions a disorder that daily augments, and which requires a speedy and efficacious remedy. The Councils of *Constance* and *Basil* having endeavoured to contrive some moderation to the Court of *Rome's* usurpations, and to the confusion that was introduced in the distribution of Benefices, the Pragmatick Sanction was afterwards compos'd of the Decrees of those Councils: But the Popes perceiving their authority to diminish, made use of all sorts of artifices to abolish it; and by the Concordate made between King *Francis I.* and Pope *Leo X.* they regulated the manner of disposing of Bishopricks and Abbies: To the Pope was granted not only the devolution, but also the prevention and the power of admitting the resignations in favour, and many other articles that are very burdensome to the ordinary Collators, and absolutely contrary to the ancient Canons.

And indeed our Fore-fathers did for a long while complain against the Concordate. The Ordinance of *Orleans* did re-establish the Elections; and it would be very advantagious that all ecclesiastical matters were transacted in the Kingdom, without ever being obliged to have recourse to *Rome*.

In the sequel nevertheless the Concordate was sincerely executed on our part; and it is inconceivable that the Pope should now, through an invincible obstinacy, reduce us to deprive him of the profit, which the Court of *Rome* derives from a treaty, which is so much to its advantage.

The King is most religious, in nominating to the Prelacies Ecclesiasticks of an exemplary integrity, and of conspicuous merit; and because that these Ecclesiasticks do not believe that the Pope is infallible; that they do not like the *Italian* Doctors, attribute to him the title of universal Monarch; that they are persuaded he has no power, either direct or indirect, over the temporality of Kings, and that he is to all intents inferior to the Councils, that have a right to correct him, and to reform his Decisions. The Pope upon this imaginary pretence refuses them Bulls, and leaves the third part of the Churches of the Kingdom destitute of Pastors. Is this imitating the care and lenity of the Apostles in the government of the Church?

After all, before the Concordate, those that were elected by the Clergy and the People, and afterwards by the Chapters, in presence of one of the King's Commissioners; were they not ordained by the Metropolitan, assisted by the Bishops of the Province, after that the King had approved of their Election? The right acquired to the King by the *Concordate*, being authorized in this respect by the tacit consent of the whole *Gallican* Church, and confirmed by a possession of near two centuries, ought so much the less to receive any change and invasion, that during the first four ages of the Monarchy, they went not to *Rome* to demand institution and induction of Benefices: The Bishops dispos'd of all those that were vacant in their Dioceses; and our Kings did almost ever nominate to the Bishopricks; and as they sometimes granted the Clergy and the People the liberty of electing a Pastor, they often reserv'd the choice of him to themselves; he they had chosen was immediately consecrated, without the Pope's intermeddling in the matter. Who hinders us from following these examples, grounded upon this excellent reason, that the right, which all the Faithful had in the beginning of appointing themselves a Head, being no longer to be exercised in common, ought to pass into the power of the Sovereign, on whom the Subjects rely for the government of the State; of which the Church is the noblest part?

But

But as to the Pope; since he refuses to join the concourse of his Authority to the King's nomination, we may presume, that he means to discharge himself of the painful burden which overwhelms him; and that his infirmities not permitting him to extend his pastoral diligence over all the parts of the universal Church; the devolution that is made in case of negligence, sometimes even from the superiour to the inferiour, may authorize the Bishops to lay their hands on those that shall be nominated by the King to the Prelacies; his nomination having as much, or more effect, than the election of the People and the Clergy; which ought, without difficulty, to be confirmed by the immediate superiour, when an unworthy Person was not chosen.

And if the like resolution requires the being accompanied with some temperament; if it requires the Bishops concurrence; the King may be brought to convene the provincial Councils, or if need be, a national Council; therein to take resolutions suitable to the occasions of the *Gallican* Church.

And as the evil seems urgent, and that there would be possibly some danger in venturing upon the delays that are inseparable to the holding of a national Council, his Majesty may assemble such as he pleases of the principal Officers, of the Bishops, and considerable Persons of all the Orders of his Realm, to take their advice in so important an affair.

But it is not just, that while that the Pope refuses to execute the Concordate in one of its principal Articles, he does, nevertheless, enjoy the advantages that are granted him by that Treaty, which contains conventions reciprocally obligatory; that People continue to go to *Rome*, and thither carry Money, for the obtaining either the institutions of Benefices or Dispensations, that may be easily expediated in the Kingdom.

Now if we purpose to bring off this traffick, it is only because it ceases to be reciprocal; and because that the Pope by his obstinacy, interposing an invincible impediment to the expedition of the Bulls of a great number of Bishopricks: It would be a shame to suffer that the *Gallican* Church should remain burden'd with the yoke of prevention of resignations in favour, and of all the other servitudes whereunto *France* was content to submit by the Concordate.

And herein we do but faintly repel the injury that is done us: We oppose the Buckler of our liberties against a new and unexampled Enterprize, Calamity and Anathema, to those that out of interest or caprice, disturb the correspondence that ought to be between the Priest-hood and the Royalty, who seem to have no other aim than to raise a Schism in the Church, and by fatal divisions disturb the peace which all *Europe* enjoys, and which was procured to it by the valour and wisdom of our invincible Monarch.

But whatever endeavours those factious Spirits may use that possess the Pope and abuse the power which his great age and infirmities oblige him to give them in the Government of the Church, we shall ever remain inseparably united to the holy See, we will acknowledge St. *Peter's* Successor as the first and the chief of the Bishops, we will most religiously maintain the Communion and correspondence with the Church of *Rome*, and we will defend our selves with as much moderation as vigour against the Insults, Invasions, and Innovations contrary to the King's Rights, to the Dignity of his Crown, to the Decrees of the Councils, to the general Policy of our Church, and to our Liberties.

All these Reasons, and a world of others which we omit, oblige us to require that it would please the Court to admit us as appealing against the abuse of the Bull, dated in the Month of *May* last, and of the Ordinance

given in pursuance thereof: And upon our Appeal, to declare the said *Bull* and Ordinance void and abusive; making Prohibition to all Persons, of vending them in the Kingdom, on pain of being proceeded against according to the severity of the Law; enjoining all those that have copies of them, to bring them to the Register of the Court, in order to their being suppressed: As likewise, to order that the Act of Appeal, made by the Attorney General to the future Council, be register'd in the Register of the Court: That the King shall be most humbly besought to employ his Authority for the maintaining of the Franchises, and the immunity of the Quarters of his Ambassadors at *Rome*, in the whole extent that they have hitherto had: Moreover that his Majesty may be humbly desired to order the holding of provincial Councils, nay and of a national Council, if need be, or the Assembly of the Nobles of his Realm; and after having heard their advice to chuse the means he shall reckon most fitting, for the hindring the disorders which the vacancy of so many Arch-Bishopricks and Bishopricks in the Kingdom do produce, and prevent the increase and progress of so dangerous an evil. We farther require that the King be also most humbly besought to forbid his Subjects to have any Commerce in the mean while with *Rome*, and of sending any Money thither, and in this to interpose his Authority as far as he shall judge convenient, and that it be order'd by the Court that the Arrest that shall intervene upon our present Conclusions, shall be affix'd in the publick places, and every where as shall be needful in the wonted manner.

The King's Council being withdrawn, a copy being perus'd, printed at *Rome*, of a Bull concerning the *Franchises* of the Quarters of the said Town, and of the following Ordinance of *December 26.* last, together with the Act of Appeal put into the future Council by the King's Attorney General the 28th of this Month, and the Conclusions by him taken in writing, the matter being brought under debate.

The Attorney General's appealing from the abuse of the said *Bull*, and of the following Ordinance on the 26th of *November* last, the Court admitted of the said Appeal, and declares the said Bull and Ordinance as null and abusive; prohibits all Persons whatsoever to vend them in the Kingdom, on pain of being proceeded against according to the severity of the Law; enjoining those that have copies of them to bring them to the Register of the Court, there to be suppressed; orders that the Act of Appeal put in by the King's Attorney General to the future Council, shall be registred in the Register of the Court, and that the King shall be most humbly desired to employ his Authority for the maintaining the Franchises and Immunities of the Quarters of his Ambassadors in the Court of *Rome*; in the whole extent they have hitherto had, to order the holding of provincial Councils, or even of a national Council, or an Assembly of the Nobles of his Kingdom, so to advise about the most suitable means for the remedying the disorders which the long vacancy of several Archbishopricks and Bishopricks, has therein introduced, and to prevent the progress and encrease of them, and in the mean while to forbid his Subjects in such manner as the said Lord the King shall judge convenient to have any Commerce, or remit any Money into the Court of *Rome*. And this present Arrest to be affix'd in the publick and usual places of this Town, and every where as shall be needful. Done in Parliament on the 23^d of *Jan.* 1688.

Sign'd

Jacques.

Act

Act of the Appeal put in by the Attorney General to the Council upon the Subject of the Pope's Bull, concerning the Franchises in the City of Rome, and of the following Ordinance on the 26th. of December last.

BEfore the under-written Apostolical Notary was present in his own Person, *Messire Achilles de Harlay*, Counsellor of the King in his Council of State, and his Majesty's Attorney General, who in the Presence, and by the Advice and Counsel of *Messire Denis Talon* and of *Messire François Criteau de la Moignon* also, Counsellors of the King in his Council of State, and his Advocates General in his Court of Parliament, has declared that having some time since seen copies of a Bull given on the 12th of May last past, by our holy Father Pope *Innocent XI.* concerning the Franchises which certain Persons are in possession of enjoying in the City of *Rome*; he could not have imagined that his holiness could have conceived the design of comprehending the Ambassadors which the King was willing to send to him, in the general Menaces of Excommunication which he judg'd convenient to insert therein, contrary to the use observed by other Popes in the *Bulls* made by them; and he hoped that if the remembrance of the sovereign Power which the Kings, his Majesty's Predecessors, exercised in *Rome*, of their liberalities to the holy See, and of the protection they gave to several Popes, could not induce this Pope to cause to be rendered to the King in the Persons of his Ministers, Honours and Testimonies of acknowledgment proportionable to his Bounties; at least his Holiness as visible head of the Church; would not be insensible to the Prodigies which the King had perform'd before his Eyes for the re-uniting in the bosom of this good Mother so vast a number of Children that were gone astray from her; that he would be affected with the Piety of this Prince, and the powerful protection he continually gives to Prelates, tho' he was not with his Victories and Power; and that he would not enter into dispute with him about Rights that had not suffered any Invasion, even for several years under his Popedom.

But being informed that his Holiness had given order to the Cardinal that is his Vicar in *Rome*, to declare the Church of *St. Lewis* of the said City, and the Ecclesiasticks that officiate in it, interdicted for having admitted to the participation of the holy Mysteries and Sacraments on the night wherein is celebrated the Solemnity of our Lord's Nativity, *Monsieur le Marquis de Lavardin* the King's Ambassador extraordinary to his Holiness, and that it was supposed by the Ordinance delivered upon this Subject, that he was notoriously excommunicated for pretended Contraventions to this Bull; the said Attorney General did not think that he could without being wanting to his duty, remain any longer in the silence he had hitherto kept.

Now if the matter which has given an occasion to so great an excess, did concern the ecclesiastical Jurisdiction which belongs to the Pope, he would easily shew the errors that have been committed by proceeding against a Person that has not been particularly specified in that Bull, to whom the state of matters has not been signified since his being at *Rome*; who might be ignorant of them in *France*, where it was not publish'd; that the Pope could not condemn him as an Ambassador tho' his character ought to secure him from those Thunders, in regard of his functions, yet his holiness would not so much as hear or own him in that quality, whatever Addresses he has caus'd to be made for that purpose; and that in fine, the very rules

of the Canon Law require that Persons of so eminent a Dignity, as is that of his, should be pointed out by name in Bulls of that nature, before they can incur the Penalties they utter.

But that the Pope in a matter purely temporal, as are these Franchises of the King's Ambassadors, having made use of the spiritual Arms, which he is only intrusted withall for the conduct and edification of the Church, and having constituted himself Judge in his own Cause, the excommunication which his Holiness's Cardinal Vicar declares to have been incurr'd, is so null, that there is no occasion for any Proceedings to annihilate it; and those that are therein comprehended, ought not to receive absolution, though it were even offered them at their own Homes.

And indeed the said King's Attorney General does with all the *French* expect from his Majesty's single power the reparation which these Proceedings challenge, and the conservation of those Franchises which only depend on the Judgment of God, as all the Rights of this Crown; and which can admit of no diminution but such as the King's Moderation and Justice may give them.

But as nothing can contribute more to lessen in the minds of shallow Persons and Libertines the veneration which People ought to have for the Power of the Church, than the ill use which its Ministers may make of it; the King's said Attorney General declares, that he is appealing, as indeed he appeals by the present Act, from the abusive use that is made of it in the said *Bull* and Ordinance, not to our holy Father Pope *Innocent XI.* better informed, so as has been practised in respect of some of his Predecessors; when that they had true ideas of their Power, and their years allowed them to act of themselves; there might be hopes that in time they would be brought to know the justice and truth of the complaints that were brought before them; and that neither the preventions in favour of their Country, nor the partialities of those they honoured with their trust, did not prevail over the obligations which the quality of common Father of all Christians does impose.

Protesting to carry on this his said Appeal upon this grievance, and upon the others, which he reserves to represent to the first general Council that shall be held, as the Tribunal truly sovereign and infallible of the Church, to which its visible Head must submit, as well as its other Members; and therein to further among other things a regulation that shall prevent the employing so holy an Authority in uses so far from those for which it was confided in the Church in the Person of St. *Peter*; this may make the Pope be mindful, that God having separated the two Powers of the Priesthood, and of Empire, his Holiness cannot make use of the Authority of the first for the Rights that depend on the second; that according to temporal Laws he ought to possess those large Territories which his Predecessors have received from the liberality of temporal Princes, and particularly from that of our Kings, and that in short, he would consider upon a truth which a great Arch-bishop in *France* wrote to one of his Predecessors; that a Prelate that excommunicates a Christian contrary to the Rules, and for Rights of a Kingdom of the Earth, may, in such an occasion well lose the Power of binding and unbinding which his character gives him; but that he cannot deprive of eternal life him to whom he does this injustice, if his sins do not render him unworthy of the Mercy of God. Of which the said Attorney General has required of us as an Act. Done in the Court, in the presence of the King's Council, on the 22^d day of *January*, in the year 1688.

Monseigneur Sin. Not.

Printed at Paris by Francis Muquets, the King and his Parliament's chief Printer, Street le Harp, 1688. With his Majesties Privilege.

Numb. III.

*Cleri Gallicani de Ecclesiastica Potestate Declaratio. A. D. 1682.**The Declaration of the Gallican Clergy, concerning the Ecclesiastical Power in the Year 1682.*

I. **B**Eato Petro, ejusque successoribus Christi Vicariis, ipsique Ecclesiæ, rerum spiritualium & ad æternam Salutem pertinentium non autem civilium ac temporalium à Deo traditam Potestatem, dicente Domino, *Regnum meum non est de hoc Mundo.* Et Iterum, *Reddite quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, & quæ sunt Dei Deo,* ac proinde stare Apostolicum illud: *Omnis Anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit. Non est enim potestas nisi à Deo. Quæ autem sunt, à Deo ordinatæ sunt.* Itaque qui potestati resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit. Reges ergo & Principes in Temporalibus nulli ecclesiasticæ potestati Dei ordinatione subjici, neque auctoritate clavium Ecclesiæ directè vel indirectè deponi, aut illorum subditos eximi à Fide, atque Obedientiâ, ac præstito Fidelitatis Sacramento solvi posse: Eamque sententiam publicæ Tranquillitati necessariam, nec minùs Ecclesiæ quàm Imperio utilem, ut Verbo Dei, Patrum Traditioni, & Sanctorum Exemplis consonam omnino retinendam.

II. Sic autem inesse Apostolicæ Sedi, ac Petri successoribus Christi Vicariis rerum spiritualium plenam potestatem, ut simul valeant atque immota consistent sanctæ œcumenicæ Synodi Constantiensis à Sede apostolicâ comprobata, ipsorumque Roma-

I. **T**hat God gave to St. Peter and his successors Vicars of Christ, and to the Church her self the power of spiritual things pertaining to eternal Life, but not of civil and temporal matters. For the Lord said, My Kingdom is not of this World. And again, Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's. And therefore that of the Apostle must stand: Let every Soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God; whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. Therefore Kings and Princes are not subject, in Temporals, to any ecclesiastical power, by the ordinance of God, neither can they, by authority of the keys of the Church, directly or indirectly, be depos'd, or their Subjects absolv'd from their Faith and Obedience, and oath of allegiance which they have taken: And this is to be firmly retain'd, as necessary to the publick Peace, and not less useful to the Church than to the State, as being consonant to the Word of God, the Tradition of the Fathers, and Practice of the Saints.

II. But that the full power of spiritual things is so in the apostolical See, and the successors of Peter, the Vicars of Christ, that the Decrees of the holy and œcumenical Council of Constance, concerning the authority of general Councils, which

norum Pontificum, ac totius Ecclesiæ usu confirmata, atque ab Ecclesiâ Gallicanâ perpetuâ Religione custodita decreta de autoritate Conciliorum generalium, quæ Sess. 4. & 5. continentur: Nec probari à Gallicanâ Ecclesiâ, qui eorum decretorum, quasi dubiæ sint autoritatis, ac minùs approbata, robur infringant; aut ad solum Schismatis tempus Concilii dicta detorqueant.

III. Hinc apostolicæ potestatis usum moderandum per Canones, Spiritu Dei conditos & totius mundi reverentiâ consecratos; valere etiam Regulas, Mores & Instituta à Regno & Ecclesiâ Gallicanâ recepta, Patrumque terminos manere inconcussos; atque id pertinere ad amplitudinem apostolicæ Sedis, ut statuta & consuetudines tantæ Sedis, & Ecclesiarum consensione firmatæ propriam stabilitatem obineant.

IV. In Fidei quoque quæstionibus præcipuas summi Pontificis esse partes, ejusque Decreta ad omnes & singulas Ecclesias pertinere; nec tamen irreformabile esse judicium, nisi Ecclesiæ consensus accesserit.

are contain'd in the fourth and fifth Sessions, approved by the apostolical See, and confirmed by the use of the Popes of Rome themselves, and the whole Church, and kept with perpetual veneration by the Gallican Church, should likewise remain of force and unshaken: Nor are they approved by the Gallican Church, who would infringe the strength of these decrees, as if they were of doubtful authority or less authentick, or who would rest the words of the Council only to the time of Schism.

III. Hence the use of apostolical power is to be moderated by the Canons, framed by the Spirit of God, and consecrated by the veneration of the whole world: And likewise the Rules, Customs, and Institutions which have been receiv'd by the Kingdom and Gallican Church are to be in force, and the bounds of our Fathers to remain unshaken: And that this is for the eminence of the apostolical See, that the statutes and usage of so great a See, and establish'd by the Consent of the Churches, should obtain their proper stability.

IV. The Pope likewise has the chief part in questions concerning the Faith, and his Decrees have respect to all and singular Churches: But nevertheless his judgment is not irreformable, except the consent of the Church go along with it.



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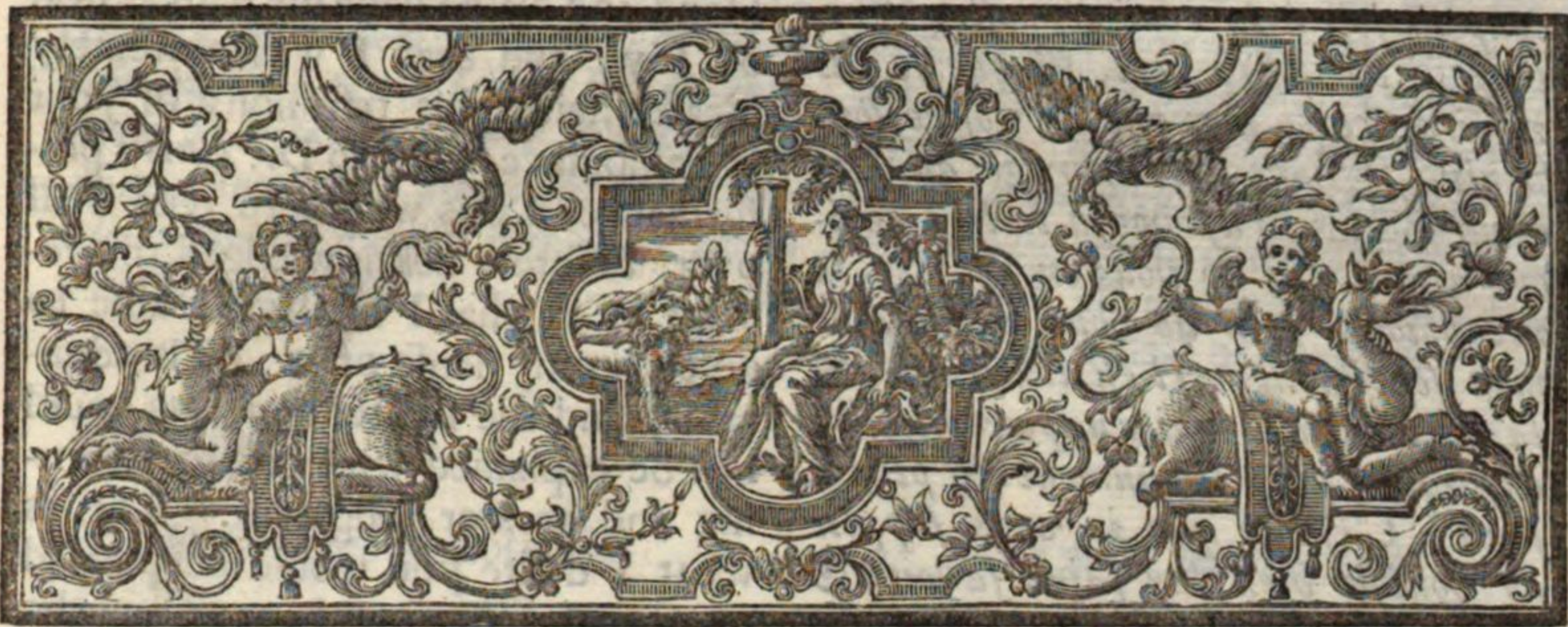


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T H E
T R U E N O T I O N
O F T H E
Catholick Church,

In A N S W E R to the Bishop of *Meaux's* L E T -
T E R to Mr. *Nelson*: To which is prefix'd
the L E T T E R itself.

T H E
L E T T E R.

A Monsieur *Nelson* à *Blackheath*.

✠
A *St. Germain en Laye*, 24 Juil. 1700.

**J'Y receu, Monsieur,
depuis quinze jours
une Lettre, dont vous
m'honorez de *Black-*
heath auprès de *Lon-*
dres, le 18 Juillet de l'année passée en
m'envoyant un Livre du Docteur
Bullus, intitulé, *Judicium Ecclesiæ***

To Mr. *Nelson* at *Blackheath*.

✠
St. Germain en Laye, 24 July, 1700.

I Received, Sir, about a
fortnight ago the ho-
nour of your Letter
from *Blackheath* near
London, dated the 18th
of July of the last Year, when at the
same time you sent me Dr. *Bull's*
Book, entituled, *Judicium Ecclesiæ*
7 F Catho-

Catholicæ, &c. Je vous dirai d'abord, Monsieur, que je ressentis beaucoup de joie à la venue de vostre écriture & de vostre nom, & que je fus ravi de cette marque de vostre souvenir. Quant à l'Ouvrage du Docteur Bullus, j'ay voulu le lire entier, avant que de vous en accuser la reception; afin de vous en dire mon sentiment. Il est admirable, & la matiere qu'il traite ne pouvoit estre expliquée plus sçavamment & plus à fond. C'est ce que je vous supplie de vouloir bien luy faire savoir, & en mesme temps les sinceres congratulations de tout le Clergé de France, assemblé en cette ville, pour le service qu'il rend à l'Eglise Catholique en defendant si bien le jugement qu'elle a porté sur la necessité de croire la divinité du Fils de Dieu. Qu'il me soit permis de luy dire qu'il me reste un seul sujet d'étonnement: C'est qu'un si grand homme qui parle si bien de l'Eglise, du salut que l'on ne trouve qu'en son unité, & de l'assistance infallible du St. Esprit dans le Concile de Nicée, ce qui induit la mesme grace pour tous les autres assemblez dans la mesme Eglise, puisse demeurer un seul moment sans la reconnoistre. Ou bien, Monsieur, qu'il daigne me dire comme a un zélé défenseur de la Doctrine qu'il enseigne, ce que c'est donc qu'il entend par ce mot Eglise Catholique? Estce l'Eglise Romaine, & celles qui luy adherent? Estce l'Eglise Anglicane? Estce un amas confus de Societez separées les unes des autres? Et comment peuvent elles estre ce Royaume, de J. C. non divisé en luy mesme, & qui aussi ne doit jamais perir? Que je serai consolé d'avoir sur ce sujet un mot de responce, qui m'explique le sentiment d'un si grave Auteur. Je suis tres aise, Monsieur, d'attendre dans vostre Lettre l'heureuses nouvelles de la santé de Madame vostre Femme que je recommande de bon cœur à Dieu avec vous & vostre Famille. Ceux qui vous ont raconté les rares talens de M. l'Archevesque de Paris aujourd'hui le Cardinal de Noailles, vous ont dit la verité, il

Catholicæ, &c. I must first, Sir, acquaint you, that the sight of your Hand and Name gave me a great deal of Joy, and that I was extremely pleased with this testimony of your remembrance. As to Dr. Bull's performance, I was willing to read it all over, before I acknowledged the receipt of it, that I might be able to give you my sense of it. 'Tis admirable, and the matter he treats could not be explained with greater Learning and greater Judgment. This is what I desire you would be pleased to acquaint him with, and at the same time with the unfeigned congratulations of all the Clergy of France, assembled in this place, for the Service he does the Catholick Church in so well defending her determination of the necessity of believing the Divinity of the Son of God. Give me leave to acquaint him, there is one thing I wonder at, which is, that so great a Man, who speaks so advantageously of the Church, of Salvation which is obtain'd only in Unity with her, and of the infallible assistance of the Holy Ghost in the Council of Nice; which infers the same assistance for all others assembled in the same Church; can continue a moment without acknowledging her. Or either, Sir, let him vouchsafe to tell me who am a zealous defender of the Doctrine he teaches, what it is he means by the term *Catholick Church*? Is it the Church of Rome, and those who adhere to her? Is it the Church of England? Is it a confus'd heap of Societies separated the one from the other? And how can they be that Kingdom of Christ not divided against it self, and which never shall perish? It would be a great Satisfaction to me to receive some answer upon this Subject, that might explain the opinion of so weighty and solid an Author. I very much rejoice at the good News you send me of your Lady's welfare, whom I heartily pray for, with you and your Family. You have been rightly inform'd in the account you have receiv'd of the admirable qualifications of the Archbishop

y a long temps que la chaire de St. Denis n'a esté si dignement remplie. Si M. Collier dont vous me parlez, a fait quelque écrit Latin sur la nouvelle Spiritualité vous m'obligerez de me l'envoyer. Mais sur tout n'oubliez jamais que je suis, avec beaucoup de sincerité,

of Paris, now Cardinal de Noailles; the See of St. Denis has not for a long time been so worthily filled. If Mr. Collier whom you mention has writ any thing in *Latin* concerning the modern mystical Divinity, you will oblige me in conveying it to me. But above all remember, that I am with a great deal of sincerity,

Monfieur,

Sir,

Vostre tres-humble, &

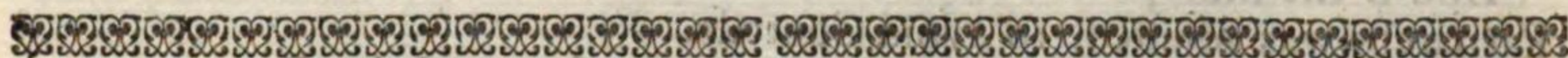
Your most humble, and

tres-obeissant Serviteur,

most obedient Servant,

✠ J. Benigne, E. de Meaux.

✠ J. Benigne, Bishop of Meaux.



T H E

A N S W E R.

My LORD,

WE are ready with great chearfulness to let your Lordship know what we mean by the catholick Church.

We do esteem every Bishop, with his College of Presbyters and Deacons, and the Laity of his District, to be a particular Church, wherein the Bishop presides, as representing the Person of *Christ*, and to be the Principle of Unity in his Church, as *St. Ignatius* speaks.

And we think with *St. Cyprian*, (in his 68 Epist. to Pope *Stephen*, Edit. Oxon.) *Iccirco enim, Frater charissime, copiosum est Corpus Sacerdotum, concordiae mutuae glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut si quis ex Collegio nostro Hæresin facere, & Gregem Christi lacerare & vastare tentaverit; subveniant ceteri, & quasi Pastores utiles & misericordes, oves Dominicas in Gregem colligant.* Therefore, most dear Brother, there is a very large Body of Bishops joined together in the Cement of mutual Concord in the Bond of Unity, that if any of our College attempt to make a Schism, and rend, and destroy the Flock of *Christ*, the rest should assist, and like good and merciful Pastors reduce the Lord's (wandering) Sheep unto the Flock.

Hence all particular Churches, that is, every Bishop with his proper Flock, make up the whole, which is the Catholick Church.

And all these are one Flock, one Church to *Christ*, as *St. Cyprian* speaks, Ep. 55. *Cum sit à Christo una Ecclesia per totum Mundum in multa Membra divisa; ita Episcopatus unus, Episcoporum multorum Concordi Numerositate diffusus: As there is one Church of Christ distinguished into many Members through the whole World; so there is one Episcopacy of a great united number of many Bishops diffused (through that one Church.)*

And again, de Unit. Eccles. *Episcopatus unus, cujus à singulis, in solidum,*

dum, pars tenetur. There is one Episcopacy, of which part is committed to every Bishop in full. Your Lordship knows, in *Solidum*, is a Lawphrase, and signifies, that part of this one Episcopacy is so committed to every single Bishop, that he is nevertheless charged with taking care of the whole Church.

To maintain and regulate this concord and correspondence of the Bishops among themselves, they dispos'd of themselves into Provinces, and chose one Bishop of the Province to preside in their Councils when they met, with some particular Jurisdictions in the intervals, such as they thought fit, for the better regulation of the whole; but without the infringement of the Power of each Bishop within his own Diocese.

And as every Province of Bishops had such a Metropolitan, so when the several Provinces of one Nation or Kingdom met, they had a Primate or Metropolitan of the whole Nation or Kingdom; still saving the Rights of the particular Metropolitans.

And when there shou'd be occasion for the Bishops of several Nations to meet, they had a Patriarch; still saving the Rights of the particular Primates, Metropolitans, and Bishops, each in their own Districts.

And if the Bishops of several Patriarchates met, the Precedence of these Patriarchs was adjusted, to avoid Contests.

But this disposition was only among the Bishops of the *Roman* Empire, who might the more conveniently do it, as being all under one Emperor; and therefore, with his allowance, might meet in any place of his Empire.

This Empire was call'd *Οικουμένη* whence a general Council of the Bishops of the Empire took the Style of *Oecumenical*.

But there were many great and numerous Churches in *India*, and afterwards in the vast Empire of the *Abyssins* in *Africa*, which not being under the *Roman* Empire, never came to these Councils, nor indeed cou'd come. Neither cou'd they all meet together, having little or no correspondence together, because of the vast distance, and their not being under one Emperor, who might give them safe conduct, and protect them when together.

The first place among the Patriarchs of the *Roman* Empire was given to the Bishop of *Rome*, that being then the Seat of the Empire.

But sometime after the Seat of the Empire had been translated to *Constantinople*, the Bishop of that See took the Primacy to himself, pretending to be the universal Bishop over the whole Catholick Church. This was the first time that the Pretence was ever set up. And your Lordship knows very well the opposition which was given to him in this by *Gregory the Great*, then Bishop of *Rome*; who told him, That the See of *Rome* had the Preference to his in former Councils, and yet that none of his Predecessors, Bishops of *Rome*, did ever assume to themselves such an arrogant Title. He compares the Bishops to the Stars of God, and says, That whosoever sought to advance his Throne above these, did in that imitate the Pride of *Lucifer*, and was the fore-runner of *Anti-Christ*: And applies this to *John*, then Bishop of *Constantinople*, *Cum se penè per Orbem universum οικουμένην Patriarcham nominaret.* Here was a *penè*, so that it shou'd seem as if he set himself up only as head over all the Bishops in the *Roman* Empire. We do believe that your Lordship, and the whole *Gallican* Church, will readily agree with this reasoning of the same *Gregory*, that *Si unus Episcopus vocatur Universalis, Universa Ecclesia corrui, si unus universus cadet*: And he says, *Absit à cordibus Christianorum Nomen istud Blasphemiae, in quo omnium Sacerdotum Honor adimitur, dum ab uno sibi dementer arrogatur.* I refer your Lordship for this, and much

more

more to the same purpose, to his Books of Epistles, *Lib. IV. Ep. 32, 33, 34, 36, 38, Lib. VI. Ep. 24, 28, 30, 39. Lib. VIII. Ep. 30. Lib. XI. Ep. 45.*

And now, my Lord, when we saw such an universal Supremacy set up at Rome, which Gregory the Great call'd Blasphemy and Madness; and that enforc'd upon us, as of Faith, the *Summa Rei Christianæ*, as Cardinal Bellarmine calls it, *Præf. ad Lib. de Rom. Pont.* and says, L. I. 10. *Est enim revera non simplex Error, sed perniciofa Hæresis negare B. Petri Primatum à Christo institutum*; and from thence this universal Primacy of the Pope, as Successor to St. Peter; was it not time then, my Lord, to stand up against it?

Your illustrious Church has done it as well as we, in your memorable Decrees made in your general assembly, *An. 1682.* with this difference, That you only limit his Supremacy, whereas we have withdrawn our selves from under it. You say there, *Hinc Apostolicæ potestatis usum moderandum per Canones—valere etiam Regulas, Mores, & Instituta à Regno & Ecclesiâ Gallicanâ recepta, Patrumque terminos manere inconcusos.*

Now we beseech your Lordship to help us to understand, who has power to limit a Supremacy founded by Christ? Do you assert the liberties of the Gallican Church only as Concessions granted you by the Pope? Or, as your original Rights, and never justly under his power? The latter, I suppose, you stand upon. Then his Supremacy is not absolute. And where shall we find the limitations? And who is judge of these limitations? If any other than the Pope, they are superior to him, who is the supreme.

But then it may be said to us, Why do we not allow to the Patriarch of Rome the dignity of that Primacy, which we own to have been affix'd to his See by the Canons, and consent of so many Bishops.

1. Because he will not be content with it: But claims more, even an universal Supremacy over the whole Catholick Church. And that not *Jure Ecclesiastico* only, from the agreement and consent of his fellow Bishops, but *Jure Divino*, from the immediate disposition of our Lord Christ; and to that end, quotes several texts of Scripture, which we think, with the ancient Fathers, infers no such thing.

2. Because he pretends not only to a Primacy of Order, but to an absolute and unlimited sovereignty over all the Bishops in the World, whom he would have to be his Subjects, instead of his Collegues: And this we think does totally subvert that Disposition and Government of the Church, in which our Lord and his Apostles left it, and as it was understood and practised in the first and purest ages. Therefore we think we should be Traditors of the sacred *Depositum*, if we should give way to it, especially considering, That

3. From this Sovereignty and Supremacy, an infallibility in his Person has been infer'd, as the only Successor of St. Peter, and Heir of all the Promises and Privileges given unto him, superior to the Authority of all Councils, which derive their Power from him; and to determine of Faith as well as of Manners, as being the only living judge of Controversy, always in being; insomuch that Cardinal Bellarmine is forc'd to affirm that it is impossible the Pope should err, for this absurdity he says would follow, *Si autem Papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur Ecclesia credere vitia esse bona, & virtutes malas, nisi vellet contra Conscientiam peccare*, de Rom. Pont. l. 4. c. 5. And more could not be said of Christ.

4. From all this has been infer'd an absolute and supreme temporal Power in him, even to depose Princes, and absolve their Subjects from their Allegiance, which is expressly vindicated to him in the 4th Council of *Lateran*, c. 3.

We know, my Lord, that in the *Gallican* Decrees of 1682, this Power of his to excommunicate Kings, is absolutely deny'd; as likewise, his infallibility: And he is there subjected to Councils, even to be deposed and excommunicated by them. And his Supremacy is limited, not only by the Canons of Councils, but by the Rules and Orders of every national Church.

But, my Lord, how can this bring us to own his Supremacy, even in the limited sense of the *Gallican* Church, when we know at the same time that he will not submit to it, nay that he stood out against it, till the necessity of Affairs pressing your King, in the last confederacy against him, the Bishops of *France* were forc'd to sign a retraction of these Decrees; till which time the Pope refused to preconize any of their Bishops. And your Lordship must know better than we do, that it was the Pope who set up the confederacy against *France*, chiefly upon the point of these Decrees. And the first Article of what was called, *The Resolution of the Princes, Allies, and Confederates, which was taken in the Assembly at the Hague*, February 4. 1691. was in these words, *That no Peace be made with Lewis XIV. till he has made Reparation to the holy See, for whatsoever he has acted against it; and till he annul and make void all those infamous Proceedings against the holy Father Innocent XI.*

And this was agreeable to the actings of his Predecessors. Particularly in *France*, whose learned Church always contested their Liberties, against the Plenitude of the papal Supremacy, which sought to swallow them up. And it is very observable, That tho' the Rebellion of the holy League in *France* lasted, during the Reigns of six Popes, every one of these Popes was for the League against the King. And Cardinal *Cajetan* Legate there for the Pope, in the year 1593, made this his main argument to justify that Rebellion, that so many Popes had concurr'd in it. This we are told by *D'Avila* in his History of the civil Wars of *France*, Lib. XIII. But I will trouble your Lordship no farther with instances of Popes fomenting Rebellions of Subjects against their natural Princes, and their deposing of Kings, on pretence of this their universal Supremacy. These things are well known to your Lordship. And we do believe, That the whole *Gallican* Church does abhor and detest such Doctrines.

But, my Lord, we do thus judge, That if the Pope will not be content with that Supremacy of Order, which was given to him, *jure only Ecclesiastico*, and as the first of the Patriarchs within the *Roman* Empire; but will assume a Supremacy over the whole Catholick Church, even of all Churches which never yet did own his Supremacy over them.

And withal will turn this Supremacy of Order, into an absolute and despotick Sovereignty, temporal as well as spiritual; with an infallibility of decision in himself, in all matters of Faith as well as Morals: And having practis'd all this for many ages, and been supported in it by the learned Writers of his side, as well as countenanc'd in it, at least, by several Councils of his calling; and will not to this day be brought to disown any of these pretences, nor to acknowledge that he has received this his Supremacy from any ecclesiastical Establishment of his Fellow-Bishops; but asserts it as of divine Right, and therefore unlimitable, and indefeasible: My Lord, we then judge, That he has truly forfeited that ecclesiastical Primacy given to him by the Canons. As if a Judge, the General of an Army,

Army, or President of the King's Council, should disown the King, or any Authority from him, and set himself up as King, and assume the regal style, it would be Treason in any to adhere longer to him, or to obey him on pretence of the Commission he formerly had from the King.

My Lord, we think it incumbent upon every Bishop of the Church to assert his own inherent Power, given to him by our Lord, and to restore the Discipline of the primitive Church, which leaves him supreme in his own Diocese, not hurt or infring'd in the least by the Regulations made among the Bishops themselves, for their mutual correspondence and management of the Affairs of the Episcopal College. We consider with St. Cyprian, Ep. 73. *Quàm periculosum sit in Divinis rebus, ut quis cedat Jure suo & Potestate.*

I am inclinable to believe, That if your Lordship in particular, and other Bishops in the Gallican Church were at liberty, each in his own district, to regulate such matters as you might do with a good conscience, things might be brought to bear so, from such a happy beginning of Reformation, as that tho' Men might differ in some particular opinions, as they always will, yet that terms of Communion might be adjusted between us, upon Catholick Principles, to the honour of God, and peace of his Church. And if such a Communion were begun, tho' but with a few Bishops, who would exert their just Power, it might bring the Church to that state in time, in which all good Men wish to see her. And if a Catholick Communion were restor'd, we should see again the primitive face of the Church. But no step can be made towards this, while the Pope's Supremacy ties up the Power of all other Bishops, in their own respective Churches. And we hardly expect that he will give way to any thing that will in the least infringe the Plenitude of his Supremacy. You have made an experiment of it, in your general Assembly of 1682. And if he will not suffer his Supremacy to be limited, and reduc'd to the standard of the ancient Canons, we can see no remedy, my Lord, but that it must be taken away. Why shou'd we have any hesitation to take that out of the way, which is the visible *Remora* to the uniting of all Christian Churches, and the restoring of Catholick Communion all the World over? To take that out of the way, which your Bishops of *France*, as well as those of the *Greek Church*, and ours in *England*, are fully convinc'd is an Usurpation? Against which, you have often struggled, and still do complain. But we have thrown it off, seeing no other way possible to get from under its Usurpation.

My Lord, I am satisfy'd that your Church and ours are nearer to one another, as to this point of the Supremacy, than you are with the Church, at least with the Court, of *Rome*.

We see, my Lord, the peace of the World better consulted by the divine Providence, in many independent Kings, than in one universal Monarch; whose Deputies, in far distant Regions, could never be kept from Revolts, as we have seen in great Monarchies, tho' none was ever yet universal. And betwixt a King and his Rebels, there is no interposing by his Subjects; it would justly render such suspected who should argue on the Rebels side. Therefore the end must be extermination of the one, or the other. Whereas in disputes betwixt Kings, other Kings may interpose their mediation, and become Guarantees of Peace.

And yet the whole World is one Kingdom to God, as it is written, *Psal. xxi. 29. Domini est Regnum, & ipse dominabitur Gentium.* How vain then wou'd the dispute be betwixt any of these Nations, suppose *France Spain, or England*, which of them were this one Kingdom, when each of them, tho' greater than any other Kingdom of the Earth, would still be but a part of this one Kingdom?

Such,

Such, my Lord, we esteem the dispute to be betwixt particular Churches; which of them is the Catholick Church? We must say, none of them; tho' one be much greater and more potent than another, yet it is still but a part of the whole.

And as God has appointed no universal Monarch, neither has he an universal Bishop. And all the Arguments which an universal Bishop cou'd use for Unity and Peace, and to end Controversies, might be us'd by an universal Monarch; and both prove equally fallacious, to the greater disturbance rather than settlement of that Peace.

But as our Faith is dearer to us than our Lives, so the mischief wou'd be greater, if the whole Church shou'd be made to depend upon one; for then, *Universa Ecclesia corrui, si unus Unversus cadit*. And if the Church falls, the Faith which is built upon it must fall with it. This oblig'd the Popes when they set up for universality, to assert infallibility to themselves likewise; because indeed, less than that cou'd not support so vast a charge, as that of the whole Catholick Church. But since their infallibility is fallen at least in *France*, we think it strange that their universality shou'd survive it. An universality which never yet was in fact! Never own'd by the Catholick Church, or any Churches out of the bounds of the Western Empire; nor intended, when first us'd in the Western Councils, to extend any farther.

How much safer has *Christ* consulted for his Church, than to put it all into the hands of one fallible Man? *Iccirco copiosum fecit Corpus Sacerdotum, ut si unus lacerare & vastare tentaverit, ceteri subveniant*; as in the case of *Paulus Samosatenus*. Thus the Peace of the World is preserv'd, and thus the Peace of the Church. And thus it is that God has dispos'd of both; whose foolishness is wiser than Men.

But your Lordship asks, how these several Churches can be that Kingdom of Jesus Christ, not divided in it self, and which can never fail? My Lord, our blessed Saviour has told us, That there will be divisions in his Church: And the experience of all ages has made it good. But if the meaning be, That Schismatics and Hereticks, who go out of the Church, are no longer of it; and so the Church, that is, those who remain, are not divided; in this sense no Church can be divided, if but three or four were left. But, is a Church divided, when there is a Schism within her own Bowels; and Bishops and Anti-Bishops set up among those who are otherwise of the same Communion, Doctrine, and Worship? Your Lordship knows very well (without referring you to *Platina*,) how many Schisms of this sort have been in the Church of *Rome* from the time of *Cornelius* and *Novatian*, Popes and Anti-Popes set up against one another, and some of them lasting for many years together.

But if Schism does not divide a Church, then, my Lord, you have clear'd us, as to any Schisms among us, at the same time that you vindicate the Church of *Rome*: But with this difference, That where the whole Authority of a Church is center'd in one, as the supreme Head and Principle of Unity to all the Bishops and Churches which compose that one Church, there is a Schism concerning such an universal Head; and when several such Heads are set up together, in opposition to one another, the Schism must be much more fatal to the Unity of that Church, than where such a dispute falls out amongst co-ordinate and independent Bishops, united only in a Metropolitan or Primate of their own Option, and subjected to such Rules as are concerted among them, for the better regulation of their common Body. These two cases are as different as a division in our House of Lords, or Commons, who shou'd be their President or Speaker; wou'd differ from a division of the Nation, who shou'd be their King: To set up another King

is Treason; not so of a Speaker, or the President of any Court. A Metropolitan is but President of the Court of Bishops, chosen by themselves. But the Pope pretends to be King and Supreme: And two Popes are two Kings of the Church.

But now, my Lord, if all the Kingdoms in the World make one Kingdom to God, without any universal Vicar or Monarch under him, why should it be difficult to apprehend how all the Christian Churches make one Church to Christ, without any universal Bishop?

The Bishops, who are the Stars of God, (*Apoc. i. 20.*) and Princes of his Church, are, by the Rules of Catholick Communion (observ'd in the primitive Church, and which it is wish'd by all good Christians were restor'd) *Concordiæ mutuae glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulati*, more than the temporal Princes of the World are: Each of whose Power and Authority reaches no farther than the extent of his own Dominions; his Sentence, whether of death, confiscation, &c. has no effect elsewhere. But by the Rules of Catholick Discipline, the Sentence of every Bishop in his own Church has its effect all the Christian World over; and every Bishop is oblig'd to maintain the Rights and Jurisdiction of every other Bishop: So that any Person justly excommunicated by his proper Bishops, stands excommunicated from all other Bishops and Churches, and consequently from the Catholick Church; and when absolv'd by his own Bishop, is thereby restor'd to the Peace and Communion of the Catholick Church. Because the whole Catholick Church is one Flock, in the Language of St. Cyprian, who says, *Ep. 67. Nam etsi Pastores multi sumus, unum tamen Gregem pascimus, & oves universas.* For though we be many Pastors, yet we feed one and the same Flock, in general all the Sheep (of Christ.) And, *Ep. 55. Singulis Pastoribus portio Gregis adscripta est, quam regat unusquisque & gubernet.* A share of the Flock, which every one is to rule and govern, is committed severally to single Pastors. And the difference of Discipline among Bishops, each in his own Diocese, does not at all break this Unity; concerning which he says, *Ep. 72. Cæterum scimus quosdam quod semel imbiberint, nolle deponere, nec Propositum suum facile mutare sed salvo inter Collegas, pacis ac Concordiæ vinculo, quædam propria, quæ apud se semel sint usurpata retinere. Quâ in re, nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut legem damus; cum habeat in Ecclesiæ administratione, voluntatis suæ Liberum Arbitrium unusquisque Præpositus, rationem sui Actus Domino redditurus.* But we know, that some will never part with what they have once imbibed, nor change their opinion, but keeping the Bond of Peace and Concord among their Colleagues, will retain some of their own practices, which they have once used. In which case, neither do we use unreasonable violence towards any, or give Laws to others, because every Bishop hath free liberty of acting according to his own Will in the Administration of the Church, as one who is to give an account of his own acting to the Lord. And therefore leaving every Bishop to the full Government of his own Diocese, according to his own will, only, *Salvo inter Collegas Pacis ac Concordiæ vinculo*, he impos'd not any thing by way of any Authority he had, upon any of the Bishops whom he call'd to Council at Carthage, but said, *Neque enim quisquam nostrum Episcopum se Episcoporum constituit: Neither doth any of us make himself a Bishop of Bishops.* He assum'd no more than as President of that College of Bishops, without thinking he had Power to interpose in the Government of any Bishop within his own Diocese.

It is said in the History of your Henry the Great, of France, That he had it in his thoughts to have erected a regal College of all the Christian Kings in Europe, by the consent of all the Kings, wherein all differences

among them shou'd be adjusted by common consent, and whoſo refus'd to stand to the decision of that College, shou'd be compell'd by the rest. But this was only to determine of differences among the several Kings, not to prescribe Laws for any King in his own Dominions: Nor did it give the President (whatever King shou'd be chosen President of that College,) any Power whatever in any of the other Kings Dominions. And if he shou'd assert it, and claim to be universal Monarch over all these Kingdoms, upon the account of his being President of the regal College, it wou'd be a manifest Usurpation, and ought to be oppos'd by all of these Kings, who shou'd no longer own him even as President: And his Arguments for Unity, and that all shou'd submit to him for Peace-sake, wou'd be very ridiculous.

That which your *Henry the Great* wish'd and endeavour'd to bring to pass, as to the greater Unity of Kings, was in great measure effected in the general Councils of the Bishops, within the compass of the *Roman Empire* in purer times; and might still be farther, in Councils more general, as the commerce of the World encreases, if the Supremacy of one did not hinder all others to attempt it.

Upon the whole, we think, That as all the Kingdoms of the World are one Kingdom to God; so, that the several Churches, which, according to the primitive constitution, are much more united than the principalities of the Earth, may be justly term'd one Catholick Church; and that without one universal Head or Sovereign upon Earth, which, as I have said, was never yet in fact; and if it were, wou'd be of fatal consequence to the Faith, and Unity of the Church, and that frame in which our blessed Lord and his Apostles left it.

And upon this pretended sovereignty of the Pope, we charge the Schism of those who have broke off from the subjection to their proper Bishops: For *Calvin* himself says, *Talem si nobis Hierarchiam exhibeant, in qua sic emineant Episcopi, ut Christo subesse non recusent, & ab illo tanquam Unico capite pendeant*—*Tum verò nullo non Anathemate dignos fatear si qui erunt qui non eam revereantur, summâque obedientiâ observent.* (*De Necessit. Eccles. Reformand.*) And *Beza* says, *Si qui sunt (quòd sanæ mihi non facile persuaseris) qui omnem Episcoporum Ordinem rejiciant, absit ut quisquam satis sanæ mentis furoribus illorum assentiatur.* (*Bez. ad Tract. de Minister. Evang. ab Hadrian. Sarav. Belg. Edit. c. 1.*) And says as to the Episcopacy of the Church of England, (*ibid. c. 18.*) *Fruatur sanè istâ singulari Dei providentiâ; & utinam sit illi perpetua.*

From hence, others have proceeded to throw off Episcopacy it self. But we see from what spring all these have flow'd. And from the Disease we discover the Remedy, which is, to restore the *Episcopatus vigorem*, the *Sacerdotii sublime fastigium*, as *St. Cyprian* calls the Power of every Bishop in his own district: Of which, *St. Ignatius* and the first Fathers spoke such great things, without so much as a hint of the sovereignty of one Bishop over the rest; which was a notion not known in those Ages.

We think the divine and apostolick Authority of the Episcopate, swallow'd up at *Rome*, in the sovereignty of the Pontificate: As the learned Arch-bishop of *Spalato*, *Marc. Anton. de Dom.* did observe, and in his *Concilium Profectionis*, gave it as the reason of his leaving that Communion, and joining himself to a Church where Episcopacy was free and primitive.

My Lord, what we plead for is the Restoration of the original Rights of Episcopacy in the Roman Communion: Where, tho' the name is retain'd, yet the Power is swallow'd up in one; without whom, none of the

the other Bishops have the freedom of their own Judgments left to them, or dare not exert it.

We shou'd then think the time for healing of Schism and Unity of the Church approaching, if the Bishops in her Communion wou'd think themselves at liberty, wou'd be persuaded that it was their duty, as answerable to God, to exert the full of their apostolical Authority, each in his own Diocese; where, as St. Cyprian says, *Ep. 59. Judex vice Christi cogitatur: He is to be esteem'd as Judge in the place of Christ.* And, *Ep. 68.* speaks of the Bishops in general, as *Gubernandæ Ecclesiæ Libram tenentes: Holding the balance of Church-Government.* If we cou'd treat with your Lordship in this style, and say with him, *Ep. 3. Cum pro Episcopatus vigore, & Cathedræ Authoritate, haberes Potestatem;* if you wou'd bear such Language from us, we shou'd hope a good effect: We might then come to understand one another better than we have done. But if your Lordship think not your self at liberty to make any Reformation in your own Diocese, even in things which you cou'd not only allow, but might desire were done; and which might have so blessed an effect, as the beginning of a Catholick Communion; we must then say with the great Father before named, *Ep. 59. Si ita res est—Etum est de Episcopatus vigore.*

But leaving all this to the good time and disposition of Providence, I shall think my self happy, and my pains abundantly recompens'd, if I may have afforded to a Man of your Lordship's character, learning, and sagacity, any clearer view of our Notions of the Catholick Church, than from your unacquaintedness with our Writings, have come to your Lordship's knowledge before.

I beg your Lordship's patience for one word more, as to what your Lordship says concerning *the infallible assistance of the Holy Ghost in the Council of Nice, and consequently in all such Assemblies of the same Church.* My Lord, we know of no such promise apply'd to Councils; nor to any particular Church: Several of whose Candlesticks have been remov'd, and others may. We doubt not the assistance of God's holy Spirit to every Man, and Assemblies of Men who seek his Glory, with an unfeigned Heart. But this grace may be resisted by Assemblies, as well as by private Men: Witness the second Council of *Ephesus*, and, as we maintain, the second Council of *Nice*.

My Lord, neither you nor we think, that Councils can add any one Article to the Creed, or take any away. But upon the arising of any new Heresy, a Council is the best Evidence of the Faith receiv'd in those Churches of which it is compos'd. Thus they are Witnesses and Guards of the Faith but neither the Authors nor Masters of it.

There never yet was, nor we believe ever will be, (and we think it not necessary that there shou'd be) a Council compos'd of Bishops deputed from all the Christian Churches in the World. And none other can be call'd truly universal.

But, blessed be God, all retain the foundation and summary of our Faith, that is, the Apostles Creed, as explain'd by the Council of *Nice*. And tho' some differ in the sense of some parts of it, yet they are not to be convinc'd by majority of Votes in a Council; but by laying before them the primitive Doctrine, built upon the holy Scriptures, and sufficiently attested and witnessed in the first and after-ages of the Church; and to shew the beginning and rise of Heresies, and that they were not from the beginning. So *Alexander*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, proceeded against *Arius*, by asking the Bishops assembled in Council, *Quis unquam talia audivit?* And all declaring that they had never heard of such a Doctrine before; it was therefore novel, and so to be rejected: Not from the Authority of the Council, but

but their undeniable Testimony, witnessed by all their Flocks, who constantly hear their Doctrine.

Every Bishop, as supreme in his own Church, and a Council of Bishops, assembled, may condemn such an Heresy, and forbid Communion with such and such, or not, as they shall find it most expedient for the saving of their own Flocks, and the general good of the Catholick Church. For this is matter of Discipline. And in this they have Authority, to which their Flocks ought to submit: And this they may alter, retain, or relax, according to the variation of times and circumstances. But the Faith they cannot alter, only bear witness to it; therefore in matters of Faith they have no Authority, properly speaking: For example, they have no Authority to determine, whether there be a God or not: Whether *Christ* is come in the Flesh: Whether he dy'd for the sins of Men: Whether the holy Scriptures are true: Whether we ought to receive the Creed. Their Negative in any of these points must be detested by all Christians. And these are the highest points of Faith, wherein they have no Authority, can determine nothing by their Authority, cannot make use of that topick to convince any Gain-sayer. For no Bishop, or Council of Bishops, can have any Authority but upon the supposition of a God, a *Christ*, of the truth of the holy Scriptures, whence they prove their Authority: And therefore none of these can stand upon their Authority. But the Church doth bear witness to the truth, and preaches, and preserves that Faith which was once deliver'd to the Saints; and in this sense is the pillar and ground of the truth, as the supporters and propagators of it, not the Authors of it, or having dominion over it. To convince us in which, it has pleas'd God to permit Councils, even those who have call'd themselves œcumenical, to fall into gross errors, as the fourth of *Lateran*, that enacted the deposing Doctrine, which both the *Gallican* and *English* Church think to be damnable, according to *Rom. xiii. 2*. And not only so, but œcumenical Councils have oppos'd and contradicted one another, have censur'd and condemn'd each other, as the second Council of *Ephesus* was condemn'd by the fourth general Council at *Chalcedon*.

Besides the dispute yet not determin'd, in the Church of *Rome*, where that infallibility of which your Lordship speaks, is plac'd: Whether in the Pope alone, as the only Successor of *St. Peter*, and Heir of the Promises made to him, of *Super hanc Petram—Tibi dabo Claves*, &c. as *Bellarmin*, and the Canonists and School-Men have contended: Or, whether in a Council, as superior to the Pope, according to the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*: Or, whether in neither of them separate, but only in both together: Or, lastly, (because of many objections even in that Scheme, some Popes and Councils having been against others,) whether this infallibility is to be look'd for only in the Church diffusive, as some of their Writers do assert. This uncertainty must render this infallibility utterly uncertain: Seeing it is the same, not to have a thing, as not to know where to find it. And none can embrace any one of these Schemes of infallibility, but he must oppose all the others, and consequently the greatest part (it may happen) of the Church of *Rome*, because there are so many odds against him. For none can hold to more than one of these Schemes, they being all so opposite to one another, that if any one of them be true, all the rest must be false; and, according to *Bellarmin* (as before quoted) heretical, as overthrowing the very *Summa rei Christianæ*.

And now, my Lord, you cannot think it strange, That we should be at a loss about this infallibility, when there is so great variety, and even contradiction among those who do assert it.

But tho' we think no Church to be infallible, yet we have an infallible assurance of the Faith, in it's being deliver'd down to us, by such an universal consent of all Ages and Churches, as that it was not in their Power, tho' they shou'd be suppos'd so wicked as to design it, at such vast distance, even where all correspondence was stopp'd, to have combin'd together and all agree in the self-same Doctrine, if it had not been the same which had been taught them from the beginning. And the rise of Heresies does rather confirm the truth of this; because such were found to be Novelties, and to go against this universal Tradition: Which whatever has, (according to the rule of *Vincensius Lirinensis*, *Quod semper, ubique, & ab omnibus*) we willingly receive; and what has not this evidence, we cannot admit as of Faith.

We rest fully satisfy'd and assur'd of *Christ's* Promise, that he will always preserve a Church to himself upon Earth, (tho' there is no Promise to *Rome*, *England*, or any particular Church,) against which the Gates of Hell shall not finally prevail. But we are told, that they will be permitted to make great inroads upon her, and she is represented to us, as persecuted in the Wilderness at some times.

God grant we may see her Restauration. And I am confident your Lordship will join with us in this Prayer, That the *ὁ καλέχων*, (whoever, or whatever it is,) *ἐν ἐκ μέσων ἡμῶν*. Amen.

Sept. 26. 1703.



Also a PREFACE, wherein is shew'd, that there is no Danger in asserting the divine and inherent Rights of the Church: But, on the other hand, that there is greater Security, and an indispensable Obligation to insist upon them.

If the Foundation be destroyed,
What can the Righteous do? Psal. ix. 3.

THE
CASE
OF THE
REGALE
AND OF THE
PONTIFICATE
STATED.
IN A
CONFERENCE
CONCERNING THE
Independency of the Church

Upon any Power on Earth, in the Exercise of her purely
SPIRITUAL POWER and AUTHORITY.

As likewise a DEFENCE of it, (in a SUPPLEMENT) being a REPLY to
an ANSWER lately Publish'd against it.

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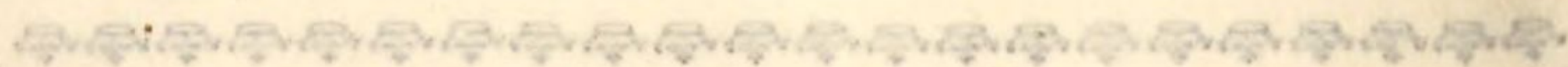
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P R E F A C E.

I. **S**INCE the first Edition of this Conference, the Present State of the Controversy, (which is the subject of Sect. X.) has receiv'd some Variation. There were then two Hypotheses, one of Dr. Hody, and some who follow'd him, not to justify the Regale in Lay-Deprivations; but containing Precedents of submitting to it, when we cou'd not help it, that is, when it was too strong for us, and so irresistible: Provided only, that the second Bishops put into the room of the depriv'd were Orthodox in the Faith. The other way taken by Dr. Wake, and which, I think, more generally obtain'd, was to keep more aloof from the cause, and go in the historical way of giving account of the Progress and Proceedure of the Regale in several Countries, more especially here in England; still happening to keep the byass on the side of the Regale, whereby one's own opinion is laid less open to objections, because it is not so expressly declar'd, and there is more room for defence; especially where some strictures are scatter'd up and down, looking towards the original and inherent Rights of the Church; which may serve, upon occasion, to explain other Passages, when taken in the opposite sense.

II. Since that time Dr. Atterbury has appear'd in opposition to Dr. Wake; and Dr. Kennet has reply'd in his defence. But this dispute is limited to the Laws of the Land, particularly as to Convocations, their right to meet, sit, act, &c. which depends

upon Records, Constitutions of Acts of Parliaments, and other Law-points.

I intend not to interpose in this dispute; only this use I have to make of it, that both Parties do now happily agree in the original and inherent Rights of the Church, deriv'd from Christ, as a Society distinct from, and independent upon the State, even when the State is Christian. This Dr. Kennet does frankly declare to be the chief end that mov'd him to write his Book, viz. To assert the nature of the christian Church, as a Society endowed with fundamental Rights, to preserve its own Being: And among these, a Right for the Governours to assemble, and agree upon the common measures of Faith and Unity, as at first independent on the Heathen, so even now on the Christian Magistrate; when the necessities of desertion, or persecution so require, Pref. p. 9. In such a case, (says he, in his Book, p. 98.) let the Church be true to Christ, and to the Powers she receiv'd from him. This is the original Right which we assert. And p. 109. The Bishop of each Diocess had an original right to convene his own Clergy, and with their advice and consent to ordain such rules and orders as were proper to declare the doctrine, and regulate the discipline of their own Body. And p. 197. That the christian Church was endowed, as a Society, with a divine right of preserving the Faith, and securing the discipline that should be necessary to hinder the gates of Hell from prevailing against her. In order to this end the Church Governors had authority to meet and consult of all urgent affairs; and when so assembled, their resolutions and decrees were thought declaratory of the sense of Scripture, and of sound Traditions; and were so far binding to the inferior Priests and People. And p. 201. That it was so in England as in other Churches. That from the time that Church Government was here established, our Bishops had a right of calling their own Clergy to a Synod, and to enter upon debates, and draw up rules and orders that should be binding within that special Jurisdiction. That this power was apparently exercis'd for some ages, to the times of Reformation, under Hen. VIII. when the submission of the Clergy made all diocesan meetings to be executive visitations, no longer legislative Synods. And that as every Bishop in England was thus supreme in his own Diocess; so that the English provincial Synods of Canterbury and York were called by their respective Metropolitans. And they both (says he, p. 202.) exercised this spiritual right, without recourse to the civil Magistrate; assembling their comprovincial Bishops and Clergy at their own time and place, and ordaining by their own ecclesiastical authority, even

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down to the Reformation. But then the submission transferred all power of convening provincial Synods from the Metropolitans to the King; and likewise alter'd the legality of Canons and Constitutions, before valid in Conscience and in christian Courts by the pure synodical authority, but now to be ratify'd and authorized by the regal Supremacy.

Whether this authorizing by the regal Supremacy is not to be understood only as to the civil authority added to the ecclesiastical Synods and Canons, as hereafter explain'd, Sect. ix. Or whether Dr. K. does not extend that submission too far, in the legal sense: Whether Dr. A's interpretation of it, or his must stand, I will not here dispute. But sure the most christian sense it will bear ought to be put upon it: For if it be meant, as here express'd by Dr. K. to alter the obligation of Conscience, as to the Canons of the Church, from our ecclesiastical Governors, to the secular, it is most anti-christian, and roots up at once the whole foundations of a christian Church. But we hope better things; for Dr. K. asserts, p. 83, 84. That Dr. Wake and his Friends are for the Church having inherent right to Convocations; and names that passage of his quoted in the Case, Sect. xvi. N. 3. to prove it, and says, I like these principles extremely well, and sure my Church of England Brethren all approve them.

And he quarrels with Dr. A— for not asserting of these original and independent rights of the Church; but standing wholly upon her legal Establishment, by the Constitution of our municipal Laws. He (that is Dr. A— says Dr. K. p. 107, 108.) claims no divine right. He quotes not one text for the divine right of Councils, or ecclesiastical Assemblies. He proposes no one reason for the necessity of such an inherent and original power in the Church. He does not labour to prove that christian Magistrates cannot retract, nor a national Clergy recede from antecedent rights— He waves the Christian, and acts only the Englishman.

I am sorry the Church of England is come to that pass, that to assert only her rights is to wave the Christian.

Have not our Laws confirmed to her all the rights belonging to a christian Church? If not, sure they should be mended.

Here appears the necessity of maintaining and keeping up principles, without putting the extreme cases of persecution or desertion: Those are invidious topicks, and no christian State will bear the reflexion,

If the independence of the Church, not only on heathen but christian Magistrates, be an original, inherent and divine right, with

He builds all upon the Nature of our Government, and the Constitution of our Church and Nation, as established by successive Laws, and confirm'd by perpetual practice.

with which Christ has invested her; it ought always to be maintain'd: Good Princes will be most willing to allow it: But if granted to them, others will not part with it; nor will they endure to have their encroachments upon the rights of the Church called either persecution or desertion: And they will always find time-servers and flatterers to support them in it: And those whose zeal would prompt them to oppose it, may be called hot Men, whose indiscretion might provoke the civil Government to have an evil eye upon the Church, and deprive them of the remainder of those civil rights which they enjoy.

Then it is hard to tell where we should stop, in case of such encroachments: Better bear this and the other, than hazard a breach with the State.

So that by this the Church must bear on without end: And perhaps all of the Clergy themselves may not agree when a stop is fit to be made: This will make divisions and animosities amongst them.

Besides, how can rights that are divine be given up? If they are divine, no human authority can either supersede or limit them.

If they are divine, it is Sacrilege to invade them, or to give them up; as it had been in Aaron, to have compounded for any part of that authority which God annexed to his Priesthood: And it had been greater Sacrilege (as in Korah, &c.) to have robb'd Aaron of his authority, than of his holy vestments, or the Temple or the Altar of any of their Utensils; for the consecration of Persons is more than of things, and God is more nearly represented in his Priests than in Temples made with hands.

Again, How can rights that are inherent be given up? If they are inherent, they are inseparable. The right to meet, to consult, to make rules or Canons for the regulation of the Society, is essential to every Society, as such; and consequently to the Church, as she is a Society. Can she then part with what is essential to her?

But however, the Province which Dr. A. did undertake, was not the original, or divine rights of the Church, but only the Constitution, as now by Law established; as he tells us in his Preface, p. 2. A learned adversary indeed has taken him (Dr. Wake) to task upon the general principles of Church Discipline and Government: But in the domestick part of the dispute, which relates to our own Laws and Usages, nothing has been said. And that is the reason he undertook it; therefore his not mentioning the other, which was not his subject, is no argument that

he wou'd it, or gave it up; he referred to it with an approbation of the Author, and consequently of the Subject.

But Dr. A. is accus'd for coming short, even as to the legal rights of the Church, and not desiring more than the Laws at present will bear.

Well then, they who lay this to his charge should be sure to go farther themselves than he has done, at least not to oppose him even in those smaller rights for which he contends.

III. But however they agree about these matters, I wish with all my heart they had put on more decency and moderation on both sides in the management, and forbore those personal reflexions, which are a deformity in such learned Tracts; wherein the latest is still most to blame, especially where he takes upon him to reprehend the same fault in another.

Dr. A's work had been more perfect if he had left out that charge of ignorance against Dr. W. His learned and former useful labours will clear him from this: Ignorance will not be his excuse, and therefore ought not to be his accusation.

And if Dr. W. had been more sparing in his censures of the present English Clergy, his Authority of Christian Princes had not been less acceptable.

Lastly, Dr. K. has, I believe, recommended himself but to a very few by the mal-treatment he has afforded to Dr. A. which I will not repeat, because I would have it die: It is only wit and passion, it fastens not upon him: And the marks of favour and approbation he has receiv'd for his work, not only from the Convocation and University, but also from the honourable House of Commons, shews that they had a different estimation of Dr. A. and his work, from what Dr. K. does represent them.

The difference betwixt their performances seems to be this, that Dr. A. design'd to retrieve some of those legal rights to the Church which were lost, particularly her right of meeting in Convocation, which had of late years been worn into disuse, and render'd wholly precarious; and has proved so successful in it, that to his Book chiefly we owe the present Convocation.

But in the managing of this he has dropt several expressions which are not tenable, as of desiring no more, &c. perhaps to smoothe the way towards obtaining of this that he asked, which will not justify, though it may in some sort mitigate the excesses that were meant for a good end.

As where he says, (1st Edit. p. 112.) The Statute of Submission is none of their (the Clergy's) grievances, nor do they ask or wish a repeal of it. This must pass for a compliment.

As likewise what he says of the Protestant Clergy, p. 113. Who have been more than once instrumental in shaking off yokes of every kind from the necks of Englishmen. This is liable to misconstruction, as if they had countenanc'd former Rebellions, in all of which the same pretences were made.

And p. 362. He leans too much to popularity on their behalf, as to the present Revolution, where he says, that none had been more instrumental than they in promoting the common deliverance. The expression is general, and the generality of them have not a good title to so great a boast. If he means those who chose to comply and submit, rather than to suffer, their numbers are indeed great; but as for those who had a hand in the promoting, contriving, and bringing about the Revolution, there are not I believe so many as a half dozen of the Clergy who have the honour to be suspected in it, or who were intrusted with the secret.

For, not to reckon upon the Archbishop, and eight other Bishops with him, (who were near the half of the then Bishops in the Kingdom) and betwixt three and four hundred of the inferior benefic'd Clergy, besides many others who are not known, who have stood their ground; this appears yet more in that reluctancy which many, and the most eminent of those who comply'd, did express in their swallowing the Oaths, with declarations, in a higher and lower sense, some sticking out to the last day, and some even after: Let Justice be done, and let not Posterity be imposed upon; let neither Clergy nor Laity share more either of reproach or glory than what they have deserved.

But bating such popular and unguarded expressions as these, the design of Dr. A's Book was clearly for the promoting the interest of the Church, and retrieving some of her lost legal securities.

Whereas on the other hand Dr. K. has expressions very full for asserting original and independent rights of the Church: But then he would not have them insisted upon, and gives them up. And the drift of his Book is to oppose those regal rights of the Church, which Dr. A. has set himself to maintain: Nor does Dr. K. set up other and better in the room of them; he only acts the part of an opponent.

And as to expressions of giving up, &c. and receding from rights, he seems to assert, Dr. K. needs excuse as well as Dr. A. and his reproaches do retort.

But I wish rather their disputes should turn upon the merit of the cause than upon those personal advantages they think they may gain

gain upon one another, as to expressions and manner of management, which serves more to expose both than to justify either.

Is it not possible for these great Men to differ without falling foul on one another?

But when Men of parts encounter let them undervalue one another's strength as they please, yet none can believe either of them. And undervaluing is not the heroical way: The more I give to my enemy, where he deserves it, it shews I am the less afraid of him, and renders my victory more manly wherein I overcome him.

If I should draw the displeasure of either, or both parties upon me, for this interposing, it is for what I thought a charitable office, and is capable of a good construction.

However, I willingly leave an unpleasing subject, personal contests and animosities: But I must take leave to reason freely upon the cause itself.

IV. There is one thing therefore which I would desire to be explain'd upon this head, which is, Dr. K's Request to his Brethren (at the end of his Preface, p. 12.) not to set up for independence, and another fatal separation, which none but our enemies (says he) can project or wish. I beg his assistance to understand this, for I would not willingly mistake another, or be misunderstood myself. I take the meaning to be, that we ought not to put the Church out of the protection of the State. That is agreed on all hands, if we can possibly help it, by any lawful means; for protection is better than persecution. But why should independence do this? Or why should that infer a separation betwixt the Church and the State? Suppose the Church were independent upon the State, as to her purely spiritual power and authority, as Dr. K. does allow she originally and inherently is; this would make a separation of her power from that of the State, but no separation of Communion, it would cement the Communion much more strictly; nor would it exempt the members of the Church from being likewise members of the State, and answerable to the State in all civil matters; so that here is no separation on that side.

Therefore I suppose Dr. K's meaning to be, that if the Church should set up for independency, the State would never bear it, and so withdraw their protection, and persecute the Church.

If this be the meaning, it seems too severe a reflexion upon any christian State, to suppose that they will rather persecute the Church of Christ than suffer her to enjoy those original and inherent rights, with which Christ our blessed Saviour did invest her; besides

besides that, (as shewed hereafter, Sect. V.) it is more for the security and interest of the State to have the Church so independent than otherwise.

But what if the State will not be of this opinion, nor let go that dependence upon them, to which they have reduc'd the Church even in her spiritual capacity? Then the Church must not set up her independency, (that, I suppose, is the meaning) for fear of displeasing the State.

But the displeasure can only be as to the manner of setting it up: If by Rebellion and Arms, the State has reason to be displeas'd.

But will they be displeas'd at the very naming it, or thinking of it? Then Dr. K. and Dr. W. (as Dr. K. has given us his sense, and he says of All their Brethren of the Church of England) have incurred this displeasure, because they have positively asserted it in what is before quoted.

And since we find that the State does very well bear the asserting it, and Dr. K. saw no danger in that, wou'd they be more displeas'd at the proving it, and if he bestow'd a little pains in persuading them to it?

He complains in his Book, as all other good Men do, as our very Office of Communion does, of the great failure of Discipline amongst us, and wishes it were restor'd; that is, the State wishes it: For our Liturgy is an Act of Parliament: And if the State does much wish it, as they have worded it in that Office, where is the danger of persuading them to it?

They have granted a great deal to those who have not so good pretence as you. See what is granted to the very Presbyterian Kirk in Scotland. You cannot say they will not grant till they have refus'd.

Dr. K. is angry with Dr. A. for not desiring more legal rights to be restor'd to the Church; and will he not then desire the restoration of those which he himself acknowledges to be divine?

For which there is this farther reason, that if Christ left no more inherent power in his Church than he knew was necessary for that Discipline which was requisite to secure her from the gates of Hell prevailing against her, (as Dr. K. has very well worded it, in what is above quoted) then will follow what he reproves Dr. A. for not remembering, That christian Magistrates cannot retract, nor a national Clergy recede from antecedent rights. Then if the christian Magistrate had a mind to retract, yet the national Clergy ought not to recede from them: And if not to recede, surely much more have they a right to expostulate, to represent, to entreat, and to protest.

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If the Clergy must not so much as speak for their inherent rights, for what is but sufficient to enable them to execute the office which Christ has committed to them, how will they give up their lives for it?

How will they answer to the great Shepherd for the effects of that want of Discipline they seem to bemoan? For all that loose of atheism, heresies, and immoralities which abound amongst us; and a little wholesome Discipline might have restrain'd? What have they done towards the regaining of it? Nay, who could have taken it from them? Or can now keep it from them? The civil Magistrate, it is true, may chuse whether he will assist the censures of the Church, by temporal penalties, and he must answer for this to God; but the censures are still in the power of the Church, and she cannot recede from them: And would still have their effect upon all truly conscientious, as in the primitive Church; and this would make more to be conscientious, and restore the now well-nigh lost notion of a Church, and of Religion. Are these small things not worth the contending for? Not worth the attempt? No, not fit to be mentioned, for fear of the State!

Let not the fault be laid altogether upon the State, it cannot be laid there till due application has been made to them, till they are sufficiently appriz'd of the merits of the cause, till they are instructed by those whose office it is to instruct them, to whom Christ has given that command and charge, not to be forced or brib'd out of their hands, by all the powers or artifice of Hell.

But if (alas!) instead of this, pillows are sewed under the arms of the States, if they are made believe that they are still doing right, that the Clergy desire no such thing, that it is better with them as it is; and that it is but a discontented party would set up original rights, &c. If the Erastian principles are inculcated into them; and what Dr. K. here justly calls the divine rights of the Church, are represented as odious and dangerous, at best not now necessary: How will the State be chargeable by that Church which has misled them? No! the State will rather rise up in the judgment and condemn that Church which has instructed them no better: And all those vices and heresies, and schisms, and Rebellions too, destruction and bloodshed which have defac'd christian Churches, and ruin'd States, corrupted Religion, and debauch'd Mens lives and principles, for want of that Discipline which Christ left inherent in his Church, will be chiefly charg'd upon that Church, which did recede from that Discipline; and so despoil'd her self of the proper arms of her Ministry, with which

P R E F A C E to the

Christ her Head had endow'd her; and promis'd to stand by her, and protect her, even unto the end of the world.

But they who have not faith in this, soon grow weary of the Theocracy, and dare not trust to it: No, but will have a King to reign over them, like the Nations round about, when the Lord their God was their King: They must have a King to be Head of the Church; who else, say they, will defend the Church?

But if they would trust to Christ, and have Faith in his Promises, and not fear to execute the commission he has given to them, in all sobriety and modesty, yet with courage and constancy, for the good of the Souls of Men; and without doing of which, they know, they confess, that they cannot discharge that great trust as they ought to do; nor be true to their Master, nor to the Souls committed to their charge; many of whom they see run headlong every day to all destruction and perdition for want of that Discipline which they dare not execute, only content themselves to wish every Ash-Wednesday that it were restor'd; send one poor longing wish after it, once a year, but move neither hand nor foot towards it, for fear of displeasing him whom they have chosen King and Head of the Church, not next and immediately under, but in the stead of Christ; for such they have made him, if they think he can dispense with, and over-rule that Discipline which Christ has left in his Church, and which is absolutely necessary, which Christ our Lord thought so, for the good government of his Church.

But, I say, if the Church would trust to him more than to the arm of Flesh, she need not fear the power of Kings: No, Christ would then give her Kings, not as heads and spiritual Fathers over her, but as nursing Fathers to protect, love, and cherish her, to reverence, and to serve her, as the Spouse of Christ, instead of such Fathers as she has made Kings to be over her self, and of whom she now stands in awe, and dare not exert the power Christ has given her, without their good liking: She should then have Children whom she might make Princes in all the Earth, Psal. XLV. 16. Kings would become her Sons, and her Servants, instead of being her Fathers.

V. My Brethren, let me freely speak to you. These Promises must be fulfill'd, and in this world, for they are spoke of it, and belong not to the state of Heaven, but to the condition of the Church, in all the Earth. All the Prophets that have been since the world began have spoken of these days: Therefore they will surely come; and though ye have lien among the Pots, (in the most servile and abject condition) yet ye shall be as the wings of a Dove, that is cover'd with silver, and her Feathers like gold, Psal. LXVIII. 13.

And do, surely such as these, they are right to be expected. And represent, to entreat, and to protest.

And those Kings that oppose you, shall flee before you, and they of the Household shall divide the spoil. For the Nation and Kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish; yea, those Nations shall be utterly wasted. This is not yet fulfilled, but must be in this world, for there are no Nations or Kingdoms, (except that of God alone) in the other.

When this time will come is reserved with God; but before it comes he will open the eyes of Men, and stir up their zeal to bring it to pass, and he will prosper their endeavours; and blessed are those who shall contribute towards it.

If it be not near, yet we may now rejoice to see it, as Abraham did, afar off, and to testify to the world that it is not forgot, that we have still Faith in what the holy Scriptures have, in so many places, assured us of; and this may stir up the Faith of others.

But because we know not the time, therefore we must always work, as if it were the time: It may not be brought to pass in a day, and there may be dispositions of Men requisite to precede, may be, some ages, to prepare the way for it. The old primitive principles, and notion of the Church, and prerogative of the Peculium must certainly be reviv'd: That secular Spirit which the principles of Erastianism have begot in the Clergy must be exercis'd; and their poor fear of temporal powers: They must be brought to believe at last, that God is stronger than the Devil, and Christ than all the Kings upon Earth: Then they will begin to trust in him, and to venture something upon his protection: Then the noble, the truly humble, but magnanimous Spirit of the Gospel will rise like the Sun, and all those clouds of objections and fears which now benumb our Souls will soon evaporate, and Light and Life will be restor'd to us: Then stronger will be that is in us, than he that is in the world; we shall get the ascendant over him, and conquer him, as Light does Darknes; he will not be able to resist the Spirit, and the Power by which we speak. Amen Lord Jesu, come quickly.

VI. He is a coming! His way is preparing, and with that force and power that nothing can resist. He has begun to open the eyes of his Church, and to break off her fetters: Her original independence from all Kings and States, whether christian or other, is set up, cum bono Deo! and asserted to be divine by those who are afraid to set it up: But it is set up! and without pretending to prophecy, we may say, it will stand; it will go on and prosper, till this drop will become a River, and that River encrease unto a Sea, which may encompass other Lands. None of
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our Divines dare oppose it, without, at the same time, confessing to it: The truth is grown flagrant, none dare oppose it bare-faced: The Priestcraft Men are silenc'd, for they must deny the Bible if they speak sense against it: And it is not come to that time of day yet! The People will not let go their Bibles, nor suffer it to be trampled upon, where they know it: This keeps in the Deists, who love to be always on the safest side. The same popularity will influence Kings and States, who would not adventure, in a countrey so far christian as England is still left, to make an Act to burn the Bible: and it is as much out of their power to hinder the People from apprehending the true meaning of it, in a case which is made very plain to them, and sufficiently prov'd.

But, as I said, it is the greatest reflexion that can be upon a christian Government, to suppose, that our Governors would obstruct the truth of the Gospel of Christ, or not let go any encroachments they had made upon it, when once they are made sensible of it; or that they would not rather thank than persecute those who should make them so sensible, especially those whose office it is so to do; whom they have protected and established by Law for that very end, to instruct them in the whole Counsel of God; without doing of which, if they leave any part undeclar'd unto them, so far as they know it, they are not free from their Blood, Acts xx. 26, 27. Especially such a material part as the original, fundamental, and divine powers with which Christ has invested his Church, and without which it is impossible she should effectually, and to the full purpose intended by Christ, discharge that great trust committed to her; or administer, as she ought to do, to the Souls under her care, or give that account for them, which will be requir'd at her hands by Christ, according to those powers be left with her; and not as she has, out of fear, or whatever other consideration, given them up, or suffer'd them to be wrested from her, without her contending for them, even to the Death.

But to suppose our Governors so averse and prejudic'd against the Truth, such Nabals and Sons of Belial, that a Man cannot speak to them, is, in the most effectual manner, to alienate the affections of the People from them: To make Men think that they will not bear our reasoning with them out of the holy Scriptures; but are resolv'd to keep what they have got, right or wrong, and will not restore to Christ, let them be never so much convinc'd!

Therefore I think it an argument of much greater deference towards them, to adventure, not to think it any venture, to reason with them, to represent to them freely, but with all decency, these important Truths, which so nearly concern their own Souls as well

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as others; and besides, are the greatest security to their Government, even upon politicks, (as shew'd hereafter) and will draw them from under the wrath of God, and entitle them to his blessing and protection.

Moreover to tell them, and not to fear they will be displeas'd at it, that Christ is above them, and his Church too, and independent on them; that they themselves are part of her flock; and so subject to her discipline, in that capacity as well as any others, though entirely and without reserve, subject to them in all temporals.

Nay more, that if they should take part with Hell against her, they should not both prevail. They might pull down vengeance upon their own heads: But the Church will stand whether they will or not, even in England, unless the policy of the Clergy give way so far, as to provoke God to remove their Candlestick: Nothing else can ruin them, while they remain true to their God, and are not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, and to assert those powers he has committed unto them. No enchantment will prevail against our Israel: No none, till themselves are first enchanted and bewitched, as the foolish Galatians, not to obey the Truth, not to stand by it, and contend earnestly for the Faith which was once deliver'd unto the Saints, not to speak and exhort, and rebuke with all authority, and to let no Man despise them; for then God will despise them, and make them contemptible and base before all the People, because ye have corrupted the Covenant of Levi, saith the Lord of Hosts.

And now I have not the least apprehension that I have hereby given any offence either to the civil Government or to the Clergy, and true Sons of the Church of England: But I wou'd warn, if I could, some frozen Souls, who say, There is a Lion in the way, and are afraid where no fear is; they flee when no one pursueth!

But if after all, they will not take the Apostle's advice, quit you like Men, be strong; if they dare not come out to stop the way against the persecutor, if they will not stand in the gap, let them return home: Let all that are afraid, or faint-hearted, depart out of this battel, lest they discourage their Brethren: By the Men that lapped will I save you, saith the Lord: Let the timorous prudent, and wise stay with the baggage till the danger is over, they may come in for share of the spoil.

But let them beware that they look not towards the enemy; that they do not dodge, speak one word, but covertly, against them, and ten expressly for them, to labour the point, and take pains on their side; and only drop an expression here and there (to have it to say) that may be construed against them, and re-

concil'd to them, if they prevail: To pick quarrels with those who are most zealous for the Church, and give intelligence to Erastus. It is easy to see to what side they incline, and from whom they expect their reward. This is not to be Neuters, (if they will be such) but Traditors; but God will not be mocked: What a Man soweth that shall he reap: *He that is not for us is against us.* Whose hands do I strengthen when I write? I belong to that side, however artificially I manage the argument. Men's actions are better demonstration than their words, which with a double-minded Man are always unstable; and let not (as the Apostle says) such a Man think that he shall receive any thing of the Lord, whatever he may from Men: Woe be to fearful hearts, and faint hands, and the sinner that goeth two ways.

Let no Man value his own parts or learning, or undervalue those who stand for God and Truth; for as God wants no Man's help, so is no instrument insufficient in his hand; and he often chuses the meanest, that we may perceive it is his work; that the praise may be to God, and not to Man: He destroy'd Ægypt by Frogs and Lice: And Hornets, if arm'd with a divine commission, are an army sufficient to drive out the Sons of Anak.

Glare not upon legal establishments (though make your best use of them) till your eyes are dazzled, that you cannot see the Sun; it will have more power than that Glow-Worm. You have stay'd long enough in this Wilderness, turn the way towards Jordan, and take possession of Canaan: Assert your divine rights, in full taile; leave not a hoof of them behind. Who dare oppose what they acknowledge to be divine? The world will stand by you, they find that they cannot be well without it: You have God, and a greater than Moses upon your head: Think not scorn of that pleasant Land: Remember the fate of the cautious and wary spies! whose hearts fail'd them, and persuaded the People that they were not able to deal with the Canaanites! Remember the judgment upon all that were discourag'd by them! It is no indifferent matter to be dispirited in the cause of God, and of his Christ! It is a downright distrust of God, and chusing another for our God, whom we think greater and stronger than he! But those helpless infants, whom we are afraid to make a prey to our enemies, these shall possess the Land! And the carcasses of the faithless cowards shall fall in the Wilderness, and be an abhorring to all Flesh.

Faith is the life of a Christian, without it he is dead, quite dead! And where Faith is but as big as a grain of Mustard-Seed, there must be assurance, and courage, and zeal: And the use of prudence is to direct this to the best manner of working; but not to make a dispute whether we should work or not: We must
always

always work, and God will work with us: There is no discharge in this warfare, while any Canaanite is left in the Land: We must cry aloud, and spare not; and that whether a stiff-necked People hear, or whether they will forbear, yet they shall know that there hath been a Prophet among them: We cannot otherwise deliver our own Souls; they shall die in their sins; but their Blood will be required from those watchmen who gave them not warning.

Nor will their modesty excuse them, that they thought not themselves sufficient for these things. Why then did they undertake the employment?

But it is not modesty, it is a cowardly fear and pride. What are we poor worms that we should think the work of God depends upon us? Do we put in for share of the glory? Let us do what we are commanded, and leave the issue to God. How do we know by what means or methods he will please to work? Such Men are totally unconcerned for this work. We see Souls a perishing, and the enemy sowing tares at noon-day: Must the Husbandmen then go to sleep? The Nation is poison'd with pestilent and blasphemous Books, ridiculing our Religion, our holy Scriptures, and our Christ! And must the Bishops and Shepherds of his flock be forc'd to go to Council learned in the Law to know how the case of Præmunire stands, if they should presume to censure such Books without first obtaining the K's Licence for it?

Now, suppose (which I do not) that the Act of Submission, in construction of Law, should be found to extend even thus far; and suppose the K. should not grant his Licence, or had not a mind to be ask'd; must then the Bishops let this infernal poison spread, and take its full effect, without any remedy; or else incur a Præmunire? If so, here is a picture of the Regale wou'd put any Man in doubt of his Christianity: And he has not yet been christen'd, or has forgot it, who would have the least hesitation, or scruple to damn the Act (I mean if taken in this sense) to the place from whence it came, if there were ten thousand other Acts of Parliament pinn'd to the back of it! It is a maxim in our Law, that An Act of Parliament contrary to the Law of God is void: And if this be not contrary, then Christ left no Church upon Earth, appointed no Shepherds to feed his Flock, or gave them not sufficient authority to do it! But if any of those Shepherds have plead'd for this Act of Submission, in this sense, they have undermin'd their own foundation: And till they return, and make restitution all that is in their power, they have not come up to the repentance of Judas: And I should be afraid to share their sin, if I were not thus plain upon this point; if I leaned not, with my whole strength,
upon

upon this main pillar of the Temple of Dagon. And if God give the word, any honest Man has the force of a Sampson: For the strength was not his, but God's, which was shewed by placing it in his weakest part, in his hair: And the blast of a Ram's Horn, from the mouth of a Priest, asserting the Truth of the Gospel, is sufficient to level the walls of Jericho. Perfect Love casteth out Fear. Every true Christian has authority from Heb. XIII. 5, 6. to apply to himself, even in his private concerns, as to his support in this life, that especial Promise made to Joshua, Deut. XXXI. 8. Josh. I. 5. I will not leave thee, nor forsake thee. Nay, more, what was spoke of Christ himself, The Lord is my helper, and I will not fear what Man can do unto me, Psal. LVI. 4, 11. CXVIII. 6. Then sure, if we have this strong assurance of Faith, as to our own particulars, much more may we trust to it, in the cause of Christ and his Church. David drew this argument from God's enabling him to kill a Lion and a Bear, in defence of his own flock, that he ought not to be afraid of a Goliath, who defy'd the Armies of Israel, which was the Flock of God and his Church, whose Armies are therefore call'd, the Armies of the living God. An act of Faith will open our eyes, as of the Prophet's fearful Servant, and shew us these encamping round about his Church, like the Hill on which Elisha sat, full of Horses and Chariots of Fire. Then will we see, that they that be with us, are more than they that be against us; and we will have courage to say with the Apostle, I can do all thing through Christ who strengtheneth me.

And is not all this sufficient against one poor Act of Submission, (I mean, as before, if taken in the full Erastian sense) made by a Popish Clergy, lying under the lash of a Præmunire? Have we not shaken off Popery yet? Are our Bishops still bound by their Submissions? Could they give away the rights of their successors the Protestant Bishops!

If they will not hear me, I hope they will give heed to Dr. Sherlock the present Dean of St. Paul's, who, in his Summary of the Controversies between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, p. 119. says very emphatically, If Bishops will not exercise that power which Christ has given them, they are accountable to their Lord for it: But they cannot give it away, neither from themselves, nor from their successors, for it is theirs only to use, not to part with it: And therefore every Bishop may re-assume such rights, though a general Council should give them away, because the grant is void in its self. This makes short work with the Submission: Let Lawyers therefore look to it, how they can reconcile it with this great and fundamental

mental truth: If not, then down it must come. The Bishops are no ways concern'd: Let them try whether any Judge in Westminster-Hall will hold up an Act of Parliament against the Gospel! Or say, that they are more proper Judges of the Gospel than the Bishops! Let Erastus shew his Face without a Vizard; it is the only way to overthrow him effectually. You need not be afraid that any Christian will fall in love with him! But if the Bishops will submit themselves to his yoke, who can speak in their defence? Some would let them go if Religion did not go with them; and that is the reason why others would have them gone. They find the keys of their Discipline hung at the belt of Erastus; and some would persuade them that it is best so, lest Pharaoh encrease their burdens; and that to think of a deliverance, is to put a Sword in his hand to slay us! If it were so, Christ is stronger than Moses; and his Promises as sure of defending his Church: But, blessed be God, our Land is not Egypt yet; we all profess to be of Israel, and none dare say, (whatever they think) Who is the God of the Hebrews? And you shall not sacrifice unto him. They who are afraid upon this account, must think, that they have a Pharaoh over them indeed! Therefore this will be no excuse to them, whether they be try'd by God, or their Countrey: And it is come to that now, that if they stir not a little, shew some zeal for Religion and concern for the breaches of Sion, they may be in danger of losing, I will not say quitting their Countrey: But they will lose the hearts of the People, whose eyes are all now upon them, and expect something from them, not of giving back, but of asserting the cause of Christ and his Church. This is more friendly advice than of those who would persuade them to sit still for fear of displeasing some, who, perhaps, may take this very occasion of ruining them, first with the People, in their good opinion; and then with their representatives. The Dissenters will play Toland against them: They have a good faculty at making outcries: And the Deists will not stand by them, they will laugh in their sleeve, and give them good words (they are Men of breeding) for their prudence and moderation! They know how to turn the tables, as the game alters; and their Friends will be out of countenance, and mourn in secret. This is a sad truth, but it ought to be told by those who have seen all these effects of it; and can do no more than to pray God to disappoint their fears of the impending ruin of this once glorious Church; and in order to this, that he would detect all her false Friends, and defeat her open Enemies.

A Prayer for the Deliverance and Victory of the
CHURCH.

O Almighty God, King of all Kings, and Governor of all things, whose Power no creature is able to resist, who hast often mightily delivered the Sons of *Jacob* and *Joseph*, and hast promised to rescue thy Church from all her adversaries, and make her glorious upon Earth; that it may please thee to stretch forth thy Hand upon the furiousness of her Enemies; abate their pride, assuage their malice, and confound their devices. Amend thou Lord what is amiss in us, and confirm the remainder that is about to perish. Stir up thy Strength, O Lord, for us; stablish the thing, O God, that thou hast wrought in us. Let the glorious Majesty of the Lord our God be upon us; prosper thou the work of our hands upon us; O prosper thou our handy-work. Turn us again, O Lord of Hosts, shew the Light of thy Countenance, and we shall be whole. That we being armed with thy defence, may be preserved evermore from all persecution, that the Devil or Man worketh against us, to glorify thee, who art the only giver of all Victory; that we may see the felicity of thy chosen, rejoice with thine inheritance, and triumph because of the Truth. Awake, awake, put on Strength, O Arm of the Lord; awake, as in the ancient days, in the generations of old. Art not thou he that hath cut *Rahab*, and wounded the Dragon? It is time for thee, Lord, to lay to thine Hand, for they have made void thy Law.

O God, we have heard with our Ears, and our Fathers have told us what mighty works thou didst in their days, and in the old time before them.

O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us for thy Name's sake, for *Christ Jesus* sake, the Captain of our Salvation, who will tread down every Enemy that hath evil-will at *Sion*.

Lord hasten it in thy time. Thy Kingdom come, in Earth, as it is in Heaven. Remember thy Church, which thou hast purchased and redeemed of old. It is time that thou have mercy upon her, yea, the time is come.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end, Amen.



THE CASE OF THE REGALE, &c.

SIR,



According to your desire, I here give you a short and clear state of the case you heard lately discours'd, concerning the Regale, or Power of the State over the Church, as to her purely spiritual Authority.

1. It was agreed on all hands, That the State cannot deprive Bishops of their episcopal character: But that they remain Bishops still; and their Ordinations, Confirmations, and other episcopal Acts are valid. Except such Acts of Jurisdiction as respect that particular Diocese, out of which they are ejected by the State: As visiting and censuring the Clergy and others; conferring Benefices, &c. But because the word Bishop is a relative word, and implies a Flock; and that no Bishop is made, nor hath been since the days of the Apostles, but with relation to a particular Flock or Diocese: Of which more hereafter, in the case of *Abiathar*.

2. Therefore the question was resolv'd into this point, whether the State can dissolve the relation betwixt a Bishop and his particular Flock or Diocese; and deprive him of the exercise of his Jurisdiction within his own proper district; and substitute another Bishop in his place? That is, whether the State can stop the execution of the episcopal Commission, in the hands of the proper Bishops, within their own Dominions? Against which it was urg'd;

1. That to stop the execution of a Commission, is, to render it ineffectual; for what signifies a Commission, that cannot be executed?

I.
As to Kings in the general,

2. That

The CASE of the REGALE, &c.

2. That no Authority less than that which gives any Commission, can stop the execution of it.

3. That therefore the same Authority which can stop the execution of any Commission, may likewise vacate it: As Episcopacy is vacated by the State in *Scotland*.

4. That all States have equal Authority within their own Dominions: And by this rule, the apostolical Commission may not only be suspended, but superseded all the World over.

5. That all the States in the World did for three hundred years together, forbid the execution of the apostolical Commission; and, as much as in them lay, did vacate it: Which if they had Power from God to do, then it was vacated, and Christianity must have perish'd in its Birth, or have been all that time an unjustifiable Rebellion.

6. That there is a spiritual Relation, or Marriage, instituted by *Christ*, betwixt the Bishop and his Flock or Subjects; that, as *St. Ignatius* speaks, the Bishop does represent the Person of *Christ* to us, and does his, *Vices gerere*, is his Deputy or Vicar, and the Principle of Unity in the Church which he governs: That who keep outward Communion with their Bishop, do thereby partake of the inward Communion with *Christ* the Head: That who unjustly break off from the outward Communion of their Bishop, do thereby forfeit the inward Communion with *Christ*: That nothing ought to be done in the Church, nor even Marriages made, without the Bishop's consent: That the very Prayers and Sacraments out of the Communion of the Bishop, are (like the Offerings of *Korah*) Rebellion against the Lord.

That this Relation, this Marriage of the Bishop to his Flock, so deeply founded by *Christ* himself; whom *Christ* does impower, as his Ambassador, to marry the Church, in his stead, and in his name, promising to ratify and consummate it, in his own Person, for ever in Heaven, where the eternal Marriage-Feast will be celebrated: That this Marriage to our Bishop whereby we are, by Proxy, married to *Christ*, cannot be dissolv'd, nor we divorc'd from him, and marry'd to another Bishop, by any other means than those which *Christ* has appointed; otherwise, the Marriage still remains: And a second Bishop is a second Husband, that is, an Adulterer, while the first Husband still lives, and is not divorc'd for a just cause, and by an Authority that is competent.

That if the Authority of secular Princes be competent for this, then may they divorce all the Churches in the World from their Bishops: And either give them no more Bishops; or set over them the basest of Men for their Bishops. Then it is in the Power of Infidel Kings to appoint Proxies for *Christ*, and oblige him to consummate the Marriage they have made for him, by such Proxies whom they please to name!

II.
As to christi-
an Kings.

This turn'd the question to the Authority of christian Princes: Whether they had not more Authority over the Church, than Kings that were Infidels? And to this it was said;

1. That the Right of the Crown does not alter for the qualifications of those who wear it; and that Dominion is not founded in Grace: That therefore if christian Kings claim Authority over the Church, as a Right inherent in the Crown, they must allow it to all who have a Right to the Crown. And if they hold it not as a Right of their Crowns, then they must shew how otherwise they came by it: And as they got it, they may lose it.

2. That the Church had suffer'd more under *Constantius*, *Valens*, and other *Arian* and Heretical Kings, than even from Heathens. That it is in the Power of an *Arian*, a *Socinian*, Popish, or Presbyterian King, to corrupt

rupt the Doctrine of the Church, more than a King who is a profess'd Heathen, and open Persecutor.

3. That an orthodox and a good King (for a time, as *Nero*) may turn Heretick, or Apostate, as *Julian*. And how can he be Head of any Church, who denies the Faith of it? Or indeed, how can a King be the Head of different Communions? Or of any other Communion than that to which he keeps? For how can he be Head of any Church who is not so much as a Member of it? He may be Head of it, or of a hundred different Churches, if there were so many in his Dominions, that is, to be the civil Head or Governor, and to exercise the Power of the civil Sword, in all Causes, and over all Persons, as well ecclesiastical as temporal: But to be the ecclesiastical Head or Governor, and to have any sort of ecclesiastical Power or Authority, is utterly inconsistent, and as great a contradiction, as that all these different Communions can be one: That not only Episcopal and Presbyterian, Popish and Protestant, but Christian and Jew, Mahometan and Heathen, are all one and the same Church and Body: For so they must be, if they have all one Head. And some Kings have been, and may be again, Governors over these several sorts of Churches. They are all one Body, in the temporal sense, that is, are all Subjects, and so have one Head, or temporal Governor: But they cannot all have one ecclesiastical Head or Governor, more than they are one ecclesiastical Body, or more than one Man can be, at once, of all these different and opposite Churches or Communions: More than our King (for example) can be Episcopal in *England*, and Presbyterian in *Scotland*, and Popish in *France*, if he had the Possession as well as title of it.

Then again, if either Infidelity, Apostasy, or Heresy does destroy the *Regale*, it must be destroy'd as to some of these Communions, who do lay these charges upon one another. And then the *Regale* extends not to all Subjects, or Churches.

Again, who shall be Judge of the King's Apostasy, Heresy, &c? If the Church, his *Regale* lies at her Mercy. But if the King himself be the Judge it is not to be suppos'd that he will condemn himself. And so, neither Infidelity, Apostasy, nor any thing else can hurt his *Regale*.

But once more, a King may return from his Apostasy or Heresy, and if he lost his *Regale* for that, he may recover it again. So that, by this, the *Regale* is not fixt and inherent in the Crown, but fleeting and casual, may be gain'd and lost.

And then the former question will occur, who shall be Judge of the reality and sincerity of his conversion and pretences to Religion? For it is not impossible that a King may counterfeit, on purpose to secure himself in the possession of the *Regale*: And that for a good end, as he may think, that is, to under-mine that Church, which he cou'd not batter down by main force. And by this means, he may do ten times more mischief to the Church, than if he were an open and profess'd Enemy.

Indeed (said one) we have found it to our cost. And the professions of Princes, when a Crown is the bait, are a slender security. It is like the sacramental test to the Dissenters, which keeps them not from places of profit; but encreases their indignation against that Communion, which imposes such hard terms upon them, as not to let them get Wealth and Power, but at the expence of their Conscience! That we may probably Shipwreck the Conscience of a Prince, by forcing him into our Communion: and so undo the greatest security we can have from him for our Religion; and bribe him to betray, instead of protecting us: That therefore, we can have no security to our Religion, at least none equal, in all human appearance, to the settling of the Church upon her own primitive bottom, where-

on *Christ* did place her, independent, as to her whole spiritual Authority, upon any earthly Power; tho' with sufficient guard for their obedience to the State, in all civil Matters, even upon the penalty of damnation: That if the Church were once thus settled, we need then be in less pain for the Religion of our Prince, except for the good of his own Soul; for he cou'd then hurt our Religion no otherwise than by open persecution; which in *England* wou'd not be in his Power; and it is not likely, that ever he wou'd attempt it. But he cou'd no longer betray and undermine it; he cou'd not then put in Bishops that wou'd be his Tools, and give up the Rights of the Church to purchase his favour; nor wou'd they hire under-work Men, to employ their parts and learning to disarm their Mother of all, even legal, defence against her Ravisher, in hopes that they too may come, in their turns, to be in his good Graces! They will have their reward!

4. That besides all these cases, there is that of lewd, atheistical, and debauch'd Princes, who will prefer Men in the Church of their own complexion, that will serve their lusts and ambition, at least, such mealy-mouth'd ones, as will not dare to reprove them: And by this means it will be in the Power of their vilest favourites, and instruments in sins not fit to be nam'd to sell Bishopricks; and render Religion what it is now come to among too many, especially in Courts, not only an empty name, but a cheat and imposition upon Mankind, while they see it so prostituted, and made a pretence to the basest purposes.

5. That during the Minority of Kings, the Election of Bishops, and other Affairs of the Church, must be left in the hands of their Governors and Courtiers. And the Church must take her chance, as to their Religion. Under this head comes in likewise the personal indisposition of Princes, by sickness, frenzie, or other accidents; and their necessary absence sometimes, on their important Affairs. Their being made Prisoners in the land of their Enemies, as some of ours have been; and many other casualties: To all of which the Church is made liable, while it depends upon the *Regale*: But there is one, which too often occurs, and therefore chiefly to be consider'd, which is;

6. Revolutions and Rebellions in any Nation. Here the Church must either change Sides and Principles, according to the various success of the contending Parties; or undergo as various a persecution: For while the *Regale* is made part of the Church-constitution, it thereby necessarily brings in the Church to be concern'd in all State-Revolutions; not only as to the immoralities or defection from christian Principles, wherein she ought to advise and direct in this, as in all other cases: But she is hereby involv'd as a Party in all State-disputes; and her even spiritual Authority must, like secular Commissions, take out a new Charter, under every new Head.

Upon all these considerations, the inconveniencies, the snares, the scandals that hereby arise to the christian Religion: Besides the apparent absurdities and contradictions that flow in on all sides upon this blending of the sacred and the civil Powers, it did appear to all the Company, that the limiting of the *Regale* only to christian Princes, did rather involve and perplex the Cause, than any ways solve it; that it rais'd much more and greater difficulties than allowing it, as a Right of the Crown, to all Princes, without regard to their Religion; that therefore it must either be granted even to infidel Kings, or no other Kings whatsoever can have any pretence to it, upon the Right of their Crowns.

III.
Of the incorporation of
the Church
with the
State.

Then it was said, That Kings hold not their Right over the Church, *jure Coronæ*, because then infidel, and all other sort of Kings must have it: But that upon the conversion of Kings and States to Christianity, there was

a com-

a compromise made betwixt them and the Church, and the Church being incorporated into the State, made such and such concessions to the State, in lieu of the protection of the State, and other honours and advantages receiv'd from them. To this it was answer'd,

1. That no such compromise does appear; nor is there any Record extant of it, or any authentical instrument or deed of conveyance to be found.

2. That Kings claim not by it, but do utterly disown it: And stand upon it, as the Right of their Crowns; and to have been given them by God, and attested in holy Scripture; as you may see in 37 *Hen. VIII. c. 17.* and several other Statutes. And they make it consequently the Right of all Princes; and to have been always so: But if it was by compromise, then it was not always so: And some Kings would have more, and some less Power in ecclesiastical matters: For we cannot suppose the same compromise to have been made with all Kings, and in all Countries.

And those Acts of Parliament which establish the *Regale* in *England*, do it by way of recognition, and restoring the ancient Right of the Crown in ecclesiastical Matters, and over ecclesiastical Persons.

What the Power is, we shall see by and by: But whatever it is, Kings do not claim it by way of compromise, or grant from the Church.

3. That such grant, if made, wou'd be void, because it is a Maxim, as well in Law, as Reason, that no trust can be transfer'd, especially such a trust as *Christ* has committed to his Church, in which the Souls of Men are concern'd: And the Church is answerable for the discharge of this trust. And if no Executor, or other Trustee whatsoever can delegate the trust committed to them, in Temporals; much less can the Church, in Spirituals.

That the Power of a Nurse is limited. She cannot send the Child into other Countries, or give it to any other Nurse, without consent of the Parent. That therefore the Bishops, whom *Christ* has commanded to feed his Flock, cannot commit this charge to any other. No Man would allow it to a keeper of his Sheep. Much less can the Pastors of *Christ's* Sheep have any such Power.

One Bishop may desire the assistance of another Bishop, in his absence, indisposition of Body, imprisonment, or other temporary incapacity: So there may be coadjutor-Bishops, and *Chore-Episcopi*. Because all Bishops are Pastors of one common Flock, *Cujus à singulis in solidum pars tenetur*; which is distributed rather than divided into several districts, for the better Regimen of the whole. And the Discipline of the Church will not allow *Ἀμοτεχο-Επισκοπήν*, that one Bishop should interfere and intrude into the Government of another Bishop's Diocese, without his permission; that wou'd bring all confusion, and contests. Yet nothing hinders their mutual assistance of one another, in their several charges by agreement, as occasion shall require. But they cannot delegate their Power to those who are no Pastors, to whom *Christ* has given no such Authority. They must first make Men Pastors, and give them Ordination, before they can commit the Flock to their charge. They cannot delegate the episcopal Power (properly so call'd) to Presbyters, without giving them episcopal Consecration: Much less can they do it to Lay-Men. No compromise, or bargain can do this; no temporal advantages or honours can be taken in exchange for this, nor indeed can make compensation for such an infraction upon the very foundation and constitution of the Church.

4. That the Church in *England*, and in other places, has been much reduc'd in honour, wealth, and power from which she formerly enjoy'd. Therefore, that if for these she gave up her Power to the State, the bargain

is

Isai. i. 8.

is broke. Since Covenants must be kept on both sides, else neither side is oblig'd. And either side may take the advantage when they think fit.

5. That the Church upon Earth is describ'd in the Scripture, as *militant*, as a *City besieg'd*: Kings have been the Besiegers, and may be again: And to raise the Seige we suppose one of the Articles to be, That Kings shall ever thereafter have the nomination of the Bishops, the Governors of the City, and placing of the Guards. This is a total giving up of the City, and a betraying of their trust in the Bishops, whom *Christ* left the Governors.

That the unreasonableness of this will appear, if we put the case *è contra*, (which is the truest way to judge,) and suppose, That the Church requir'd it as an Article, lest the State might prejudice the Church, that the Church should have the Power of nomination and deposing of Kings, that no Parliament shou'd meet, or transact any thing relating to the civil Government of the Nation, without Licence obtain'd from the Bishops; nor enact any thing, but in the Bishop's Name, and by their Authority.

Either of these cases is not a compromise, or an incorporation; but a dissolution of the one Power, and giving it up to the other.

For that as the well-being of any Society does consist mainly in the Governors of the Society, because they have the greatest Power to do good or hurt; And therefore, where the choice of the Governors of one Society is in the hands of another Society, that Society must be dependent and subject to the other: So, if the Power of one Society extend likewise to the making of Laws for another Society (as if the Church cou'd make Laws for the State, in temporals; or the State make Laws binding the Church, relating to spirituals) then is that Society entirely subject to the other.

But whereas no Society can subsist without meeting and consulting of their Affairs, and giving orders, as occasion shall require: If one Society cannot meet or convene together, without the leave and licence of the other Society; nor treat or enact any thing relating to their own Society, without the leave and authority of the other; then is that Society, in a manner, dissolv'd, and subsists precariously upon the mere will and pleasure of the other.

This is a degree of subjection to which the *Romans* did not reduce the Church of the *Jews*, when they had entirely conquer'd them; for their High-Priests and Elders, their Council or *Sanhedrin*, met whenever they pleas'd; as we find frequently in the Gospels, and Acts of the Apostles.

IV.
Obs. Of Im-
perium in Im-
perio.

Then the discourse turn'd to the common objection of *Imperium in Imperio*, That a Church independent on the State, wou'd be setting up one Government within another; and so breed nothing but confusion. And the contrasts betwixt Popes and Emperors, betwixt the Popish Clergy, and the Kings of *England*, as well as of other Countries, were largely insisted on. To all which it was answer'd:

1. That the sacred and civil powers were like two parallel lines, which cou'd never meet, or interfere; for these two authorities lie in two distinct chanel: As for instance, in the case of murther, or any other crime, the criminal may be excommunicated, and absolv'd upon his repentance, and satisfaction made to the Church; but this hinders nothing the proceedings of the civil Courts, which respect the temporal punishment upon Body or Goods. Thus the same criminal may be absolv'd by the Church, and condemn'd by the State; absolv'd or pardon'd by the State, yet censur'd by the Church: So that each act independently upon the other, without any confusion or interfering. But,

2. That

2. That the confusion arises when the one will put their sickle into the others harvest; when the civil power will take upon them to controul or give Laws to the Church, in the exercise of her spiritual authority; or the Church do the like to the State in their temporal authority.

That all the contests and wars betwixt Popes and Emperors were upon this foot: The Emperors claim'd the investiture of Bishops; and the Popes, to be even with them, assum'd the power of deposing the Emperors from their temporal authority. Here was wrong done on both sides: And what could follow but confusion? The sacred and the civil powers were let in upon one another, and then there could be no issue, but the one to subdue and conquer the other.

That the same was to be said as to the contests betwixt the Bishops in the Popish times, and their own natural Kings; for these Bishops asserted the power of the Pope over the Kings, even in Temporals; and by the Pope's command refus'd to pay Taxes, or contribute towards the support of the Government; which was, indeed, setting up *Imperium in Imperio*, a dissolving of their allegiance, and owning a superior Sovereign to their King, in his own dominions, and that in Temporals.

That our blessed Saviour, in his all-wise Providence, foreseeing the consequences on both sides, as he set up his Church independent of all the powers upon the Earth, so he gave her no authority that could possibly interfere with the civil powers: He alter'd nothing of the civil powers, but left them as he found them; he gave to *Cesar* all that was *Cesar's*: But the things of God, and the administration of the spiritual Kingdom of Heaven, upon Earth, that he left in the hands of his Church, and accountable to none but himself: That as it is rebellion and usurpation in the Church to extend her commission to civil power, so is it the highest sacrilege and rebellion against *Christ* for the civil power to extend their commission into the spiritual Kingdom, and usurp upon the sacred Office: It is confounding of Heaven and Earth: These agree best at the distance God has plac'd them: To bring them together wou'd be a new *Chaos*, and contradiction irreconcilable: Such is the attempt of blending the sacred and the civil powers together. While each move in their own sphere there is concord and harmony.

And each may and ought to assist the other, without encroaching upon one another's province: The State may protect and honour the Church, without invading any part of her Office: As the Church ought to enforce obedience to the civil Magistrate, in all lawful things, without assuming any temporal power over him. This is the concordate and agreement betwixt the Church and the State, upon what we call their incorporation: And there is no other incorporation but this. It is not their giving up their powers to one another; that would be confusion, and an eternal seed of debate and jealousy of each other: The best way to maintain and keep up the agreement, is, to preserve their powers distinct and independent of each other.

Then it was said, that Bishops being made Lords of Parliament, of the Council, &c. it was but reasonable for the security of the State that the King should have the choice of them.

Ans. That it was very reasonable in those cases the King should have full security as to their loyalty; and not only for them, but for all who were to be admitted into any offices or degrees of the Church: That such reasonable tests should be put to them as ought to be requir'd from all other his Majesty's Subjects, for the security of the Government: And that they should renounce all civil power in the Church, to coerce or limit, by the Sword, the authority of the civil Magistrate, in any exercise of his au-

thority, tho' it were in sacred things, or over sacred Persons, or even tho' exercis'd unjustly: Which one would think is going as far as can reasonably be expected.

But that this ought not to extend the *Regale* to the choice of the Persons, because that is an encroachment upon the divine commission granted by *Christ* to his Church: And does carry along with it all the consequences of *Eraſtianism*.

That as Kings do promise to protect and defend the Church, so does the Church, to support and defend the Crown; yet she has no title from hence to have the choice of the King in her hands, on pretence of security to the Church, tho' her Bishops set the Crown upon his head: As little reason is there for the King to have the nomination of the Bishops of the Church on pretence of security to the State.

That there is more pretence on the Churches side, because the King, at his Coronation, surrenders his *Regalia*, his Crown, Scepter, and Sword, upon the Altar, and receives them thence again by the hands of the Bishops, as the Ministers of *Christ*, and representing his Person; from whom all christian Kings do derive their authority, as their King and God: And swear, upon thus accepting their Crowns from the hands of his authoriz'd Ambassadors, to maintain and defend his Church in all her liberties and freedoms.

That the State has the same returns from the Lords Spiritual, in Council, Parliament, &c. for their Honours and Estates, as from the Temporal Lords: Besides the spiritual advantages the State receives from the Church, which are infinitely greater than all that the Church can receive from the State.

That in all Ages and Religions those who serv'd at the Altar were reckoned a distinct, and the chief of the Estates of the Nation.

That if christian Kings intend to do honour to the commission of *Christ*, they should do it freely, without encroaching upon any part of it. They would not have their beneficence and protection to the Church of *Christ* understood as a bribe to her, to betray and deliver up into their hands the powers committed unto her charge by *Christ*! That wou'd be to invade *Christ* himself! And to act the part of the greatest enemy to his Spouse the Church, to tempt her to unfaithfulness, and render her obnoxious to his heavy displeasure! And will she be true to them, whom they have corrupted to be false to *Christ*?

Nor will they escape! For he is a jealous God, and will not give his Honour to another; he alone will be head of his Church: It is an honour and a trust he has not communicated to any Angel of Heaven, much less to any King upon Earth.

And he lets them taste their folly, in suffering them to destroy the greatest security of their Government, while they think to preserve it.

For we find by experience that the State, particularly in *England*, have been out in their politicks, in reducing the Church to so low an ebb of credit and authority with the People; for we have seen that Laws and Constitutions have prov'd too weak to restrain the unruly passions and ambition of designing Men. The State have no security so great as the Principles of the People, when they are taught to obey for conscience sake, and to believe that Rebellion is a damning Sin; which the Church cannot inculcate into them, farther than her credit reaches with them. And when they see Bishops made by the Court, they are apt to imagine that they speak to them the Court-Language; and lay no farther stress upon it, than the charge of a Judge at an Assizes, who has receiv'd his instructions before-hand from the

V.
Prejudice to
the State in
having the
Church de-
pend upon
them.

the Court. And, by this means, the State has lost the greatest security of their Government.

Besides, that this does insensibly draw Men into a dis-esteem and suspicion of Religion in the general; whose foundation they cannot think to be divine, while they see the Church depofable by the State. Hence they are inclin'd, and easily impos'd upon by *Deists* and *Atheists*, to resolve all into Priest-craft, managed by a superior State-craft. This looses all Bonds sacred and civil; dissolves all relations, as well natural as political; and gives full reins to all lewdness, immoralities, rebellion, and whatever wickedness, where there is prospect of success, or that can be acted *Impuné*.

That the State can never find their security in such a frame of things: That if Religion were a State-craft, it were not such, unless they can make the People believe it not to be so; which they cannot do, while they see the Governors of the Church exercising almost no ecclesiastical Power, but what is dependent upon the State: That the Heathen Governments understood this so well, as to preserve their Religion most sacred, and the Priests inviolable, and superior to all others, in what related to their function, That God himself did so ordain it among the *Jews*: That it were a greater security to the State, to have a false Religion, so it were believ'd by the People, than to have no Religion at all: That nothing can be believ'd to be Religion by any People, but what they think to be divine, that is, sent immediately from God; and they think nothing to be so, that is in the Power of Man to alter, or transverse.

Then it was urg'd, that the *Erastian* Principle has had two visible effects in *England*: That it had turn'd the Gentry, *Deists*; and the common People, Dissenters: For the Dissenters, one and all, from Presbyterians down to Muggletonians, pretend to divine Commission, independent of all the Powers upon the Earth; therefore the People run to them; and look upon the Church of *England*, as a Parliamentary Religion, and establishment of the State: And the *Deists*, when they find themselves in Committees of Religion, can never think that there is any thing divine in that which they see stand and fall by their Vote.

That next to the obligation of conscience, before spoke of, there is no security so great to any Government, as that mutual trust and confidence which ought to be betwixt a Prince and his People. Where that is once broken, it is the hardest thing in the World to cement it again: The best actions are misconstru'd on both sides; no promises or oaths are longer believ'd or trusted.

Now this of the *Regale* is so far from promoting of these good ends, that it is almost unavoidable but it must dissolve them. It is a perpetual seed of jealousy and discontent on both sides: For a King may look upon those who are zealous for Religion and the Church of *Christ*, as Enemies to his Crown and Dignity, and seeking to impair his Prerogative: And on the other hand, the friends of the Church may be tempted to think his *Regale* an Encroachment upon her original and inherent Rights; and consequently that instead of being a Defender of the Faith, and Nursing-Father to her, he is her greatest invader and enemy.

This consequence is so natural, that in every place almost, where the *Regale* has obtain'd, the effects of it have been seen: Not only in the great encrease of Dissenters, for the reason before-mention'd; but even in contests betwixt the Church and the King, especially where he happens to be of a different Communion from that of the establish'd Church; and yet must have the disposal of Bishopricks, and other affairs of the Church in his Power, can set up ecclesiastical Commissions, in what hands he thinks fit; hinder

hinder Convocations to sit, or act, &c. of this we have seen instances at home.

And likewise abroad, in *France*, where the *Regale* prevails most of any Popish Country, as in the case of *Henry IV.*

Nor does Kings being of the same Communion with the Church establish'd in their Dominions, and truly, and zealously so, hinder always the jealousies, that may arise; witness the holy League against *Henry III.* of *France*. And the solemn League and Covenant (which was thence transcrib'd, almost *Verbatim*, with the change only of names and circumstances) against our King *Charles I.* And the contests with him, by those that call'd themselves of the Church of *England*, about the high Commission Court, and other exercises of his ecclesiastical *Regale*, tho' strictly pursuant to the Act of Parliament which did set it up 1 *Eliz.* Yet that was so far abrogated by Act of Parliament 17 *Car.* They could not endure the exercise of that *Regale* which themselves had establish'd!

Under this head may come in the several contests and wars betwixt Popes and the secular Princes, for the maintenance of their opposite *Regales*: As likewise the oppositions of the Ecclesiasticks, at the Council of *Trent*, in *France*, An. 1682. (hereafter-mention'd.) And many other instances, against the *Pontificate*, or *Regale* of the Pope.

But now (said one) let us see if we can find an instance of a christian Church, here amongst our selves in *Europe* (for we have little knowledge of farther parts, as to Church-Affairs) where neither of these *Regales* do obtain, neither of the Pope, or of the King.

And it was found in *Sweden*, ever since the Reformation there; which was made (as others shou'd have been) upon the foot of the primitive *Episcopate*, and not of the *Regale*. The King there is perfectly absolute, as to all civil Affairs; yet leaves the Church entirely free, as to the choice of her Bishops, and all other ecclesiastical Matters whatsoever: He intermeddles not at all.

Nor is he offended, that in their Liturgy, they pray not only for the Church in the general, but for the Clergy, the governing part of it, before the King and his Ministers in the State: Thus it is in the *Greek* Liturgies, and all others except ours. They think it no Solecism to pray for their Bishops before the King; and to be more concern'd for the Faith and Welfare of the Church than of the State. They let the Church stand all together, with her Bishops at the Head. But the King in our Litany, is thrust in betwixt the Church (which for decency sake they wou'd have nam'd before the State, as being the language of all the World) and the Bishops, upon the notion, I suppose, of his being Head of the Church. And the whole Royal Family are drawn in with him, as being Heads in Reversion. And the Nobility too in the Office, 5th *Nov.* We improve! And seem to take care in the first place, for our Bodies, before our Souls; and for this World more than Eternity! But they retain the primitive form and constitution in *Sweden*: They reform not backwards.

And the effects of this are very remarkable: For, first, they have no Dissenters there, Popish, or other; they are all uniform. And this contributes not a little to the peace and security of the civil Government. In the next place, there has been no where so good agreement betwixt the Church and the State. No jealousies, no discontents, no murmuring at all: For indeed the ground and foundation of them is out of the way, that is, the *Regale*. The Powers, sacred and civil, are kept, as they are in their own nature, distinct, and independent on each other, and so can never interfere. And where there is not interfering and clashing, there must needs be, in this case,

case, the greatest love, and tenderest concern for one another; while both daily experiment the mutual benefits receiv'd on both sides, spiritual and temporal. Then they will both watch over one another, for good; for it is their own. The Church will make it her utmost care to inculcate the Principles of Loyalty and Obedience to the civil Government: And such a Church will have a credit and authority over the conscience of the People. And the King on the other hand, finding the benefit of this to his Government (besides more spiritual considerations) will protect and cherish the Church, without any fear or jealousy, as being the greatest support to his Crown: And will be, in a true sense, a Nursing-Father to her.

But, said one, can the King be a Nursing-Father to the Church, and yet have no Authority over her? If he be a Father, where is his honour? I have heard this, said he, much insisted upon to prove the King's Authority over the Church. And it shou'd seem to infer some spiritual Authority or other over her, as a Church: For, as they are Subjects, they are in the same Class with Lay-Men, all equally liable to the temporal Government: But if the King have no Authority at all in her constitution as a Church, how is he a Father to the Church? Or, is he a Father, and yet has no Authority?

VI.
Of Kings being Nursing-Fathers to the Church.

This turned the Company to the consideration of that text *Isai. XLIX. 23.* whence the Authority of Kings over the Church had been so often infer'd. But that objection soon vanished, when the whole verse was read out. *Kings shall be thy Nursing-Fathers, and Queens thy Nursing-Mothers: They shall bow down to thee with their Face towards the Earth, and lick up the Dust off thy Feet.*

These, said one, are strange marks of fatherly Authority! Therefore it was concluded, that the office here ascrib'd to Kings and Queens must be an office of Service, and the most profound reverence; and withall of the greatest love and affection, such as Nurses have for the Children committed to their care; as likewise of protection, and provision for them. And the Children here said to be committed to the care of Kings and Queens, are the Sons and Daughters of God: Therefore their protection of them, and provision for them, their love, reverence, and service to them must be proportionable.

Then the word Nursing-Father was enquir'd into; and it was found to be an old *English* word, and to mean the same as Foster-Father, that is, a Nurse's Husband, whose office is, to protect and defend the Child, and to carry it, when there is occasion. Thus the comparison is us'd, *Num. XI. 12. As a Nursing-Father beareth the sucking Child.* And in this text of *Isaiah* it is taken in the same sense, as is express'd, *ŷ. 22. They shall bring thy Sons in their Arms, and thy Daughters shall be carry'd upon their Shoulders: And Kings shall be thy Nursing-Fathers, &c.* Our Margin reads it, *Nourishers*; and the *Latin* renders it *Nutritii*: For neither in the Original, or any one Translation, is there such a word as Father; only this old *English* word of Nursing-Father stands in our Translation, which yet it explains upon the Margin: But the Prophet repeats the same again in other words, *Chap. LX. 16.* which fully explain his meaning; where speaking of the future glories of the Church, he says, *Thou shalt suck the Milk of the Gentiles, and shalt suck the Breast of Kings.* And to shew that this was not an office of Authority, but of Service, he says, *ŷ. 10. The Sons of Strangers shall build up thy Walls, and their Kings shall minister unto thee: Therefore thy gates shall be open continually, they shall not be shut day nor night, that Men may bring unto thee the forces of the Gentiles, and that their Kings may be brought: For the Nation and Kingdom that will not serve thee, shall perish; yea, those Nations shall be utterly wast-*

ed. And y. 14. *The Sons also of them that afflicted thee, shall come bending unto thee; and all they that despised thee shall bow themselves down at the soles of thy Feet.* These are the same expressions with those, Chap. XLIX. 23. which plainly shew the meaning of that Prophecy; that it is apply'd to Kings and Queens.

This turn'd the stream of the Discourse another way: And some did urge from this vast submission which is mention'd of Kings, that the Person to whom it must be paid cou'd not be the Church but *Christ* himself; of whom they wou'd have all these texts understood.

But then (reply'd another) you must give up your argument of any sort of Authority being imply'd in the word Nursing-Father, in this text: For otherwise, if *Christ*, and not the Church, be here meant, you will give to Kings a Fatherly-Authority over *Christ*.

And suppose that *Christ* wanted such a glorious Revolution of the Church as was there fore-told, to confirm him that there was a God, and an all-governing providence; for this is the conclusion of the verse, *Isa. XLIX. 23. Kings shall be thy Nursing-Fathers, and Queens thy Nursing-Mothers. They shall bow down to thee with their face toward the Earth, and lick up the dust off thy feet. And thou shalt know that I am the Lord; for they shall not be ashamed that wait for me.*

Besides that from y. 13. to the end of this Chapter, all is spoken of *Zion*, of the Lord's People, as it is express'd, y. 13, 14. and concludes, y. 26. thus; *And all Flesh shall know that I the Lord am thy Saviour, and thy redeemer; the mighty one of Jacob.* *Christ* is the Saviour and Redeemer of *Jacob*; which is, his Church. But if this were spoken of *Christ*, then it makes *Christ* to be the redeem'd, and not the Redeemer.

Again, y. 16. it is said, *Thy Walls are continually before me.* And y. 19. *Thy waste and desolate places, and the land of thy destruction, &c.* Now, what Walls has *Christ*, but those of his Church? What other waste and desolate places? Is he a captive, and removing to and fro? As it is express'd, y. 21. *Then shall thou say in thine heart, who hath begotten me these, seeing I have lost my Children and am desolate, a captive, and removing to and fro? And who hath brought up these? Behold I was left alone; these, where had they been?* This was spoke of the flowing in of the Gentiles to the Church, as it is express'd in the next verse, *I will lift up my hand to the Gentiles. And Kings shall be thy Nursing-Fathers, &c.* as before-quoted. This was to answer the great astonishment of the Church, for the new and unexpected access of so many Children, after those of *Israel* had been carrie captive, and destroy'd. But did not *Christ* know this? Did not he not know these, where they had been? Did he say, *Who hath begotten me these?* Or are these the words of his Spouse the Church?

And in the parallel place before quoted out of Chap. LX. after what has been repeated of *strangers building thy walls; and their Kings ministring unto thee; Nations and Kingdoms serving thee; and all they that despised thee shall bow themselves down at the soles of thy feet*, the next words are in the same y. 14. *And they shall call thee, the City of the Lord, the Zion of the Holy One of Israel.* This is certainly the Church, and not *Christ*. As the Prophet goes on, y. 15. *Whereas thou hast been forsaken, so that no Man went through thee:* Still of *Zion*, and not of *Christ*. And y. 16. *Thou shalt suck the breast of Kings; and thou shalt know that I the Lord am thy Saviour?* Did not *Christ* know this before? Was not he himself the Saviour of his Church? Again y. 6. *I will also make thy Officers Peace, and thine Exactors Righteousness*, or, as the LXX. renders it, and *St. Clem. Rom. (Ep. ad Corinth. N. 42.)* and others of the primitive Fathers, quoted

quoted it, (following herein the example of *Christ* and the Apostles, who generally quoted the Old Testament according to the Translation of the LXX.) *I will give thee thy Princes in Peace, and thy Bishops in Righteousness.* The Bishops were to be the Princes of the Church: But not of *Christ*, as this forc'd interpretation for the *Regale* would turn all these texts in favour of Kings: Who must, by these texts brought in their defence, either become Sons and Servants to the Church, or otherwise set themselves up as Fathers and Kings over *Christ*! Unless they can make us believe that by *Zion*, and *the City of the Lord*, not the Church, but *Christ* is meant: For what is said in these texts, themselves do say, is spoken of *Zion*, &c.

Add to this, that the contents of both these Chapters do apply them to the Church, and not to *Christ*: Which shews what the sense of our Church is of these texts.

Then *David's* ordering the courses of the Priests and *Levites*, and *Solomon's* thrusting out *Abiathar* were objected. To this it was said,

1. That *David* and *Solomon* were extraordinarily inspired Men, the one a Prophet, the other a Preacher; and that what they did, by an extraordinary commission from God, is not to be brought in precedent for the ordinary power of Kings: Otherwise that Kings may take upon them to preach, to consecrate Churches, (according to *Hobbs*) because *Solomon* did consecrate the Temple, and calls himself a Preacher. And to consecrate Bishops, because *Moses* consecrated *Aaron*: Nay, to write Scripture for us, because all these did so.

2. That *David* and *Solomon* were as extraordinarily raised up by God, and by him empower'd, and particularly instructed, to build the Temple, and institute a new Temple-Service and Oeconomy, as *Moses* was to make the Tabernacle, and institute the Tabernacle-Service. And that as *Moses* was commanded to make every thing of the Tabernacle after the pattern that was shew'd to him in the Mount, *Exod.* xxv. 40. so was every thing of the Temple, even to the weight of a Flesh-hook, given to *David*, as you may see, *1 Chron.* xxviii. from *ŷ. 2.* And that in writing, *ŷ. 19.* *All this, said David, the Lord made me understand in writing, by his hand upon me, even all the works of this pattern:* Or, as it is better render'd in the *Vul. Lat.* nearer to the original, and other translations, *All these things (said David) came to me written with the hand of the Lord, that I might understand all the works of this pattern.* And the LXX. says, that *David gave all this to Solomon, written with the Hand of the Lord.* So that this bears the same authority as the Decalogue, which was wrote with the finger of God upon the Mount: And this was not only as to the Temple itself, and all the Utensils of it; but likewise as to the Service and Oeconomy, then new made of the Priests, and their Ministration, as it is written *ŷ. 13.* *Also for the courses of the Priests and the Levites, and for all the work of the Service of the house of the Lord.* And these things were not only given to *David* himself, by the Spirit, as it is said *ŷ. 12.* but they were likewise commanded by *Gad*, and *Nathan*, as it is written *2 Chr.* xxix. 25. *And he (Hezekiah) set the Levites in the House of the Lord with Cymbals, with Psalteries, and with Harps, according to the commandment of David, and of Gad the King's Seer, and Nathan the Prophet: for so was the commandment of the Lord by his Prophets.* Therefore these things cannot be brought in precedent for the ordinary power of Kings. *Hezekiah* here disowns it, and shews by what authority he did it, for so was the commandment of the Lord, by his Prophets: And this needed not, if *Hezekiah* could have done it, *jure Regio*, by his own power, as King.

VII.
Of David's
ordering the
courses of the
Priests and
Levites, &c.

If Kings had had this power, then had not the great and victorious *Uzziah* been smitten with Leprosy to the day of his death; and *Saul* dethron'd by God, for invading the Priest's office: Then had not *Jeroboam* and his House been cursed, with so severe a curse, even *to cut it off, and destroy it from off the face of the earth*, for depriving the Priests of *Levi*, and setting up new Priests of his own chusing, 2 Chr. XIII. 9. And yet he had as great reason to do it as State-considerations could afford: For these Priests of *Levi* not only join'd with *Rehoboam* against him, and forsook their possessions in his Kingdom, and came themselves to *Jerusalem* to strengthen the hands of *Rehoboam*, but they brought over with them as many as they could from *Jeroboam*, as it is told, 2 Chr. XI. 13. to v. 18.

Here one interpos'd, and said, that he could not oppose these authorities of holy Scripture; which he had not so well consider'd before: But that otherwise he did not see so great inconvenience in the King's nomination of Bishops; because, said he, I have observ'd that very excellent Men have been advanc'd in the Church, particularly by King *Charles II.* as by former Princes; and that Lay-Patrons generally put in as good Men, as where the collation was in the Bishop.

To this it was reply'd, that the comparison would be invidious, therefore we would not enter upon it. And moreover, said this Gentleman, I am not so sanguine as to promise my self, that if the election of Bishops were restor'd to themselves to morrow, there would not be found among some of them, corrupt practices: They are Men; and there is no perfection in this world: The Apostles themselves had their contests, and were Men of like passions as we.

But still, said he, there is a necessity for the good government of the world, and of every Society (and the Church is one) that all things should go in their proper chanel. Perhaps, said he, you or I might name as good a Man to be Lord Chancellor, Treasurer, or Lord Mayor of *London*, as some that are chosen into those places: But if, for that reason, we should take this upon us, we should be justly chargeable with a great offence, and in some cases, of Treason, for assuming to our selves the office and prerogative of the King.

Besides, that they ought to have the administration of any office, who are accountable for the discharge of it: And the Bishops being answerable to *Christ* the chief Shepherd for the discharge of their under-Stewardships, ought therefore to have the administration in their own hands.

And if this was not trusted to a *David*, a *Solomon*, or a *Hezekiah*, no other King, for his opinion of his own Virtue, Wisdom, or Godliness, ought to encroach upon the sacred office.

VIII.
Of Solomon
and Abiathar.

Then it was desir'd that something more particularly should be spoken concerning the deprivation of *Abiathar* by *Solomon*.

I. And you remember it was deny'd that *Solomon* did deprive him: And this was call'd a vulgar error. Then the sentence which *Solomon* pass'd upon *Abiathar* was read, 1 Kin. II. 26. *And unto Abiathar the Priest said the King, Get thee to Anathoth, unto thine own fields, for thou art worthy of death; but I will not at this time put thee to death because thou barest the Ark of the Lord God before David my Father, and because thou hast been afflicted in all wherein my Father was afflicted.* This was the sentence. *Solomon* here was giving judgment upon the several Rebels who had conspir'd against him: And he pass'd sentence of death against *Adonijah*, *Joab*, &c. But this was the sentence of *Abiathar*, which was totally a civil and not any ecclesiastical sentence: It was banishment from *Jerusalem* to *Anathoth*: It was a reprieve as to his life, which he had forfeited by his Treason,

Treason; but not a full pardon: I will not, *at this time*, put thee to death: He kept him upon his good behaviour.

It was like the sentence he past upon *Shimei*, at the same time, of confinement to *Jerusalem*, the breach of which afterwards cost him his life.

But it was urg'd *à contra*, that this was an ecclesiastical sentence of deprivation; because it is said, as a consequence of this sentence; *ŷ. 27. So Solomon thrust out Abiathar from being Priest unto the Lord.* How was that? Because the proper office of the Priest-hood was limited to the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and cou'd not be perform'd any where else. And so *Abiathar's* banishment from *Jerusalem*, was a consequential hindering of him from the execution of his office, during that time; but it was no deprivation: And if the King pleas'd to relax his sentence of banishment; there was no incapacity upon *Abiathar* of exercising his office as before: For after this sentence, he was still reckon'd Priest, as before, *1 Kin. iv. 4. Zadok and Abiathar were the Priests.* This was in the account of the chief Officers in Church and State, in *Solomon's* Reign.

It was said; That if this text be understood to imply a deprivation, it will also prove a degradation, because it is said, *He thrust out Abiathar from being Priest.* And then it will prove too much: Because our Kings do not pretend to such a Power as to degrade Bishops from their character. And therefore they will be forc'd to solve this text, by *Solomon's* having an extraordinary Commission to do this; seeing they pretend not to succeed him in such a Power, which they grant to exceed theirs.

But if, said one, the thrusting *Abiathar* from the Temple, and that his office was confin'd to that place, and that this was reckon'd not only a deprivation, but a degrading of him from the office of Priesthood; it wou'd seem as if, by a parallel from this, the office of a Bishop in the christian Church were to be understood always with relation to a particular Church or Flock, and that where a Bishop has no particular Church, of which he is Head, he is, as it were, no Bishop of the catholick Church, that consisting only of several particular Churches.

To which it was added, that the Apostles, wherever they went, did always make Bishops of particular Districts or Churches; and never did make any such thing as a Bishop at large, without relation to some particular Flock: Nay that they were so careful in this, that, as *Clem. Rom.* tells us in his first *Ep. ad Corinth.* N. 42. they made Bishops *τ μελλόντων πρεσβυτέρων*, leaving Bishops in places to be heads of those who should afterwards be converted.

That from that time to this, there has been no Bishops in the catholick Church, but of particular Districts.

That the word Bishop, like that of King, is a word of government and relation: And as there cannot be a King without People; so neither a Bishop without a Flock.

That therefore, tho' a King or a Bishop, being depriv'd, hinders not their right of being restor'd, yet it is, for the time, an un-kinging or un-bishoping of such an one; and in that sense, may be call'd not only a deprivation but a degradation of him, and taking of his character from him; which remains then only *in Potentiâ*, as the Schools speak, in a capacity to be afterwards reduc'd into act.

That therefore, as said in the beginning of this discourse, whoever has a power to dissolve the relation betwixt a Bishop and his Diocess, has power over his character: As it is said here of *Abiathar*, that he was *thrust out from being Priest unto the Lord*; that being imply'd in the disabling a Man from executing his office, in the place whereto he is appointed: For he has more right to that place, to that particular Flock, over which he is

appointed, and to exercise his office there, than in any other place, or to any other Flock; for every Flock have their own Bishop or Pastor; and one Bishop must not thrust himself into the charge of another Bishop, without his leave: And therefore a Bishop justly depriv'd, is for the time, degraded, and thrust out of the Priesthood; and is not to be reckon'd as one of the episcopal College. And if the secular Magistrate can put another Bishop in his place, then may the State alter and model the whole episcopal College, at their pleasure, and consequently, the whole Authority of the Church of Christ.

Here one said, that *Solomon* did not only thrust out or deprive *Abiathar*, but did substitute another in his place; therefore it was desir'd that something should be said to explain, 1 *Kin.* ii. 35. *Zadok the Priest did the King put in the room of Abiathar.* *Ans.* *Abiathar* was chief or High-Priest of the second Order of Priests, which was the eight Families of the House of *Ithamar*, the second Son of *Aaron*, from whom *Abiathar* descended. And *Zadok*, as the chief or supreme *Metropolitan*, was over the sixteen Families of the House of *Eleazar* the eldest Son of *Aaron*, from whom he descended. You may see the distribution, 1 *Chr.* xxiv. Therefore *Zadok* is all along, even in *David's* time, put before *Abiathar*, wherever they are nam'd together. And the succession of the high Priesthood *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*, or properly so call'd, was reckon'd only in the Sons of *Eleazar*, as you may see, 1 *Chr.* vi. to *v.* 15, and *v.* 50, to 54. And *Ezra* vii. to *v.* 6. where none of the Family of *Ithamar* are reckon'd; neither *Eli*, nor *Ahitub*, nor *Abimelech*, nor *Abiathar*, but *Zadok* is. And *Zadok*, and not *Abiathar*, was Prince or Ruler of the *Aaronites*, 1 *Chr.* xxvii. 17. where the Princes of the twelve Tribes are reckon'd up in *David's* time. And *Zadok* only, and not *Abiathar*, was anointed with *Solomon*, in the life-time of King *David*. 1 *Chr.* xxix. 22. to be Priest; that is, the chief, or supreme high Priest; or as *Josephus* says, (*Antiq.* l. vii. c. 9.) *High Priest of all the People*. As the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* is call'd *Primate of all England*, in contradistinction to the Arch-bishop of *York*, who is styl'd *Primate of England*. But when *Abiathar* was banish'd, and therefore could not administer his high Priesthood over the second Order of the eight Families of the House of *Ithamar*, they were all put under the charge of *Zadok*. And thus the putting *Zadok* in the room of *Abiathar*, was not advancing *Zadok* above *Abiathar*, for so he was always; but as if the *Primate of Canterbury* had the rule and government given him over the Province of *York*, during an incapacity of the *Primate of York*: Which incapacity arising from a civil sentence, as of imprisonment or banishment (for such, and no other was the sentence of *Solomon* against *Abiathar*) it was no deprivation, but he remain'd notwithstanding still *Primate of York*, or second *Metropolitan*, as *Abiathar* was still reckon'd the second Priest after *Zadok*, in the Court of *Solomon*, notwithstanding of that sentence of banishment pass'd against him.

Who was made second Priest, or high Priest of the second Order, after the death of *Abiathar*, or if he was restor'd, by being releas'd from his banishment, does not appear, nor is it material to our present purpose. But this we find, that there were two such Priests from the time of *Aaron*, *Numb.* iii. 4. 1 *Chr.* xxiv. 2. and continu'd to the Captivity, 2 *Kin.* xxv. 18. *Jer.* lii. 24. and in our Saviour's time, *Luke* iii. 2. and that after the new establishment of the Temple Service and Oeconomy, the succession of the high Priesthood was reckon'd from *Zadok*, who was the first high Priest of the Temple, as formerly it was from *Aaron*; and instead of the Sons of *Aaron* the Priests were afterwards call'd the Sons of *Zadok*, *Ezek.* xi. 46, xliii. 19. xliiv. 15. xliiii. 2. And instead of the House of *Aaron*, it was said, *The House of Zadok*, 2 *Chr.* xxxi. 10.

As instead of *The House of the Lord*, and *the Temple of the Lord* in Shiloh, 1 Sam. i. 3, 7, 9. it was afterwards said, *The House* and *The Temple of the Lord* in Jerusalem. This was a mighty Revolution in the Jewish Church: And all expressly order'd by God himself, and most particularly set down in holy Scripture.

From the Jews first possession of *Canaan*, the Temple was set up in *Shiloh*, Josh. xviii. 1. And there continu'd all the time of the Judges, which was about four hundred and fifty years (*Acts* xiii. 20.) to the days of *Samuel*. The Tabernacle of *Shiloh* was then call'd, *The Tent which God had placed among Men*, Psal. lxxviii. 60. Then the Ark was taken, *Eli* and his Sons slain; and great reproach came upon *Israel*. After this the Ark return'd no more to *Shiloh*, but was long in a wandering condition, being twenty years in the House of *Abinadab*, 1 Sam. vii. 1, 2. and remov'd to several other places. At length God himself pitch'd upon the place, where he shew'd himself, by a great Miracle, to *David*, 2 Chr. iii. 1. or as the vulgar reads it, *which place God shew'd to David*. It was first consecrated by *David's* being commanded to rear an Altar there for staying the Plague from the People. And it was the same place where *Abraham* was commanded to sacrifice *Isaac*, Gen. xxii. 2. which is observ'd by *Josephus*, *Antiq.* l. vii. c. 10. God chose not only the Tribe, but the Mountain where he would have his Temple built; having rejected the Tribe and Tabernacle where it was built before, Psal. lxxviii. 67, 68. It was not in Man's Power to determine the Tribe or the Place; no, nor was the least circumstance, the measure of a Chamber, or the weight of a Flesh-hook (as before said) left to the discretion either of *David* or *Solomon*, but all most minutely set down to them in writing. And as all other things, so the Person who should build the Temple was particularly pitch'd upon by God himself. *David* was rejected for this Work, tho' he had a great mind to it. And God foretold by Prophecy whom he would have to do it, and nam'd his Name before he was born, 1 Chr. xxii. 8, 9, 10. so that in all things the Temple-œconomy was wholly divine, and not establish'd by an ordinary regal or human Power or Authority.

2. Hence it was argu'd, that tho' the sentence of *Solomon* against *Abiathar* had been an ecclesiastical sentence; and that not only of deprivation, but degradation, yet it cou'd not be brought in precedent for the ordinary Power of Kings: That it must in that case, be reckon'd as a part, and a principal part of the new ordering of the courses of the Priests, which was particularly commanded by God to *David*. And according to which it is written that *Solomon* did execute it, 2 Chr. viii. 14. And he appointed according to the Order of *David* his Father, the courses of the Priests to their Service—for so had *David* the Man of God commanded.

3. That if the Kingly Power extend to the depriving of Priests, and putting others, whom they think fit, in their room; then *Solomon* might have put any other whom he pleas'd, and not *Zadok* in the room of *Abiathar*; which I have not yet heard any adventure to say: For at this rate *Solomon*, or any after-King might have quite overthrown and alter'd the whole Temple-œconomy, and made what new distribution of the courses of the Priests he thought fit, And for all the work of the Service of the House of the Lord. For both are joyn'd together, and alike commanded. 1 Chr. xxviii. 13. And by *Ysaiah* 21. it appears to be an injunction laid upon *Solomon*, particularly as to the courses of the Priests, that even he could not alter: For this is there put as part of *David's* charge to him. And behold the courses of the Priests and the Levites, are for all the Service of the House of the Lord.

4. That

4. That if *Abiathar* or *Eli* before him, of the House of *Ithamar*, had usurp'd the supreme high Priesthood, from *Zadok*, and his Predecessors of the House of *Eleazar*, as *Josephus* (*Antiq.* l. viii. c. i.) seems to suppose, and reckons there five of the Family of *Eleazar*, who had led a private life, while the high Priesthood was in the Family of *Ithamar*, which was during the succession of four, viz. *Eli*, *Abitub*, *Abimelech*, and *Abiathar*; and therefore he says, that *Zadok* was the first high Priest under *David*, he means (I suppose) of the House of *Eleazar*: Then, if so, *Solomon's* depriving *Abiathar*, and putting *Zadok* in his room, was only restoring the Right Line; and comes within the ordinary Power of Kings, who are, by their places, *Custodes utriusque Tabulae*, Keepers, and Protectors of both the Tables of the Decalogue, as well of the first, which respects the Worship of God, as of the second, that respects Justice betwixt Man and Man; that is, in their own Sphere, not to take upon them in any part of the sacerdotal office, but to coerce, by the secular Arm, the intruders and offenders. Thus a King may and ought justly, by force, expel an intruding Bishop, and restore the rightful Bishop.

But it was offer'd as an objection to *Josephus*, that those five of the House of *Eleazar*, who, he says, led private lives while the high Priesthood was in the House of *Ithamar*, viz. *Bockias* the Son of *Joseph*, *Joathan* the Son of *Bockias*, *Mareoth* the Son of *Joathan*, *Arophah* the Son of *Mareoth*, and *Achitob* the Son of *Arophah*, who was Father to *Zadok*, are not the names of the high Priests which are recorded in their Genealogies, 1 *Chr.* vi. and *Ezra* vii. for *Josephus* makes *Achitob* to be the Son of *Arophah*; who in the Scripture Genealogy is call'd *Amariah*: And he calls *Mareoth* the Son of *Joathan*, but the holy Scripture calls him the Son of *Zerabiah*: He makes *Bockias*, or *Bukki* the Son of *Joseph*, who the holy Scripture says was the Son of *Abishua*. If he means the same Persons, it is hard to suppose so great variation in their names, for there is nothing in the Scripture Genealogy like *Joseph*, *Joathan*, or *Arophah*.

And if these were high Priests *de Jure*, tho' not *de Facto*, as being put out of possession by the House of *Ithamar*, then either their names must be put into the Genealogy of the high Priests, or else the names of those of the House of *Ithamar*, who fill'd the Pontifical Chair, while the others led private lives, as *Josephus* says: But, as observ'd before, none of the Line of *Ithamar* are reckon'd in the Genealogy. And therefore, tho' they were high Priests of the second Order, that is, over the House of *Ithamar*, yet they were not the chief or supreme high Priests: Or otherwise, if they usurp'd it, they were not so esteem'd by God, tho' in possession, but the succession was reckon'd by the Priests who had the Right, tho' turn'd out of possession; and that for four Generations, for so many were the high Priests that are reckon'd of the House of *Ithamar*.

Selden tells us (*de Succ. in Pontif.* l. i. c. 2.) from some Jewish Authors, that they did believe the high Priesthood was translated from *Phineas* of the House of *Eleazar*, to *Eli*, the first high Priest reckon'd of the House of *Ithamar*, by the express command of God, *Ex jussu Numinis*; as supposing it cou'd not be done by Man. And he sets down some of the Rabbies Reasons for it, as, that *Phineas* and his Family were so much to blame for the many wickednesses of the *Israelites* under their Judges; and particularly, that he being consulted about *Jephthah's* Vow, refus'd to absolve him from it: And therefore that the *Numinis Majestas seu Praesentia*, the divine presence, or influence departed from him. But this looks like the rest of the Jewish Fables and Traditions: For if the high Priesthood had been translated to *Eli*, by the command of God, it is hard to give a reason

reason why neither he nor any of his Posterity should be reckon'd by God amongst the high Priests.

Therefore if *Eli* was high Priest (properly so call'd) and had it not from God, it is most probable, that he usurp'd it when he was Judge, that is, the supreme civil Magistrate. And then he will stand the first example of the civil Magistrates incroachment upon the Church: For he was then in a double capacity, as the Bishops of *Rome* are now, having the supreme civil Government in his hands; and by that might have exalted himself above his station in the Church; which will come in under the notion of *Erastianism*, as being carry'd on by a civil Power, tho' in an ecclesiastical Person. This has begot the distinction (first broached by the Roman Catholicks themselves) betwixt the Church and the Court of *Rome*.

Then it was observ'd, that if this matter of fact was so, this first example of the secular Power encroaching upon the Church, was attended (as most other beginnings of nefarious wickedness, as of Schism in *Korah*, &c. usually have been) with very remarkable Judgments: For within seven Months after *Eli's* entring upon his Government, the whole Nation of *Israel* was conquer'd by the *Philistines*; and remain'd in subjection to them all his life (the longest of any of their captivities before that of *Babylon*) and, which was much more terrible, the Ark of God was (then only) taken and led away in Triumph by these cursed *Philistines*, and set up as a Trophy in the Temple of their *Dagon*; the wicked Sons of *Eli*, who attended the Ark, were slain; the Armies of *Israel* routed; *Eli* broke his Neck, and the *Glory departed from Israel*. And as if the Government of *Eli* had been the cause of all these Judgments, within seven Months after his death, the Ark was miraculously restor'd, and *Israel* recover'd their freedom.

It was desir'd by one of the Company to shew how this calculation was made, that the conquest of *Israel* by the *Philistines* was within seven Months after *Eli's* entring upon his Government, and the Restauration within seven Months after his death; which was thus shewn. The Government of *Eli* was forty years, 1 *Sam.* iv. 18. The Captivity of *Israel* to the *Philistines* was forty years, *Judg.* xiii. 1. And the Restauration of the Ark was seven Months after its being taken, 1 *Sam.* vi. 1. and the death of *Eli*, which was the same day, 1 *Sam.* iv. 18. Therefore the Captivity must begin seven Months after *Eli's* entring upon his Government, to compleat the forty years of the Captivity.

Then it was farther observ'd, that this was the time, and the occasion why God forsook his Tabernacle at *Shiloh*, where it had remain'd ever since *Israel's* first possession of *Canaan*, about four hundred and fifty years, as before-mention'd.

And moreover, how Judgments pursu'd the House of *Eli*; his Sons *Hophni* and *Phineas*; Sons of *Belial*, the most wicked that ever was heard of in any History, they robbed the Men who came to sacrifice, and lay with the Women who assembled at the door of the Tabernacle. And thus corrupted *Israel*, and made them abhor the offerings of the Lord, 1 *Sam.* ii. 12, 16, 17, 22. These were slain by the *Philistines*, when the Ark was taken. *Abimelech* was massacred by *Saul*, and the whole City of the Priests for his sake. His Son *Abiathar* fell into Treason, and was the last high Priest of the Line of *Ithamar*. And there was a Prophecy of these terrible Judgments upon the House of *Eli*, and of their being remov'd from the Priesthood, 1 *Sam.* ii. 35. And *Solomon* being an extra-ordinarily inspired Person, and rais'd up by God immediately, and commissioned by him in manner before-mention'd, we cannot doubt, had instruction likewise as to this case of *Abiathar*, and for the fulfilling of that Prophecy; which

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we are told was the design of *Solomon* in what he did. So *Solomon* thrust out *Abiathar* from being Priest unto the Lord; that he might fulfill the word of the Lord which he spake concerning the House of *Eli* in *Shiloh*. 1 Kin. II. 27.

Therefore it was said, that tho' *Abiathar* had been the high Priest, properly so call'd; and that his Family had not usurp'd upon the Family of *Eleazar*, but that the Priesthood had been translated to the house of *Ithamar*, by divine Commission; here was the divine Commission to out them, and reinstate the Family of *Eleazar*: And that neither the one nor the other was within the ordinary, regal, no nor human Power.

But the first Hypothesis did please best, and seem'd to render all this matter more easy, that the high Priesthood, properly so call'd, was not translated to the House of *Ithamar*, tho' it is probable that *Eli* the second high Priest being also Judge of *Israel*, might take more upon him as to the Priesthood than he ought, and withdraw his Subjection to the first high Priest: Whom, by the addition of his civil Authority, he did so overshadow, that no mention is made, in the reign of *Eli* of any other high Priest than himself. But in the reign of *David* we find that *Zadok* gain'd the ascendent over *Abiathar*, as shewn above, even before his being thrust out by *Solomon*; which it was thought might be, nay that it must be reckon'd among the regulations of the courses of the Priests; and so, that it was by immediate divine Commandment.

5. It was consider'd how dangerous and uncertain an argument mere example is, especially in holy Scripture, where many things, are told very short, and the reasons of them not always set down: That the least variation of a circumstance may make that lawful in one, which would be a sin in another. And many unwarrantable actions are barely related in holy Scripture, without any mark put upon them. And many extraordinary actions of Prophets and others are told, for which we do not doubt they had divine Commission, yet no such Commission mention'd: And wherein if we should imitate them, we should greatly sin. That examples are encouragements to our duty, in things that are commanded; but no rule of themselves: That following the example of *Phineas*, gave rise to that desperate and bloody Sect of the *Zealots* among the *Jews*; and many the like amongst our selves; who govern themselves chiefly by examples, and brought mostly out of the Old Testament, as *Curse ye Meroz*, &c. The like mistaken Zeal possess'd the two fiery Disciples, to imitate *Elias*, Luk. IX. 54.

That there being but this one example of *Solomon* in all the holy Scripture of a King's thrusting out a Priest, except where it is severely reprehended by God, as in *Jeroboam*; it is a very dangerous method to take no notice of those examples where God has condemned it, and to build only upon one instance, from this single encouragement: That God has not in that place condemned it: That condemning it in some Kings, shews it not to be within the regal Commission; and therefore the example of it in another King must be likewise condemnable, tho' it be not there express'd: Or otherwise, that King must have had some extraordinary Commission from God for the doing of it; as it must be supposed that *Solomon* here had; else no doubt it had been a sin in him, as well as in another: That is, if it was any more than a civil sentence of banishment, as before has been discours'd.

6. That it is certain the levitical Priesthood was set up by God four hundred years before there was a King in *Israel*; as the evangelical Priesthood was three hundred years before there was a christian King in the World: And therefore, that neither the one nor the other could be made dependent upon Kings. That since christian Kings do build the *Regale* upon

on the precedent of the Jewish Kings, it must go against them: Seeing they must grant, that it was not in the power of the Jewish Kings to alter the Aaronical Priesthood, and set up other Priests in their place; and that as well the King, as all the People were to be directed by the high Priest, as it is written, *Numb. xxvii. 21. At his word shall they go out, and at his word they shall come in, both he (the King or chief Governor) and all the Children of Israel with him, even all the Congregation.*

Here one interpos'd, and desir'd to know, how all this would agree with our present Laws, and since the Reformation: And instanc'd the Statutes 25 *H. VIII. c. 19.* and 37 *H. VIII. c. 17, &c.* with the Commission that Arch-bishop *Cranmer* took out for his Bishoprick from *Edw. VI.* which is inserted in Bishop *Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation*, Part. II. *Collect. Record.* to Book I. N. 2. p. 90. And the like done by other Bishops, whereby they held their Bishopricks during pleasure of the King; and own'd to derive all their power even ecclesiastical, from the Crown, *Velut à supremo Capite, & omnium infra Regnum nostrum Magistratum Fonte & Scaturigine*, as from the fountain and original of it, &c. To this it was said,

IX.
Concerning
our Laws at
present, and
since the Re-
formation.

1. That all this is to be understood only of the civil Power and Authority, which by the Laws of the Land, were annex'd to the sacred office: As the civil jurisdiction that is granted to the Bishops Courts, to the Bishops themselves, as Lords of Parliament, &c. to the civil penalties which follow their excommunications, and the legal protection to their ordinations, and other acts of their office: And these are deriv'd onely and solely from the King. Nothing of this was granted to the Apostles, or the Bishops, their Successors by *Christ*. And as the State granted these, they may recall them, if there be sufficient reason for it.

That in that very Commission before mention'd, which was given to *Cranmer* for his Bishoprick, there is an exception, *Per & ultra ea quæ tibi ex sacris Literis divinitus commissæ esse dignoscuntur.* (i. e.) Over and above those Powers and Authorities, which the holy Scriptures do testify, are given to thee by God. These the King did not take upon him to grant; but only what was over and above these, that is, the protection and civil privileges granted by the State, which were annex'd, to fortify and encourage these. And take notice, that that of which the King is here call'd the Head and Fountain, is *Omnium Magistratum*, of all the Magistracy within his Dominions, as well ecclesiastical as temporal: For there is a civil Magistracy annex'd by the Laws to the ecclesiastical Jurisdiction: And of this only ought these expressions to be meant; because we see the other, the spiritual Authority which in holy Scripture is granted to the Church, is expressly excepted: And that ecclesiastical Authority which in this Commission is said to flow from the King, is, *Juris dicendi Autoritas, & quæcunque ad Forum Ecclesiasticum pertinent*; that is, The episcopal Jurisdiction, consider'd as a Forum, a Court establish'd by the secular Power, and part of the Laws of the Land.

That in the said *Hist. of the Reformation*, Part. I. in the *Addenda* N. v. p. 321. there is A Declaration made of the Function and divine Institution of Bishops and Priests, subscrib'd by the Lord *Cromwell*, then Vice-gerent to King *Hen. VIII.* in ecclesiastical matters, by Arch-bishop *Cranmer*, with the Arch-bishop of *York*, eleven other Bishops, and twenty Divines and Canonists, declaring that the Power of the Keys, and other Church Functions is formally distinct from the civil Power, &c. And *ibid. Collect. Record.* No. x. p. 177. There is the Judgment of eight Bishops concerning the King's Supremacy, whereof *Cranmer* is the first, asserting that the Commission which *Christ* gave to his Church had No respect to Kings or Princes

Princes Power: But that the Church had it by the *Word of God*, to which christian Princes knowledge themselves subject. They deny that the Commission *Christ* gave to his Church did extend to civil Power over Kings and Princes: And they own that the civil Power was over Bishops and Priests, as well as other Subjects, that is, in civil matters, which the Church of *Rome* did deny: But they assert that *Bishops and Priests have the charge of Souls, are the Messengers of Christ, to teach the truth of his Gospel, and to loose and bind sin, &c. as Christ was the Messenger of his Father.* Which sure was independent of all Kings and Powers upon Earth.

Here one desir'd it might not be forgot, that *Bonner* took out the same Commission for his Bishoprick from *Hen. VIII.* as that before-mention'd of *Cranmer* from *Edw. VI.* which is, *verbatim* inserted in the said *Hist. of the Reformation*, Part. I. *Collect. Record.* to B. III. p. 184.

And that the Convocation who made that submission of the Clergy, 25 *Hen. VIII.* were all Roman Catholics, for it was before the beginning of the Reformation, before the King's Supremacy was enacted, which, when enacted afterwards, was grounded upon this submission of the Popish Clergy, and the acknowledgment of both Convocations before that time (22 *Hen. VIII.*) who own'd the King as supreme Head of the Church within his own Dominions. This was the first time, and these Popish Bishops and Clergy were the first who bestowed that title upon the King; with which they have ever since upbraided the Reformation.

2. It was farther said, That as our Laws stand at present, the Church is left wholly independent on the State, as to her purely Spiritual Power and Authority.

Because our Kings claim no other ecclesiastical Authority than was granted by God to the Kings in holy Scripture: And what that was we have seen before, to have nothing in it but mere civil Power; tho' it might be exercised over ecclesiastical Persons (who are subject, as all others, as *Christ* himself was, to the civil Powers in all civil things) and in ecclesiastical causes too, to punish with temporal pains, as well Blasphemers, Idolaters, and Hereticks, as Thieves, Robbers, &c. as well the Transgressors against the first as second Table. Thus the Godly Kings in holy Scripture did: Thus they were empower'd by God: And this, and no more is attributed to our Kings, as it is fully express'd in our 37th Article, *viz. That only Prerogative which we see to have been given always to all Godly Princes in holy Scripture by God himself: That is, to rule all Estates and Degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal: And to restrain with the civil Sword the stubborn and evil doers.* These are the words of the Article.

And hence it was urg'd, that the precedents drawn from any extraordinary Acts of *Moses, David, or Solomon* are hereby excluded; because it is said such Prerogative, and such only, as was always given, and to all Godly Princes. And that is explain'd, *viz. To restrain with the civil Sword.*

That therefore, by this, all ecclesiastical Power whatsoever is utterly disown'd and disclaim'd: Tho' the civil Power, as said before, may be exercis'd upon ecclesiastical Persons, and in ecclesiastical Causes.

That this was made in explanation of the Oath of Supremacy. And therefore does oblige us to understand those words in that Oath, where the King is said to be *Supreme Governor, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal, to extend only to civil Government, and the Power of the civil Sword.*

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That this explanation was made necessarily, for, as Bishop *Burnet* tells us, (*Hist. Reform.* Part. II. p. 386.) the Bishops oppos'd the Queen's Supremacy, as set forth in that Oath; and many others were offended at it. And the same Bishop, in his Travels, *Letter 1.* from *Zurich*, p. 52. of the *Dutch* Edition at *Rotterdam*. An 1686. quotes a Letter of Bishop *Jewel's* to *Bullinger*, dated *May 22, 1559.* wherein he writes, *That the Queen refus'd to be call'd Head of the Church,* and adds, *That that Title cou'd not be justly given to any mortal.* Therefore Queen *Elizabeth* laid aside the Title of Head of the Church, and instead thereof the word Governor was put into the Oath, as it stands to this day. The King being now styl'd therein only supreme Governor, which is a more secular word than Head (tho' it may mean the same thing) and, as here explain'd, means only supreme civil Governor.

That this Article mentions Queen *Elizabeth's* Injunctions, which explain and limit the regal Supremacy, as it has done; and desires that none shou'd take the Oath in any other sense.

That Primate *Usher* gave the same explanation of it, in a Speech at the Council-Table in *Dublin*, upon occasion of some Magistrates there, who refus'd the said Oath. And King *James I.* sent him a Letter of thanks and approbation of his Speech: Both which are in Print.

And that none of our succeeding Kings or Parliaments have given any other explanation of it, or requir'd that it should be taken in any other sense; but all along refer to these.

That the thirty nine Articles are incorporated into our Laws, and requir'd to be subscrib'd by Act of Parliament.

That therefore, if any think the former Acts of Parliament 25 *Hen. VIII.* c. 19. the 37 *Hen. VIII.* c. 17, &c. And the Commissions for Bishopricks, taken out by *Cranmer*, *Bonner*, &c. cannot be reconcil'd by the means before-mention'd, with that exposition in the 37th Article, &c. and with several practices formerly, or at this day: Yet this they must grant, that not only former Customs, but Acts of Parliament, are superseded and annull'd by latter Acts of Parliament: And therefore if those former Acts cannot be so construed as to agree with the latter, the latter must take place, and so on all hands it is plain, that as our Laws stand at present, the Church is left wholly independent on the State, as to her purely Spiritual Power and Authority, *Quod erat demonstrandum.* And if there is or has been any practices contrary to these Laws, yet that annuls not the Laws.

And as the original Rights of the Church are here asserted independent of the civil Power; so likewise her Authority, is not left undetermin'd, in her spiritual capacity, even over the King himself; not only to debar him the Prayers and Sacraments, but to proceed to excommunication, if other methods prevail not to bring him to Penance for open scandals: Thus it is express'd in *The second Part of the Homily of right use of the Church*, where after having spoke of *Christ's* scourging the buyers and sellers out of the Temple, these words follow, *And according to this example of our Saviour Christ, in the primitive Church, which was most holy and godly, and in the which due discipline with severity was used against the wicked, open offenders were not suffer'd once to enter into the House of the Lord, or admitted to Common-Prayer, and the use of the holy Sacraments with other true Christians, until they had done open Penance before the whole Church. And this was practis'd, not only upon mean Persons, but also upon the rich, noble, and mighty Persons; yea, upon Theodosius, that puissant and mighty Emperor, whom, for committing grievous and wilfull Murder, St. Ambrose Bishop of Milain reprov'd sharply, and did also ex-*

communicate the said Emperor, and brought him to open Penance. Some have bestow'd a Marginal Note upon this place, and say, *He was only dehorted from receiving the Sacrament, until by repentance he might be better prepar'd.* But there was something more in it, or else, both the History of it, and the Homily have been foully mistaken. The Homily says, he was excommunicated, and brought to open Penance. Let who will comment upon these words; they are confirm'd, and every Clergy-Man in the Nation oblig'd, by Act of Parliament, to subscribe them: They are part of our thirty nine Articles of Religion; and stand to this day unrepealed; and therefore are a sufficient explanation of the sense both of Church and State in this matter: And if some of our Divines would explain the Doctrine of our Church, more by her Articles, Homilies, and Canons, than the sense of private Doctors, they would go upon surer grounds, and have better success.

Tho' there want not Doctors, even modern, and of no small reputation, who have given sufficient Testimony against the *Erastian* Construction of our Laws, or obligation of them, if so constru'd.

That of Dr. *Sherlock* is full and express, which is quoted at the end of the Preface, * That Bishops have no Right to give away those Powers which *Christ* has given them, and if granted by them that the grant is void, and they ought to re-assume them. Much more, if taken from them, by any whatsoever.

And Dr. *Burnet*, now Bishop of *Salisbury*, whose *History of the Reformation* is before-quoted, as to the sense of the Laws then made, is fuller upon that point, in a Treatise wrote since, when the Popish Controversy was a-foot, and he was in *Holland*; it is intitled, *Reflexions on the relation of the English Reformation, lately printed at Oxford.* This was printed at *Amsterdam* for J. S. 1688. There in the first Part, speaking of the Acts of Parliament that concern the King's Supremacy, he says, p. 18. *When our Author doth, &c. Then may we undertake to justify all the flourishes that may be in any Act of Parliament—It is a very unreasonable thing to urge some general expressions, or some stretches of the royal Supremacy, and not to consider that more strict explanation that was made of it, both in King Henry VIII's time, and under Queen Elizabeth.* And p. 19. he says, *Upon the definition of the King's Supremacy, in The necessary Erudition of a christian Man, All People were obliged to take their measures, and not upon some expressions either in Acts of Parliament, or Acts of Convocation, nor upon some stretches of the King's Jurisdiction. In this (Erudition of a christian Man) it is plainly said, That Bishops and Priests are bound to obey all the King's Laws, not being contrary to the Laws of God: So that here is expressed that necessary reserve upon their obedience, it being provided that they were only bound to obey, when the Laws were not contrary to the Laws of God. The other reserve is also made; of all that Authority which was committed by Christ and his Apostles to the Bishops and Priests, And we are not ashamed to own it freely, that we see no other reserves in our obedience to the King besides these.* [He goes on to Queen *Elizabeth's* explanation, and says p. 20.] *That since this sense was not only given by Queen Elizabeth, who allowed such as took the Oath to declare that they took it in that sense; but it was afterwards enacted both in Convocation and in Parliament, and put into the Body of our Confession of Faith, this explanation must be consider'd as the true measure of the King's Supremacy: And the wide expressions in the former Laws must be understood to be restrain'd by this: Since posterior Laws derogate from those that were at first made, &c.*

* Summary of the Controv. p. 119.

[And quoting the Queen's Injunctions, he says] *This is all the Supremacy which we are bound in conscience to own. And if the Letter of the Law, or the stretches of that in the administration of it, have carry'd this farther, we are not at all concern'd in it. But in case any such thing were made out, it cou'd amount to no more than this, that the civil Authority had made some encroachments on ecclesiastical Authority. But the submitting to an oppression, and bearing it till some better times may deliver us from it, is no argument against our Church, &c.* And p. 21. he says, *We may see in Godeau, and many other modern Writers, how much they complain of this, as a servitude, under which their Church (the French) is brought, and an infraction of all the ancient Canons. Again, p. 23. If the great and unmeasur'd extent of the papal Authority made our Princes judge it necessary to secure themselves from those innovations, by stretching their Jurisdiction a little too much, &c. And if in the time of our Reformation, some of our Bishops, or other Writers have carry'd the royal Supremacy too far, either in Acts of Convocation, or in their Writings; as those things are personal matters, in which we are not at all concern'd, who do not pretend to assert an infallibility in our Church; so their excess in this was a thing so natural, that we have all possible reason to excuse it, or at least to censure it very gently, &c. And p. 28. It is certain no Clergy in the World can make such a deputation, &c.* This is agreeable to what is before quoted of Dr. Sherlock, that the Clergy cannot give up their Powers, nor depute a Convocation so to do. Again, p. 54. Speaking of the Act of Submission, he says, *The Clergy did not bind themselves never to meet without the King's Writ. They only said, that the Convocation had ever been, and ought always to be assembled by the King's Writ: Yet it doth not bind them up from meeting, in case the necessities of the Church require it, and that the King refuses his Writ.* This supports Dr. Atterbury's exposition of it. Lastly, for what I shall quote at this time, he says, p. 92. *The civil Supremacy that we ascribe to our Kings, &c.* Here he gives the King only a civil Supremacy, tho', as said before, this civil Power may be exercis'd over ecclesiastical Persons, and in ecclesiastical Causes. And this is fully agreeable to the 37th Article, and that exposition of it, and of our Laws, which has been given; and now carries more force with it, having the concurrence of so learned a Person, and so particularly skill'd in the History of our Reformation, who owns it as part of our Confession of Faith.

More might be brought from the same judicious Author, and others of as great name in the Church of *England*, to ballance the authorities that are produc'd out of her writers on the other side; for whom the Bishop here has made an excuse, that the torrent and prejudices of those times, ought, at least, to make our censure of them very easy. To which we are very willing; and wou'd hide them: But the continual quoting of them by the *Regale-Men*, and heaping up catalogues of them, does expose them, and the Church of *England* with them: And then laying the whole stress of their cause upon such precedents, renders it very precarious; and forces the Church-Men to produce some contrary precedents: But they not laying their issue barely upon precedents, these may suffice for this time; though they say more are ready when call'd for, and when it can be to any purpose: For having vindicated the sense of our Laws by our Articles and Homilies, which are confirm'd both by Convocation and Parliament, what need is there of the suffrage of private Persons?

From that of the Laws, the discourse turn'd to the present state of the Controversy concerning the Independency of the Church; occasion'd by the now unhappy Schism which has arisen in the Church of *England* upon that

X:
The present
State of the
Controversy.

that single point: For tho' the depriv'd Bishops and Clergy went out upon account of the Oaths, yet this made no Schism; no not even when they were actually depriv'd and ousted by Act of Parliament: That the Schism did not commence till the day of the consecration of new Bishops into the Sees of the Bishops who were ejected; for then, and not till then, there were Bishops and Anti-Bishops, and opposite Altars set up.

The Company did not meddle at all with the State point, as to the Oaths: But kept themselves entirely to the Church-point, of her Independency, as to her purely spiritual authority from the State; and that not only here in *England*, with relation either to past or present occurrences, but all the world over, upon the intrinsical and original rights of the Church: Though the present occasion has started the dispute amongst us; and therefore the company desir'd to follow that as far as it has gone, that we might see the true state of it on all sides.

I. Dr. Hody, and those who write on his side, do not take upon them to justify Lay-Deprivations; but only to comply with them, tho' supposing them to be not only unjust, but invalid, if impos'd by an irresistible power, and that the Bishops whom the Lay-Power does put into the Sees of the ejected, are orthodox in the Faith.

They support this hypothesis upon the authority of precedents: Which they would improve to be the practice of the whole catholick Church, in all ages; and therefore a sufficient rule to determine Conscience.

But whereas several precedents are given on the contrary side in the *Vindication of the depriv'd Bishops*, and the *historical collections concerning Church affairs*, &c. of those who adher'd to their Bishops when unjustly, but most of all if invalidly depriv'd, tho' the successor was orthodox in the Faith: Therefore they add*, that these successors were rejected for other reasons, *either because they were accounted Hereticks, or because their orders were look'd upon to be null and invalid, as being deriv'd (either immediately or mediately) from some who were accounted Hereticks: Or because they communicated with Hereticks: Or lastly, because they were for some other crime excommunicated.*

And it was said, that it would be hard indeed to find a Bishop against whom some of these objections might not lie: For example, all the Bishops of the Reformation, as well in *England* as elsewhere, are struck off at one blow; for they all deriv'd their orders from those whom they now account to be, and then to have been Hereticks: And for this reason their orders are accounted to be null and invalid by many of our Dissenters.

And the Ordinations of the Church of *Rome* must go off too, especially since the Council of *Constance*, that turn'd out all the Popes who were then in the world, which were three opposite or Anti-Popes, contending one against another: And they cannot say of any of their Ordinations at this day, that they are not deriv'd from some of these Anti-Popes.

Nay all the Churches as far as the *Arian* Heresy reach'd may come under this objection: For many of their Ordinations were deriv'd from some or other who were *Arians*, *Semi-Arians*, &c. or suspected so to be: And the scene of these precedents alledg'd, being chiefly in those ages, wherein this Controversy was most hotly debated, pretences of this sort could hardly be wanting against any whom they otherwise dislik'd.

Besides that, as shewn in the *Vindication of the deprived Bishops*, p. 24. &c. the notion of Heresy was then taken in a much more large sense than it is understood now with us: That it was then apply'd to any separation that was made upon any principle.

* *Reflexions on the Remarks upon the eighth occasional Paper*, &c. p. 27.

So that if it could be alledg'd that such a Bishop did but once communicate, or join so much as in Prayer, or any holy office, at a Marriage or a Christening, with any so accounted: Or lastly, if any other crime can be charg'd upon him——Now some of these excuses will never be wanting where Men will fish for them: And under the terror of an irresistible power it is very natural to think, that most Men would be inclin'd to put the cause of their non-compliance with that power upon any thing rather than to dispute the authority of such a power.

Especially considering, that Dr. *Hody* himself, from his *Baroccian MSS.* makes some of the second Bishops, who came in the room of St. *John Chrysostome*, when he was depriv'd, to be Saints; and so free from all these exceptions: And yet tells of those numbers of Christians, who therefore were call'd *Joannites*, because they adher'd to *John* their depriv'd Bishop; and could not be charm'd with the Saintship of any second Bishop during his life; nor frighted with the irresistible power of the Emperor, which was let loose upon them, to make them own the second Bishops he had set up. Hence that bold challenge was thought very strange, which is given in most peremptory terms, p. 27. of *Reflex* before quoted, *To shew as much as one single Person throughout all the fourth age* (in which St. *Chrysostome* liv'd) *that actually stood out on that account.*

But in former ages their standing out upon that account was shewn to have been much more universal: Which Dr. *Hody* excuses only because there was not then an irresistible power to compel them. And upon this alone he does resolve the whole cause: For when the practice not only of single Persons, but Churches, nay of the whole catholick Church was produc'd against submitting to second Bishops during the lives of the first lawful Bishops, if invalidly depriv'd, Dr. *Hody* concludes his *Case of Sees vacant by unjust or un-canonical deprivations*, with an answer to this, in these words, p. 195.

It is alledged by one of our adversaries, that the Novatians, the Donatists, and the Meletians of Ægypt were Schismatics, in the opinion of the Church, because the Bishops who first headed them were second Bishops. But this is easily answer'd: For the Bishops whom they follow'd were not set up by any sovereign coercive power, in the room of others depos'd; but were set up by inferior Persons against others possess'd of the Sees. I have already said, that it is not every one whom a small tumultuous party shall get to be ordain'd, that ought to be receiv'd as a Bishop; but that which we maintain is this, that where the lawful Bishop is depos'd by an irresistible party, there the successor may be acknowledged.*

It was said to this, that tho' the *Novatians, Donatists, &c.* were not irresistible, yet they were very powerful parties; and kept up long and great Schisms in the Church; and in some places they were irresistible, that is, had the greater force.

That, by this rule, they were not Schismatics in those places; but those who oppos'd them were the Schismatics: Tho' in other places, where they were less powerful, there they were the Schismatics; and those who oppos'd them preserved the Unity of the Church: And if they had been set up by any sovereign coercive power, by the *Roman Emperor*, then had there never been such Schismatics in the Church as the *Novatians, Donatists, or Meletians*; but they had been the Church, and the Church had been the Schismatics.

So that by this the notions of a Church, and of Schism, are very uncertain things; and may change sides with every wind of persecution, or

* *The Unity of Priesthood, &c.* p. 58, 59.

of power, or of fright! And that may appear irresistible to one which is not to another. But can we oppose irresistible force? said one. No, said another, for if we oppose it, it is not irresistible. But what sort of opposition do you mean? For lawful powers are not to be resisted by arms, tho' we had strength to do it, under penalty of Damnation, *Rom. XIII. 2.* Therefore they are always irresistible in that sense. But if you mean by resistance, not complying with their unjust commands, then no power upon Earth can be irresistible; because the resistance is by suffering, by prayers and tears, which are the arms of the Church.

That if it be lawful to support the Faith of the Church against an irresistible party, why not the Government and Discipline of the Church? Since without these the Church cannot stand, nor exert that commission which was given to her by *Christ*.

That wherever the Government of the Church is placed, all Appeals, even as to matters of Faith, must determine there.

Suppose that not long ago the King had got a majority of Popish Bishops in the Convocation, whither should we have appeal'd from that Convocation?

To whom shall all the Bishops, shall Episcopacy itself now appeal in *Scotland*?

And if the Government of the Church be put into the hands of Papists or Presbyterians, &c. how shall we secure the Faith?

Therefore it was wish'd, that Dr. *Hody*, &c. would let us know where they intend to stop, upon this their principle of complying, tho' in unjust things, with irresistible force. Will they stop at Episcopacy? If so, then is it not the cause of Episcopacy which they oppose? Since the same irresistible power that could deprive nine Bishops in *England*, may deprive them all, and Episcopacy itself, as in *Scotland*. That if the State cannot deprive twenty six Bishops, they cannot deprive one: And if one, they may twenty six. So that it is not the cause of the depriv'd, but of all Bishops, of Episcopacy itself, which is here concern'd: And yielding it in one instance, is giving up the whole.

It was observ'd how very jealous our Parliaments have been of allowing any precedent, whereby the Life or Estate of the meanest Subject should be at the arbitrary disposal of the King: Because, by the same rule, the Life and Liberty of every Subject must lie at his mercy.

That encroachments are made by degrees, from one step to another; and the best time to stop is at the beginning; before we have given precedents against our selves; have yielded the cause, and are entirely subdu'd: Then it will be too late, and the power will be more irresistible, and Mens courage will grow less.

That it was a common and a just judgment for Men to fall from one wickedness to another: That to consent, or comply with the wickedness of another, is to make my self guilty of it: As it is written, *Psal. L. 18. When thou sawest a thief, thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with adulterers.*

That no examples are sufficient to justify this, of no Church, at no age, no, not of the Apostles themselves: Of whom one betray'd his Master; another forswore him; all forsook him.

That insisting upon such topicks may expose the infirmities of human Nature, and the failings of the best of Men; but can never justify our imitation of them; for we must not *follow a multitude to do evil: Nor decline after many* (if it were the whole world) *to wrest judgment, Exod. xxIII. 2.* For the nature of things does not alter for our opinion or practice of them: Truth is Truth, and Injustice is Injustice, if all the world should

should say the contrary: And, by the same necessity, Evil is to be avoided, and Good to be follow'd.

That therefore to yield Lay-Deprivations to be unjust and invalid, and yet to argue for our compliance with them, is to do Evil that Good may come of it; and to make it right to comply with wrong.

That it is indeed destroying all notion of right and wrong: For if it be right to comply with the wrong, then it is wrong to comply with the right; as these say of those who comply with the depriv'd Bishops, (allowing these Bishops to have the right:) For they accuse them of being guilty of the Schism, and of all the evils that follow.

We are commanded by the Apostle, to *eschew evil, and do Good*, 1 *Pet.* iii. 2. But these command us to comply with the Evil, and eschew the Good, if so bidden by an irresistible party!

That this justifies all prosperous Schisms and Usurpations: For they would not be prosperous if the major number did not go in to them; and the major is the irresistible party.

That, by this rule, the ten Tribes had not been the Schismatics, tho' they threw off the Priesthood of *Levi*: But the two Tribes who stuck to it were the Schismatics, because the fewest in number: And those of the ten Tribes who (as *Tobit*) would not own the Priesthood set up by the civil power, but brought their tithes to *Jerusalem*, and gave them to the Priests of *Levi*, were in so doing guilty of Schism.

That whatever Schisms have been amongst the Churches within the *Roman* Empire, were nothing so much in respect to the catholic Church, as the ten Tribes were in proportion to the two Tribes in the Church of *Israel*, the then only visible Church of God in the world.

That many of our Schisms in the West were never heard of by the numerous christian Churches in the East of *Asia*, among the *Abyssines* in *Africa*, and other far distant Churches: Which, because not well known to us, we must by no means cast off from the body of the catholic Church.

That therefore we must not make a computation of the catholic Church from that part of it which was within the compass of the *Roman* Empire, tho' called oecumenical.

No: Nor can we know the principles even of that part of it merely by the practice, tho' of the generality, when under an irresistible force: For then Men do not speak their judgments freely; and many will be silent, for fear, whose principles are contrary to the proceedings of the irresistible party.

That therefore the principles of those ages are better to be gather'd from their writings than their practices.

And that all those Fathers and Councils who speak against the *Regale*, or power of the civil Government over the ecclesiastical Hierarchy, either to elect or deprive the Bishops, to obstruct or over-awe their Synods, &c, must be suppos'd likewise to forbid complying with what they thought evil: And so great an evil, as they made this usurpation of the *Regale* over the Church to be, even the Reign of *Antichrist*; and setting up the King in the place of *Christ*, as we shall see hereafter.

Against which, the actual compliance, tho' of the generality, was not to be urg'd; for that these commonly run down the stream: And our blessed Saviour has caution'd us against the broad way, wherein there is always most company.

Therefore this topick was dismiss'd, of justifying compliance with Lay-Deprivations, supposing them to be both unjust and invalid: It was look'd upon as a betraying of the cause: And all desir'd to turn to those who take

upon them to maintain the Validity of Lay-Deprivations; as being the only thing that could determine this controversy.

II. The first produc'd upon this head was Dr. *Wake* his *Authority of Christian Princes asserted*, &c. printed *An.* 1697. Wherein he sets up the *Regale* to the very height. But tho' he, and those who take his part, seem to go upon another topick than the former, yet it comes all into one; because they support the right of the *Regale* merely upon precedents: Which is the same as to say, that it has no other right: And that is indeed a perfect yielding up of the right; only pleading for compliance with it, upon the authority of precedents: Which is the same topick with the former. One says it is right, because there are precedents for it; the other says, that it is right to comply with it, for the same reason: So that precedents are the top and bottom, the whole that is alledg'd for this cause of the *Regale* on both sides.

Several of these precedents were touch'd upon; some were shewn to be modern, and of no authority; others that were not truly related, with the circumstances necessary; and others which are truly related, to make nothing to the purpose intended; and several which made directly against it: But none that were of authority sufficient to establish or justify the *Regale*: Besides contrary precedents which were of greater authority; and not answer'd by any of the *Regalists*: And that Dr. *Wake* himself, when he comes a little to the reasoning part, overthrows all that power of the *Regale*, which he had built upon the authority of precedents.

Which is shew'd among the consequences of this Principle of the *Regale*. Sect. xvi. N. 3. And not to interrupt the thred of this discourse, it was desir'd, that we should proceed to enquire into the original of the *Regale*: For this was thought the clearest method to let us see into the bottom of this Cause.

XI.
Original of
the *Regale*.

The first instance of the *Regale*, in a King's depriving Priests was *Jeroboam*, of which we have spoke before, p. 616. and of the Provocations he had to do it. As to that of *Solomon* and *Abiathar*, it was no more insisted upon.

But to come to the christian Church, and follow the Authors before-nam'd, who, of late, have handled this Controversy. The *Historical Collections*, c. 2. §. 1. p. 69, 70, 71. give an account, that the *Donatists* were the first who appeal to the secular Power in any ecclesiastical Cause, which was to decide the dispute they had rais'd concerning the election of *Cæcilianus* into the See of *Carthage*. But *Constantine* refus'd to accept their Appeal, as not belonging to him; and own'd, that the power of elections of Bishops, and the judging of them was only in the Bishops. That he himself was to be subject to their Judgment; that it was a work of the Devil, and an outrageous, daring fury in these *Donatists*, whom he therefore calls *Proditors*, to refuse the Judgment of the Bishops, which he calls, *The heavenly Judgment*; and to appeal to me (says he) for my Judgment: And he calls this *insulting upon God*: And a great deal more of such vehemence which he uses against the first rise of submitting the sacred to the civil Power, in ecclesiastical Causes. Which Epistle of that godly and first christian Emperor, is, *Inter gesta purgationis Cæciliani & Felicis, in fine Op. Op-tati* Ed. Paris. And great part of it is quoted in the *Hist. Collect.* p. 70, 71. The Emperor says, *That it is as clear as the Sun at Noon-day, that God had ordain'd his Church only, to judge in such cases*: And wou'd not be join'd in Commission with them, as if he had any act or part in it. *What madness* (says he) *is it which possesseth them, that, with an incredible arrogance, they think they may do that which may be lawfully neither spoke nor heard? And departing from the rightful Judgment, which God*
hath

hath appointed, they require my Judgment, together with the Church's. What force of malignity dwells in their Breasts? How often have they been justly reprov'd by my self, for these wicked additions to God's Word in these cases? For I speak (as the truth is) that the Judgments of the Priests ought to be accounted, as when the Lord himself, residing, judgeth. So far was that Emperor at that time from having any thoughts of such a Regale over the Church, as has been since set up! He calls it an addition to the Word of God. He cou'd find no ground for it there; he understood not the fore-mention'd texts in favour of the Regale.

As the Donatists were the first who set up the Regale, and pleaded for it; so is it shewn in the *Hist. Collect.* that the after-Hereticks carry'd on the same Cause. The Eusebians appeal'd to Constantius; and as shewn *ibid.* p. 95. that first heretical Arian Emperor, was the first who assum'd the Regale; and by it had well nigh overthrown the christian Faith: But St. Athanasius, Hosius, and others, did with great zeal oppose and protest against the Regale, saying, that those who appeal'd to Constantius in ecclesiastical matters, did set him up instead of Christ: That this made him an Anti Christ: That to make himself a Prince of Bishops, and to preside in ecclesiastical Judicatures, made him the very same abomination of desolation, foretold by Daniel the Prophet. Athanas. *Epist. ad Solitar* p. 861, 862. Do not (says Hosius to him) concern thy self in ecclesiastical Affairs, nor command us in these matters: But rather learn those things of us. God hath committed to thee the Empire; and he hath intrusted us with those things that belong to the Church. And as he who with malignant Eyes reproacheth thy Empire, opposeth the divine Ordinance; so do thou beware lest drawing to thee those things that belong to the Church, thou becomeest thereby liable to a great guilt. It is written, give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's. It is not lawful for us, O Emperor, to hold the earthly Empire; neither hast thou the power of holy things. Athanas. *ibid.* p. 639. And that his usurping this Power over the Church was without precedent, *ibid.* p. 831. He was the first who took it upon him. Other quotations more at large were read out of the same place of the *Hist. Collect.* p. 96, 97.

Then it was read out of Bishop Burnet's *Hist. of the Regale*, p. 30. that Constantine did renounce the Power of electing Bishops; of which he gives several instances: That writing to the Bishops assembled at Antioch for the election of a Bishop, he leaves the choice freely to them, desiring them, That the election shou'd be made according to the rule of the Church, and the tradition of the Apostles. And p. 31. he names Constantius depriving the Orthodox Bishops, and putting Arian Bishops in their room by his own Authority; and quotes Hilary writing to these Court Bishops, put in by the Regale, and saying, O ye Bishops, I pray you, What Suffrages did the Apostles make use of? Did they receive their dignity from the Palace?—This was the beginning of the Regale.

But then he shews, That it was not kept up constantly from that time: Tho' some boisterous Emperors follow'd the example of Constantius, to enlarge their prerogative; but others wou'd not make use of it. He tells p. 37, 38. how the Emperor Valentinian, about the year 347, upon the death of Auxentius Bishop of Milan, who was an Arian, call'd the Bishops together, And desir'd them to chuse such a Bishop as might, both by his Life and Doctrine, instruct those whom he was to govern; and that he might see such a Person set up, to whom he that held the Empire, might chearfully submit himself. For which he quotes Theod. l. 4. c. 6, 7.

XII.
Princes who
renounc'd
the Regale.

The CASE of the REGALE, &c.

He afterwards gives several instances of Emperors, Kings, and Princes, who purely out of conscience, being struck with the horror of so great a wickedness, threw up the *Regale* which had descended from them to their Ancestors. He says p. 93. that the Emperor *John Comnenus*, about the year of *Christ* 1130, did condemn the use of the *Regale*, under very severe pains; and he mentions a memorable Law which *Manuel Comnenus* made against it, A. C. 1150. wherein he calls it a *wicked custom*. So here (says the Bishop) the *Regale* is most severely condemned. Again p. 97, 98. a later instance is given (which was in the 14th Cent.) of *John Cantacuzenus* the Emperor: And part of his Speech is set down which he made to the Bishops, who were met for the election of a Patriarch; he said, *They ought to follow the steps of the Apostles and Fathers; who being met together, invoked the holy Ghost, and implor'd the Grace of God to direct them in the choice of one that shou'd govern the Church according to his Will: But he acknowledged, that in elections great errors had been committed, which Men were apt to excuse, as they did all their other sins that were dear to them: For it was certainly a mocking of God, first to resolve who shall be Patriarch, and then to meet, and hypocritically to pray for the divine direction or assistance. This he confess'd he had done by himself, and he did not doubt but his Predecessors had been guilty of it likewise: Wherefore he ingenuously confessed his sin, and declar'd, he would be guilty of it no more.*

Then in *France* (which is the chief scene of this History) we are told p. 190, 191. That when Pope *Lucius* the second, to court the favour of *Lewis* the seventh, about the year 1148. sent him a Bull with a Privilege, that in all his Cathedrals he shou'd dispose of the first vacancy, and enjoy the mean profits; he burnt the Bull with indignation, and said, *He had rather burn a thousand such Grants, than have his Soul tormented in Hell fire.*

And p. 209. *Alphonfus* Count of *Tholouse*, did about the year 1138. not only renounce but condemn the *Regale*, which his Predecessors had enjoy'd in their dominions; and calls it, *That most wicked custom of his Ancestors by which they seiz'd violently on the Goods of the deceased Bishops.* One branch of this *Regale* was the presentation to Bishopricks and other other Church-Livings: The other was, the seizing of the Revenues, during the vacancy. And this was a temptation to keep them long vacant. And both of these were condemn'd and given up, by these and several other religious Princes, in several ages, after the *Regale* had obtain'd: Tho' some of their Successors took it up again, as they were otherwise inclin'd. But it was urg'd, that one precedent of a King who recedes from what the law or custom has made his right, out of conscience, is of more weight than many precedents of those, who out of interest and politicks, do grasp at all, stretch the *Regale* to the utmost, and extend their conquest over the Church.

Here one desir'd, that to the examples of Princes who have renounc'd their *Regale*, might be added the present constitution of *Sweden*, before-mention'd, where the *Regale* is kept out; and the many advantages thereby accruing both to Church and State, in a perfect uniformity both in Religion and Government: For the one seldom remains entire, when the other is broken; as the example of our own, and Neighbour Nations has too often inform'd us. And this instance of *Sweden*, on the other side, ever since the Reformation, shews the truth of this observation, and what has been the great source of our civil wars and confusions.

And

And that Crown has had most signal instances of the favour and protection of Heaven, since that time; so great, that in the last age, some thought it was rais'd up to the fulfilling of Prophecies, and opening of the *Millemum*.

And the deliverance and victory which God has lately afforded to this present, young, magnanimous, and most religious King, is the most observable of any in this age. May the divine mercy continue to preserve him. The particulars of his victory set forth a conduct and bravery above his years: But the Air of Religion in it exceeded all the rest, and is a rare example in this age; he receiving the holy Sacrament with his Army, before they began their attack against ten times their number, in their trenches; and when, after a miraculous victory, he enter'd the tent of the *Czar*, falling down on his knees, and giving thanks and the glory to God.

Let me give another instance of it to our present purpose, continu'd this Gentleman. His Father the late King of *Sweden* had recommended to him upon his death-bed, that when the Arch-bishop of *Upsal* (the only Arch-bishoprick in the Kingdom) dyed (he being then an old Man) he should endeavour to procure Dr. *Speggel* Bishop of *Lincopin* (whom he much esteem'd for his learning and piety) to be promoted to it. Accordingly the young King did use all his interest for him: But the Bishops chose Dr. *Benzelius* Bishop of *Stragness* who is now Arch-bishop. And the King was so far from taking it ill, that he excus'd himself, upon account of his Father's last directions, for meddling in it at all, as being a matter within their Province, and not his. Perhaps those Bishops were aware of letting in Kings recommendations; knowing what a few precedents of that kind wou'd amount to. They are a temptation, but no respect to a good King; and if enjoy'd by him, a bad King will not give them up.

However it was concluded, That bare precedents on either side, do not determine the right, without entering into the merits of the cause, which alone can be sufficient ground to guide our conscience.

And it was agreed, that this *History of the Regale* was a full answer to both the Books before-mentioned of Dr. *Hody*, and Dr. *Wake*: Because it shew'd how very little stress is to be laid upon the precedents they bring; and by what scandalous methods the *Regale* obtain'd its ecclesiastical Authority; and what were the dismal effects of it, even the total overthrow of the *Greek Church*, where it prevail'd, as the learned Bishop before-mention'd observes, p. 75. *The Emperors* (says he) *took the nomination of them* (the Bishops) *into their own hands: And then gave them either to such illiterate Monks as were much esteem'd of for the strictness of their lives; but were tools for any designs on which they set them: Or to such of their Courtiers or Soldiers, that had merited best at their hands: And by these means were the Greek Churches brought to that pass, for ignorance and corruption, that it is no wonder they were given up by God to such terrible Calamities as were brought upon them, first by the Saracens, and then by the Othoman Family.*

And p. 97. he goes on thus, *In Andronicus's long reign, many* (Bishops) *were put in and out, to the great scandal of the Church: Of which the Historian* makes this remark, "Princes chose such Men to their charge who may be their Slaves, and in all things obsequious to what they shall prescribe, and may lie at their feet, and not so much as have a thought contrary to their commands." No wonder* (continues the Bishop) *he broke out into so severe a censure, when many were raised to that dignity that could neither read nor write. Thus that learned Author.*

* Niceph. Greg. l. 7.

XV.
Original of
the Regale in
England.

XIII.
Effects of the
Regale.

XIV.
Concerning
the Suppos-
ition of
the Church
the Regale.

I am sorry (said one) that we have to add to this sad prospect, the present lamentable condition of the protestant interest in *Germany*, where those Churches did run generally into Erastianism for facilitating the Reformation; and to incline Princes to be on their side; and they now suffer for it, for the Princes they depended on are like to be their ruin: They have either gone over to Popery, or given way to it, in their Countries, as best serves their interest: They took no care of the protestant concerns at *Reswick*, but have left them in a much worse condition, since that peace than before; even to give the *French* King cause to boast, in his Letter to the Arch-bishop of *Paris* for singing *Te Deum* upon the Peace (which was printed here,) that the chief glory he had in that Peace, was the advancement of the catholick Religion, in other Countries, with the consent of Sovereigns of a different persuasion. To whom tho' he restor'd many and great Countries, that had been protestant before he took them; yet by the 4th Article of that Treaty it is expressly provided, that their Religion shou'd not be restor'd to them, but remain as he then left it established; that is, Popery.

And, continu'd this Gentleman, an eminent Professor told a friend of mine in *Amsterdam*, whose Letter he shew'd, *That the protestant interest there was visibly declining, because either there were no Bishops, or Bishops that had no Power, but the whole Clergy in a state of absolute subjection, and entirely secluded from interposing, where even their concerns require it.* And added my friend (said he) *This was much from one bred here.* It was not so much (answer'd another) when we consider, that tho' the governing part in *Holland* are, what they call protestant, by excluding all Dissenters from having any share in the Government or bearing any places of publick trust; whereby they are preserv'd in peace and quietness; yet that much the major number of the Subjects are Popish; which one time or other will probably cast the ballance: For the general inclination of the People, like Trade, is observ'd to force its way. However, where that is against the Religion established, it cannot be said to be out of danger: And the encrease of the Popish Interest, both there and in *Germany* (I wish I cou'd not add *England*) is by the opinion of the learned there, to be chiefly accounted as a natural effect of the *Regale* that prevails there.

Now (said one) here are more precedents. And from such precedents *Dr. Hody* and *Dr. Wake* defend their cause; and say, That this is sufficient; and that no other argument is needful to be produc'd for it!

XIV.
Concerning
the suppos'd
consent of
the Church to
the *Regale*.

It was argu'd on their behalf, that the force of their argument lay in the suppos'd consent of the Church, to all this; for that none then did oppose this power in the Emperors: To which it was said,

1. What opposition cou'd be expected from such Bishops as before describ'd? And the Emperors wou'd take care to put in such Bishops, as shou'd not oppose them.

2. That the Body of the Church here spoke of, being then within the Emperors Dominions, none durst oppose them without the apparent hazard of their Lives, the power of these Emperors being absolute: And that such a forc'd silence will not argue consent: But that if this cause had been brought before a free national Church, out of the reach of these Emperors; and if the Bishops of such a Church had then asserted the *Regale* of those Emperors over the Church, as the Doctrine of the christian Church, their testimony had been to the purpose. And if this had been universally so declar'd, freely and without compulsion, by the whole catholick Church, then cou'd it not have been deny'd to have been the Doctrine of the catholick Church.

But it was so far from that, that besides a multitude of quotations out of particular Fathers, in several ages; such as *Athanasius*, *Hosius*, *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, &c. several Canons were produc'd, and that of Councils call'd general as well as others, for the independency of the Church and against the *Regale*, particularly as to the election of Bishops and the sitting of Synods. For instance, *Can. Apost.* c. 30, 31. 1 *Conc. Nice.* A. D. 325. c. 4. *Constant.* 2. *Gen. Conc.* A. D. 380. c. 6. *Chalced.* 4. *Gen. Conc.* A. D. 451. c. 9. 2. *Nice.* 7 *Gen. Conc.* A. D. 786. c. 3. *Constant.* 8 *Gen. Conc.* A. D. 871. c. 22. besides *Concil. Eliber.* A. D. 308. c. 56. *Concil. Antioch.* A. D. 341. c. 11, 12, 16, 20. *Concil. Carthag.* A. D. 419. c. 13, 15, 21, 65, 107. In which, and in several others, Synods are appointed to sit frequently for the necessities of the Church. It is made excommunication and deprivation to appeal from the Bishop to the King or any secular power in ecclesiastical Causes: Or for any Bishop to be made, not only by the King's command, but if he make use of the interest or recommendation of secular Princes, or obtain his Bishoprick by their means; and that all election of Bishop, Presbyter or Deacon by the secular Magistrate shall be void; and the method of their election is set down, *viz.* of Presbyters and Deacons by the Bishop; and of the Bishop by the com-provincial Bishops; and that the civil Magistrate shou'd, upon some occasions, be debarr'd from coming to the Church. Therefore that the argument can never be made good from the compliance or silence of some Bishops put in by some Emperors, and hew'd down under them or who turn'd Sycophants to them, to infer that this of the *Regale* was the constant and universal Doctrine of the catholic Church; to which the direct contrary is the truth.

Then there were precedents shewn against the *Regale*, in the most primitive times of Christianity in *Britain*, as of *S. Oudocus* Bishop of *Landaff*, who excommunicated three of his own Kings after one another, *viz.* *Mou-ricus*, *Morcant*, and *Guidnert*, for several crimes; and put them under severe penances, which he oblig'd them to perform before he admitted them to the Peace and Communion of the Church by Absolution. This is told in *Sir Hen. Spelman's Hist. of the English Councils*, tom. 1. p. 62, &c. Which Book *Dr. Wake* quotes in his *Authority of Christian Princes*, for later instances which he thought favoured the *Regale*; but takes no notice at all of these and other more ancient and contrary examples.

XV.
Original of
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England.

And these are more considerable, because they were about the years of *Christ* 560. and 565. among the *British* Bishops, before *Austin* the Monk came into *England*; and consequently before there could be the least umbrage that this was any part of Popery.

Then it was shew'd how that after this, in times of Popery, the *Regale* began to obtain in *England*. That it is an effect of Popery, tho' at first sight it seems contrary to it, as being a restriction to that universal Supremacy which the Popes claim over all Churches: But (as will be shewn hereafter) the Popes found that they could not maintain their usurpations over all the other Bishops in the world, who would be too many for them without the assistance of the Kings of the Earth; with whom therefore they were content to divide the prey, and bribe them with the nomination of some Bishops and disposal of the revenues of some Churches during the vacancies, and some peculiars exempt from the jurisdiction of the Bishops; that the Kings might maintain the usurpations of the Popes over all the rest; both enlarging their powers upon the ruins of Episcopacy.

That Episcopacy thus grinded to powder betwixt these upper and nether Mill-Stones, yet did struggle sometimes and assert its right. *Mr. Prynne* in his *Records* gives many instances both in *England* and *Ireland* of Bishops chosen by the *Clergy* without the King's Licence or his recommendation

commendation of the Person, which afterwards grew by custom, as is usual in such cases, into a right absolutely to dispose of Bishops and Churches at their pleasure, as it is at this day, tho' under the mockery of a *Conge d'Eslier*, as it is call'd in the *Statute 1 Edw. VI. c. 2.* And therefore is taken away and quite abolish'd by that Act of Parliament: And so continues in *Ireland*, where the King disposes of Bishopricks merely by his Letters Patent, without any *Conge d'Eslier*, which is still kept up in *England*, tho' to no other purpose than to shew the ancient right of the Church to elect her own Bishops; and may one day prove a handle to recover it.

But it was said, that the present practice is contrary to our 37th Article, wherein our Kings do renounce any other power over the Church than such as was *always given to all godly Princes in holy Scripture by God himself.* Which was not to have the election of Priests under the Law, as before is shewn; much less of the Priests under the Gospel, wherein nothing at all is said of this power being in Kings, but was given into other hands.

That therefore if the said *Statute 1 Edw. VI. c. 2.* may not be constru'd of the temporal jurisdiction only which Bishops derive from the King, as before has been explain'd Sect. IX. then it is superseded by this subsequent Act of Parliament: Which being made in explanation of the former, obliges us rather to take the former in this sense, than to think them abrogated by the later; and so to make our Laws all consonant, rather than repugnant to one another. However, that the later must stand; and cannot be abrogated by any contrary practice: But, on the other side, our practice is to be regulated by the Laws; at least the Laws are hereby justified, tho' our practice should be contrary.

Now these instances which Mr. *Prynne* has collected, of Bishops chosen by the Clergy without the King, were in the Popish times. And he tells us likewise, that the Kings took this ill, and sometimes proceeded to punish these Bishops, by seizing their temporalities and making them compound, &c. However it shews that the Bishops and Clergy were then sensible of their right, and thought that the King's interposing in their elections, by nomination or recommendation, was an encroachment upon the Charter of the Church.

There is another Record I have met with, that is, an Inscription now to be seen in the Parlour of the Hospital at *Ledbury* in *Herefordshire*, (which for the satisfaction of the Reader, I have hereunto annexed) wherein is told, that *Hugh Foliot*, Bishop of *Hereford*, the Founder of that Hospital, was elected by the Presbytery of the Cathedral Church of *Hereford* in October, *An. Dom. 1219. without Letters from the King, written to the prejudice of their free election, (even as it is testify'd of Robert Foliot, to have been chosen before him in the year of our Lord 1173.) He liv'd Bishop in the Reign of King Henry III. &c.*

Mr. *Prynne* in his *Records*, vol. 2. p. 355. shews, that this same *Hugh Foliot* was Archdeacon of *Shrewsbury*, and then recommended by K. *John* to the Bishoprick of *St. Davids*: Which, it seems, was rejected; for his name stands not in the list of the Bishops of *St. Davids*, but is amongst the Bishops of *Hereford*. So that he was refus'd by the Clergy of *St. Davids*, to whom he had the King's recommendation, and chosen by those of *Hereford* without it; which, as before shewn, they thought a prejudice to their free election.

It was here taken notice of, that the form of the *Conge d'Eslires* in those days, (as in the *Records* produc'd by *Prynne*) was not by way of command to the Clergy, as now, but of request and desire only. The King call'd it his Petition to the Clergy, and besought them to lend a favourable and benign ear to it: *Ut huic Petitioni mea favorem præbeant benignum,*

was

was the form then in use, and shews plainly where the right of election lay.

And likewise the force of prescriptions, which in time grow up to create a right, and construe Petition to mean Command.

And the recommendations of Men in power are commonly so understood: Which makes every petty Corporation, jealous of their Liberties, seek by all means to avoid them; lest they have as little left them at the last, as that share of the prey which the Lion left to the Ass.

But to the subject in hand, the original of the *Regale* in *England*, it was concluded,

That before the coming of *Austin* the Monk into *England*, that is before the times of Popery, the *Regale* was not known, as by the instances before mentioned of *St. Oudoceus*, &c. is very plain.

Therefore that we must date the original of the *Regale* in *England* from the times of Popery; and that it must not pass as a novelty of the Reformation, which did pretend but to restore the ancient *Regale*, free from the usurpations of the Pope, who had got an overshare in the division which he and the King had made of the episcopal power and authority. But there was no restoring to the Episcopate on either side: All the choice left to it was, who should be its executioner.

After this it was said, that the principle of the *Regale* did carry with it such consequences as were totally inconsistent with the notion of a christian Church; and involv'd those who hold it in many contradictions and absurdities.

XVI.
The Consequences of the principle of the *Regale*.

I. Here was call'd to mind what was before said of the topick set up by *Dr. Hody*, &c. to make it right to comply with wrong: Which was farther improv'd.

One said, that right and wrong were old opposites; but that these Authors had set up a distinction betwixt right and truth: For in the *Reflex*. (before quoted) p. 14. they tell us, that *Anastasius* being invalidly depriv'd, was still the rightful Bishop, and yet at the same time his successor *Gregory* was true Bishop of the same See: By which they were either both Bishops of the same See at the same time, and so that Church had two Bishops; and then *Anastasius* was not depriv'd, for he remain'd Bishop still: Or otherwise, Bishops have no right or title but possession; and then *Anastasius*, when depriv'd, tho' invalidly, could not be rightful Bishop: Nay, a Bishop cannot be depriv'd invalidly if he has no right but possession: For then deprivation, no matter how, does his business; and he has no right to seek to be restor'd, and his cession, or giving up his right to his successor, is a jest: Yet *Dr. Hody* bestows a passionate exhortation upon our depriv'd Bishops, to give up their right (which he does not dispute) for the peace of the Church. But notwithstanding *Reflex*. p. 24. tells how *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome*, when he was depriv'd, refus'd to submit to *Felix*, who was put in his place: And finds no fault with him for this; but improves it to an argument for his *Hypothesis*, that though there was no cession, yet they that knew *Felix* to be orthodox, very freely recogniz'd him.

And where was the harm? said one (smiling!) They only recogniz'd *Felix* as the true Bishop; but they acknowledg'd *Liberius* as still the rightful Bishop!

But it was thought strange, how a Bishop, when depriv'd, if invalidly, should have a right to claim the obedience of his Subjects; and yet that there should be no manner of obligation upon his Subjects to pay it to him, or so much as to concern themselves, for what, or by whom he was depriv'd, whether justly or unjustly, whether validly or invalidly!

Some

Some said, that this did destroy all right of Bishops, even when in possession; for that he who has no right but possession, has no right by his possession: Mere possession can never give right, else all robbers would have it: But possession may continue so long, till those who have a better title are all extinguished; and then a right may follow that possession, when there are none who claim a better right.

It was said, that this was the case of the High-Priesthood of the *Jews* under the *Romans*, when our blessed Saviour came into the world. The *Romans*, then their conquerors, had chang'd the order of their High-Priesthood, made it annual and arbitrary, put out, and put in whom they pleas'd: As the *Grand Seignior* does now with the Patriarchs of *Constantinople*: And under that extreme servitude there were none who set up their claim against the High-Priest or Patriarch in possession; but all agreed to submit and obey them: So that there was no competition: And if any had a better right, they were content to wave it, and recognize the right of the other: There were no Priests and Anti-Priests in opposition to one another, and therefore there could be no Schism.

Hence it was that our blessed Saviour and his Apostles did own the High-Priests of the *Jews*, for there were then no other. And the *Greek Churches* under the dominion of the *Turk* do own the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, for they have none other.

But that this has no relation to the Case of Bishops and Anti-Bishops in the same Sees: Of whom one must be right, and the other wrong; not one rightful, and the other true! As this pleasant distinction, without a difference, has reconcil'd them!

These difficulties and absurdities they labour under, who dare not oppose the irresistible *Regale*: And yet want courage sufficient to stand by the necessary consequences of it!

And yet, said one, see how soundly they sleep in this their security! * *To what purpose* (say they) *should we, who were not concern'd in the deprivation of the Bishops, concern our selves so much about the question, Whether it be lawful for the civil Magistrate to deprive a Bishop or not?—Whether it were the doctrine of the Church that Bishops may be depriv'd by the Lay-Power for political crimes, or not, we are not oblig'd to know. 'Tis enough for us that we know, that this at least was the doctrine of the Church (and we know it from its constant and uniform practice throughout all ages) that when once they are depriv'd, (tho' never so unjustly) and we cannot avoid it, it is lawful for peace sake, to own the possessor. Dr. Hody may publish, if he please, his Vindication of the Authority of the Civil Power, [which he promis'd so long ago, that he has forgot it] for the sake and satisfaction of those who concurred in the deprivation of the Bishops; but we in the lower form, who were not at all concern'd in the matter, we want no such Treatise to justify our practice: Our practice is sufficiently justified by what he has already written. I will read it, if it comes out, as a matter of speculation.*—At this the Company held up their hands! That the rights of the Church, and deprivation of her Bishops should concern the Clergy no more (however unjustly, or even invalidly done) than as a matter of mere speculation! Can they see no consequence in allowing such precedents? They who insist so much upon precedents! And what is done now will be as good a precedent to after-ages, as some of former ages are to us. But is our case the better that it will be a precedent? Or will their case be the better, who shall have ours for such a precedent? Will it be ever the better or the worse for that?

* *Reflex.* p. 19.

But if we give a bad precedent which may mislead after-ages, their Blood, and the Ruin of the Church will lie upon our heads. This is a consideration not to be neglected, or thought an indifferent matter, of mere speculation! What would become of the Church if there were none more concern'd for her rights than this? Who would stand in the gap?

As to what is said in the above quotation of the constant and uniform practice of the Church in this case, it is spoke to before; and for saying, *when we cannot avoid it*, they shou'd have added, *without some inconvenience*: For otherwise, they might chuse whether they wou'd concur in it; at least, whether they shou'd write in defence of it, and endeavour to make that look right which they thought to be wrong: But perhaps they thought, that they cou'd not avoid this neither, without some other inconvenience!

And, said one, Dr. *Hody* knows whether a proposa! has not been made, and to whom, in order to put an end to the present Schism, by the voluntary resignation of the depriv'd Bishops; on condition, that the Bishops in possession shou'd own the principle of the independency of the Church upon the secular Magistrate, as to her purely spiritual Authority: Lest, otherwise, the depriv'd Bishops shou'd be look'd upon as Traditors; and their resignation, who have stood so long Confessors to the Rights of the Church, shou'd be turn'd to an argument against it; as if they too had given up the Cause, after all the debate that has been about it. One wou'd think (said he) that Dr. *Hody* shou'd be concern'd at the answer that was made to this, *That it was not practicable*: That is, I suppose, not now, at this time, because of some inconveniences! Then we see on whose side the obstruction does not lie. Dr. *Hody* does not so much as pretend to justify the principle of lay-deprivation. And if the depriv'd Bishops will be perswaded to give up their Rights for peace sake, as he has most earnestly exhorted them, upon what easier terms wou'd he desire it, than to secure that principle from hurting the Church for the future? And will he not then bestow one word of advice upon those who have done the wrong, if any wrong be done to the depriv'd Bishops and to the Church in them? And he does not deny their deprivations to be not only unjust, but invalid. Now suppose (said another) that Dr. *Hody's* principle were allow'd, and that we might safely comply with, own and join in what is unjust, against that which is just and right; yet that which is unjust, is unjust still, at least in the actors, tho' not in the compliers with it. And ought not such actors to be admonish'd to repent and return from the injustice they have committed? Or rather, are they to be supported in it; and our rage spent against those who are not so clear-sighted as we, to comply with it without any doubt or scruple at all?

These seem to be difficulties which follow this principle of the *Regale*, in those who would preserve any notion or foundation of a Church, as consistent with it; Therefore,

2. There are those who, to make way for it, deny all Priesthood in the christian Church. Which, by the Apostle's argument, *Heb. vii. 2.* infers also of necessity a change, or rather a disannulling of the Law of that Church, and of the Church itself which has no Priesthood: For Church and Priesthood seem to be convertible terms; otherwise a change of the Priesthood wou'd not have inferr'd, of necessity, a change also of the Law of that Church. And if a change of the Priesthood changes the Church, disannulling of the Priesthood disannuls the Church.

Therefore it behoves us to consider well of that position, which, to support the *Regale*, is advanc'd in the *Second Defence of the Church of England from Schism, &c.* Printed An. 1698. p. 8. Where it is positively deny'd,

ny'd, there are any Priests or Priesthood now in the Church of *England*; (not being aware, that the very word Priest is retain'd in our Book of Ordination.) So that, by this, we must either part with our Priesthood, or with the *Regale*. They are made inconsistent; and the reason is, because otherwise the *Regale* cannot be advanc'd above the Priesthood: But there are greater straits than these to which this principle of the *Regale* does reduce its Clients.

3. Dr. *Wake* cannot stop the current of the *Regale* short of matters of Faith; which, as well as Discipline, he brings under it: For in his *Authority of christian Princes*, p. 75. speaking of the extent of the power of the Prince, he says it reaches, *Not only in matters of Discipline, but in matters of Faith too*. And that the Prince may confirm, or rescind the decisions of a Synod, as he pleases, even in matters of Faith. And this he proves p. 138. by the example of *Hen. VIII.* in his modelling the Articles, which says the Dr. *Relate to Doctrines of Faith, and that in the most necessary points of it: And yet see what liberty the King took, in judging, as well as correcting of what they (the Synod) had done*. And p. 335. He makes the Law the standard of Heresy: And says, *There is no such mighty danger in this, unless for those who wou'd make more to be Heresy than the Law declar'd so to be. And if that be the danger, I believe all wise and charitable Men will desire, that they may be always liable to it*. And p. 125, 126. he says, That the King may suspend or annul the sentence of Heresy (for that is the subject treated of from p. 116.) pass'd against any Person by the Church.

But he comes round about again, and over-turns every stone that he had laid. For putting an objection he knew cou'd not be miss'd, there were so many instances of it, he repeats it in these words, p. 43. *That Princes may abuse this power to the detriment of the Church*. And answers, *That whenever the civil Magistrate shall so far abuse his Authority, as to render it necessary for the Clergy, by some extraordinary methods, to provide for the Churches welfare, that necessity will warrant their taking of them*.

1. This makes the Clergy judge of the necessity. And then they may take to these methods, when they see cause.

2. No necessity can create any Authority; tho' it may excuse sometimes the exercise of an Authority in an extraordinary manner, which wou'd not be justifiable, but upon the account of such necessity. Therefore it follows, that the Clergy have such an Authority (against which he disputes) independent of the State, and a right to execute it whenever they think fit.

3. If *Christ* left no more Authority with his Church than he thought necessary for the carrying on of those ends, for which he did institute a Church; then a less Authority will not be sufficient for those ends. Upon this it was queried, whether the Church cou'd give up any part of her Authority, and is not oblig'd to resume it? Otherwise it was said, that she disables herself from the effectual discharge of her duty, as to those ends for which she was instituted: And how then shall she give an account to the great Shepherd, who invested her with such Authority for those ends?

And this was urg'd from the example of civil Government, which it is necessary should be absolute and uncontrollable; as the supreme Power is in all Governments, wherever it is lodg'd, whether in one or in many: And therefore no Government can do any Act to limit itself. The supreme legislative power cannot make it self not to be absolute; if it could, it must dissolve it self, and cease to be supreme; for, whatever is limited, cannot be supreme; therefore it is a Maxim in our Law, *Suprema Potestas seipsam*

seipsam dissolvere potest; ligare non potest. That the supreme power may dissolve it self; but cannot limit it self. And the reason is plain, because all limitation comes from a superior; it must be a superior power that can limit another.

Therefore the limitation here spoke of does not extend to Oaths or other obligations to God, such as the King's Coronation-Oath, &c. for an Oath is a Promise made to God; and God is our superior, superior to Kings; and he is also the Guarantee and Avenger of all breach of Faith and Injustice: But the limitation here spoke of, is as to Man. And if the King should give to any a coercive power over him, upon any account whatsoever; he would, *ipso facto*, cease to be King, and become subject to such, and that upon all accounts whatsoever; because whoever has a power, is judge when and how to make use of it. And this could not be call'd such a King's limiting of his own power; but it is a dissolving it and transferring it to another; it makes that other to be supreme, and him that was King before to be subject; for there is no Medium betwixt Supremacy and Subjection: Every Man must be one or t'other. And this makes it necessary, that every supreme power must be absolute.

Upon this it was mov'd, whether the Church by limiting her Authority, or suffering it to be limited by the State, had not dissolv'd her self and given up her Charter? To which it was said,

1. That there is a difference betwixt limiting ones self, and being limited by another. And again betwixt submitting freely, and by force. That the latter is the case of the Church. It was the *præmunire* that squeez'd out the Submission of the Clergy, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19. *Et sic de Cæteris.*

2. When any constitution of civil Government dissolves it self, another immediately succeeds; as if a Monarchy be turn'd into a Common-wealth, or a Common-wealth into a Monarchy; and consequently that which was dissolv'd, is no more: But we cannot say that the Church is no more. There is still a Church, tho' in servitude, and nothing succeeds to it; if it were dissolv'd, there wou'd be no Church: But nothing wou'd come in its room, unless you will say a privation, that is the want of a Church.

That therefore, since no power can limit it self; and that the Church is not dissolv'd; the consequence must turn, that she is not limited by any thing that she has done, past the power of her re-calling, more than a Parliament is by any preceding Act of Parliament, which it may alter or rescind at its pleasure, as is done every day.

3. The Church is a Society spread over the Earth. And therefore cannot be dissolv'd in any one Kingdom or State; nor can the concession of any national Church oblige the Church catholick: No, nor oblige that national Church her self, otherwise than according to the rules of the catholick Church; more than a Committee of the House of Lords or Commons can oblige the whole House, or govern themselves by any other rules than those which are prescrib'd by the House.

From hence was argu'd the impossibility and contradiction, that any Kingdom or State shou'd have Authority over the Church within their dominions, in ecclesiastical matters: Because, at that rate, the Church would be broke to pieces; one sort of Church set up in one Kingdom, and another, in another; and Churches must go to war, as oft as Kingdoms: Nothing would remain uniform in the Church, either as to Church-Government, Doctrine, or Worship; and the Church of *Christ*, and all the holy institutions of his Religion must become subservient to worldly Politicks, and made to answer every turn of State.

And

And it was said, that the plain consequence of this must be to root up all Religion from off the face of the Earth: For that no King or State can believe any Religion that depends upon their authority; because then they must know that the original of it is not divine, at least they can never believe Christianity, which only is a reveal'd Religion, and therefore must come directly from Heaven.

And that if they believe *Christ* did institute a Church upon Earth and gave her any commission, they must believe such commission to be divine: Which they cannot believe, if they think it in their power to limit it at their pleasure and to make it dependent upon them: They cannot think that *Christ* gave any such spiritual commission, unless they believe it to be superior to them in spirituals; more than any Subject could believe, that God had given to Kings a temporal commission, and yet not think the King to be superior to him in temporals.

Here an observation was made to explain what seems a mystery to many People in *England*, that notwithstanding the deposing doctrine is taught at *Rome*, and has been practis'd by their Popes even in *England*, as well before as since the *Reformation*; and none of them could ever yet be brought to disown it; yet it should prove so hard a task as we have found it, to keep our Kings from running over to Popery.

And the reason was given, because they could not believe that Church to have any divine commission, and consequently to be a Church which had laid her self so low under their feet, with respect to her spiritual commission. That therefore they had rather submit themselves, tho' with the hazard of their Crowns, to a foreign Bishop, who had asserted a superiority over them both in spirituals and temporals, than to have no Bishop at all to be subject unto, even in spirituals, which is indeed to be quite out of the Church.

That surely they would not have chosen this desperate remedy if they could have found Bishops in their own dominions; who, tho' subject to them in temporals even to death, yet would not have submitted their spiritual commission, derived from *Christ* alone.

That Kings would have believ'd such Bishops to be what they call them their Fathers in God. And K. *Charles II.* would not have had reason for that sharp Sarcasm, when, upon discourse of the comparison betwixt the Church of *Rome* and the Church of *England*, he said, *the one seem'd to be in earnest, the other in jest.*

And it is not one of the least evil consequences of this principle of the *Regale*, that it does beget a secular Spirit in the Clergy: Those of them who are possess'd with it look no farther than to the place whence their preferments come; and to which they are accountable, even for the administration of their spiritual office: And that whereon they so absolutely depend, they come in time to think the original and fountain of their power; and that they are oblig'd to defend it as such. This makes them turn Courtiers, those at least who have a mind to rise; and to acquaint themselves with all the pretty arts there, of insinuation, flattery, and address. This soon eats out the evangelical Spirit of christian Simplicity, the *παρρησία* the open and fearless, but modest zeal and courage in asserting the Truths of the Gospel against all opposition; which first planted the Church of *Christ*, and must always support her. This, and the Court Air, are two elements: And tho' some are so happy as to live well in both, that is not common: And the evangelical Spirit must be very deeply rooted, if the secular do not get the ascendant over it, where the chief Administration and *Dernier Resort* of all ecclesiastical affairs is in the hands of the secular Magistrate.

From the King's Supremacy, our discourse turn'd naturally to the Pope's Supremacy. And it was said, that the Pope's stretching his Supremacy so universally and absolutely as he had done, was the great cause of Schism in the Western Church.

For that he, not being content with that primacy, which by the Constitution of the Western Church had been affixed to his See for the better and more easy regulation and carrying on the commerce and correspondence and managing the jurisdiction of the episcopal College, and which was granted to him only *jure ecclesiastico*; did set up for an universal and unlimited Supremacy, and that *jure divino*, over all his Collegues, the Bishops of the whole catholick Church; making all their authority depend upon him alone, and thereby resolving the power of the whole episcopal College into the single See of *Rome*. That this is one of the new doctrines of *Rome*. It was not known there in the days of *Gregory the Great* Bishop of *Rome*, who died in the seventh century. Then it first began to be set up by *John* Bishop of *Constantinople*, after the seat of the Empire was translated thither. And *Gregory the Great* wrote severely against it; he calls it a *novel doctrine*, which had never been known at *Rome*, or pretended to by any of her Bishops. That it was against the doctrine of the Gospel, against the decrees of the Canons, against the rights of all other Bishops and of all Churches; a horrible injury and scandal to the whole universal Church. That the Bishops were the Stars of God, and whoever sought to advance his Throne above them, did in that imitate the Pride of *Lucifer* and was the fore-runner of *Antichrist*: Whose times he said he then saw approaching, by this most wicked and tyrannical usurpation of one Bishop above all the rest of his Collegues, and to style himself Patriarch of almost the whole œcumenical Church. *Se penè per Orbem universum οὐκ ἐμπεινὸν Patriarcham nominaret*. But if *Gregory* had return'd to Earth some years after his death, he had seen that arrogant style taken up by his own successors the Bishops of *Rome*, without a *penè* or *almost*, and to have made themselves Patriarchs of the whole œcumenical Church without exception. And *Gregory* does not only thus severely inveigh against this usurpation, but gives excellent reasons against it: He says, *Si unus Episcopus vocatur universalis, universa Ecclesia corrui, si unus universus cadit*. i. e. that if one Bishop be call'd universal, the universal Church falls, if that universal Bishop falls. But says he, *Absit à Cordibus Christianorum nomen istud blasphemiae, in quo omnium Sacerdotum honor adimitur, dum ab uno sibi dementer arrogatur*. i. e. But let that blasphemous name be abhorrent to the Hearts of all Christians, by which the honour of all Bishops is taken away, while it is madly arrogated by one to himself. Here that is call'd blasphemy and madness, which is now made the plenitude of the apostolical authority! This, and much more to the same purpose, is to be seen in *Gregory's* Book of *Epistles*, Lib. iv. *Ep.* 32, 33, 34, 36, 38. Lib. vi. *Ep.* 24, 28, 30, 39. Lib. viii. *Ep.* 30. Lib. xi. *Ep.* 45. and several others.

Let me here, as a farther strengthening of this authority of *St. Gregory*, give you the only salvo which the Church of *Rome* can find against it, which is this supposition, that the claim which *John* of *Constantinople* did set up, and consequently which was all that *St. Gregory* did oppose, was, not to be chief or universal Bishop, but to be the only Bishop in the whole world and that there should be no other Bishop but himself.

This we are told in the latest apology upon this head that I know of, which has come from that side, entituled *The Prodigal returned home*, printed *An.* 1684. for our instruction. There, p. 289. is set down a quotation out of *St. Gregory*, as an objection of the Protestants, where he says, *That tho' St. Peter was the Prince of the Apostles, yet he was not*

called universal Apostle. To which the answer is, *As if there were no other Apostle but he.* And the application is, that the Pope of Rome did not so pretend to be universal Bishop, as if there were no other Bishop but himself: Which they suppose *John of Constantinople* did; and fortify it with these words of *St. Gregory*, in the same Book, Epist. 34. *Triste tamen valde est ut patienter feratur, quatenus despectis omnibus prædictus frater & Co-Episcopus meus, solus conetur appellari Episcopus.* i. e. *It is too grievous to be born, that our foresaid Brother and Fellow-Bishop despising all others, should attempt that he alone should be called Bishop.*

Here is playing upon an expression against plain matter of fact: For, as before quoted, *St. Gregory* did accuse him only for making himself Patriarch of almost the whole œcumenical Church. So that

1. In this *almost* there are other Bishops excepted, over whom he did not extend his Supremacy, as the after-Bishops of *Rome* have done.

2. The notion of a Patriarch, is, to preside over the other Bishops within his Patriarchat, so that this supposes other Bishops besides the Patriarch.

3. *John* did never deny *Gregory* to be Bishop of *Rome*, but contended with him for the Supremacy.

4. *Gregory*, in several places of his Epistles, gives *John* the character of a learned and pious Man, bating his ambition in this point. Does he then charge him with such gross ignorance as not to know there were twelve Apostles! To think that there was ne'er another Apostle but only *St. Peter*! Was that all the meaning of his argument, that *Peter* was not called universal Apostle!

Or was it not plainly, that tho' *Peter* was the first or chief Apostle, and so the Prime or Prince of them; yet this gave him not a jurisdiction over them all, so as to be call'd the universal Apostle, and all the others entirely subject to him? And this was a strong argument against the pretensions of *John*, who sought to be esteemed the universal Bishop over all the other Bishops in the world, *almost*.

5. *St. Gregory* calls the Bishops the Stars of God, and accuses *John* for seeking, like *Lucifer*, to exalt his Throne above them all. But how above them, if he would have none but himself! When things are taken quite away, they are neither above nor below.

And now as to the expression, upon which this poor cavil is founded, that he only should be esteemed Bishop. How common is it in ordinary conversation? If a Man set himself up for Dictator in a Company and to rule the whole discourse, it is said, that he would make himself the only Man in the Company: So in a Committee, if one should take upon him to over-rule all the rest: In Justices upon the Bench, &c. where tho' one be Chief Justice, he is not the only Justice. When the Prophet said, *Wo to them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the Earth*, Isa. v. 8. Did he mean that such a covetous Man, who could put no bounds to his avarice or ambition, design'd there should be ne'er a Man left in the world but himself; and in that sense to be left alone in the Earth? Or was it, that he desir'd to bring all others under him and to depend upon him?

When the Duke of *Tork* was call'd *The Duke*, was the meaning, that there was not another Duke in the Kingdom? Or was it only by way of eminence, that there was not another of like quality as he? Is not that the meaning of the Pope now writing himself *Episcopus*, without any limitation? Does he mean, that there is no other Bishop in the world but himself? How comes he to appropriate the style of apostolical to the See of *Rome*? Did they make no other Bishop? Behold then, even literally, the ambition of *John of Constantinople*! This is what he would have been

at!

at! That he alone might have the style of *Episcopus*, and his See of Apostolick; that is, by way only of eminence, as if there were no such Bishop as he the universal one.

There is nothing now left to the Church of *Rome*, but to give us up *St. Gregory* too among the Protestant Popes, before there was any Popery in the World!

And we may lay good claim to others of them, after that time, before Popes had arriv'd at their full height. I will instance at this time but in one, tho' he names several others, that is *Aeneas Sylvius*. It is indeed in what he wrote before he was Pope. And tho' afterwards he assum'd the Grandure of the then papal strain, as Men that take great places, must accept of the style with them; yet he then only asserted, whereas before he prov'd. And he neither recanted or took upon him to answer his own arguments, and the authorities which he had brought against the then exorbitant pretensions of the Papacy.

He ascended the Pontifical Throne, by the name of *Pius* the second, in the year 1458. And in his *De Gest. Concil. Basil.* l. 1. Edit. Basil. 1551. p. 11, 12. he says, *Opinio omnium mortuorum est, si opinio vocari debet quæ idoneis confirmatur autoribus, quia Ro. Pontifex universali Ecclesiæ subiectus existit: Neque hoc viventes negare audent: Audent illud autem, apud aliquos revocatur in dubium, an id quoque de generali Concilio credi oporteat. Sunt enim aliqui, sive avidi gloriæ sive quod adulando præmia expectant, qui peregrinas quasdam & omnino novas prædicare Doctrinas cœperunt, ipsumque summum Pontificem ex Jurisdictione sacri Concilii demere non verentur. Excæcavit namque illos ambitio, à quâ non solum hoc modernum, sed omnia usque ad hanc diem Schismata, suborta reperiuntur—Hodiernam Hæresim illi præcipuè nutriunt, quos jam mendicare suppudet, quorum alius clamat, subditorum facta judicari à Papâ, Romanum verò Pontificem solius Dei reservari arbitrio. Alius dicit, quia primam sedem nemo judicabit, quod neque ab Augusto, neque ad omni Clero, neque à Regibus, neque à Populo valeat judicari—Nec considerant miseri, quia quæ prædicant tantopere verba, aut summorum Pontificum sunt suas simbrias extendentium, aut illorum qui eis adulabantur. Et quia hujusmodi dicta solutionem habent, recurrunt statim ad Evangelium, & verba Christi non prout Spiritus Sancti sensus exposcit, sed suo opte ingenio interpretantur. Plurimumque illud extollunt, quia Petro sit dictum, Tu vocaberis Cephas, per quod illum Caput Ecclesiæ faciunt: Tibi dabo Claves Regni Cælorum: Et, quodcunque ligaveris super terram: Et, Rogavi pro te, Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua: Et, pasce oves meas: Et, duc in altum rete: Et, noli timere, jam ex hoc eris homines capiens: Quodque soli Petro, tanquam Apostolorum Principi, Christus mandaverit, pro se & pro illo staterem dare: Et, quia Petrus traxit ad terram rete plenum piscibus magnis: Et, quod solus Petrus ad Christi defensionem gladium evaginavit. Quæ omnia hi homines miro modo sublimant, expositionibus sanctorum Doctorum omnino posthabitis. Which, for the sake of the common Reader is thus in English. “It is the opinion of all that are dead, if that can be call'd an opinion which is fortified with sufficient authorities, that the Pope of *Rome* is subject to the universal Church; neither dare those living deny it. But it is made a doubt among some, whether he be subject also to a general Council: For there are some, whether out of singularity or that they expect the rewards of their flattery, have begun to spread new and strange Doctrines, and are not afraid to exempt the Pope from the Jurisdiction of the holy Council; for ambition has blinded them, from whence not only this modern, but all schisms to this day have arisen—This modern Heresy is chiefly*

“ chiefly supported by a company of beggarly Expectants, of whom one
 “ cries, that the actions of subjects are to be judg’d by the Pope, but he, by
 “ God alone. Another says, That the chief Seat is to be judg’d by none,
 “ neither by all the Clergy, nor Kings, nor People— These wretched
 “ Men do not consider, That these things they say, are but the words ei-
 “ ther of Popes, who wou’d extend their power, or of their flatterers: And
 “ because such sayings are easily answered, they straight run to the Gospel,
 “ and interpret the words of *Christ*, not according to the meaning of the
 “ Holy Ghost, but of their own Brains. And they make much of that
 “ which was said to *Peter*, *Thou shalt be call’d Cephas*, by which they
 “ make him Head of the Church: *To thee I will give the Keys of the*
 “ *Kingdom of Heaven*: And, *Whatsoever thou bindest upon Earth*: And,
 “ *I have pray’d for thee, Peter, That thy Faith fail not*: And, *Fear not,*
 “ *thou shalt henceforth catch Men*: And that *Christ* commanded *Peter* a-
 “ lone, as Prince of the Apostles, to pay Tribute for himself and for him:
 “ And because *Peter* drew the Net to shore full of great fishes: And that
 “ *Peter* alone drew his Sword in defence of *Christ*. All which things
 “ these Men after a strange manner do refine upon, wholly neglecting
 “ the expositions of the holy Doctors.” And he solves these texts in the
 same manner as the Protestants have done; shewing that, tho’ spoke to *Pe-*
ter, they were meant, not to him personally, but to the Church; and that
 by that text, *Dic Ecclesie*, *Peter* himself was made subject to the censures
 of the Church, and all his Successors, to which if they refus’d to submit,
 they were to be reputed as Heathens and Publicans. And he quotes *Gre-*
gory the Great and Pope *Nicolas*, &c. for the same. And says of those
 who wou’d set up the Pope’s authority above all, p. 14. *Qui dum unius*
hominis libidinem sustinere conantur, dumque privatum bonum communi
antevertunt, incredibile est, quantas errorum nebulas excitent. i. e. *Who,*
while they endeavour to support the ambition of one Man, while they
prefer the private to the publick good, it is incredible what clouds of er-
rors they have rais’d. And quotes Pope *Zosimus*, saying, *Contra statuta*
patrum condere aliquid vel mutare, nec hujus quidem Sedis potest autori-
tas. i. e. *The authority even of this See (of Rome) cannot establish or*
change any thing against the decrees of the Fathers: And Pope *Dama-*
sus making it *Blasphemare Spiritum Sanctum*, to *Blaspheme the Holy*
Ghost. And supports this by the authority of St. *Ambrose* manifestly re-
 proving those, *Qui summum Pontificem Concilii Principem dicunt*; who
 call the Pope the Prince or Head of the Council.

And of St. *Augustine*, who says, That appeals may be made from the
 Popes to the Church, and their Decrees revers’d. And after several other
 authorities, and instancing the Church contending with *Peter*, *Acts* xi.
 and *Paul* resisting him to the face, *Gal.* ii. he concludes with these words
 of *Marcian* the Emperor, *Verè impius atque Sacrilegus est, qui post Sa-*
cerdotum Sententiam, opinioni suæ aliquid retractandum relinquit; extre-
 ma quippe dementiæ est, in meridie ☉ perspicuo die commentitium lumen
 querere: *Quisquis enim post veritatem repertam aliquid ulterius discuti-*
tit, mendacium quærit. i. e. *He is impious and sacrilegious, who will op-*
pose his Judgment to the determination of the Priests. For it is extreme
 madness, in the clear noon day, to seek for a false feigned light: For he
 who after the truth found out, will yet still search farther, seeketh a
 lye.

Then he goes on, p. 15, 16. to shew that the Pope may be depos’d:
 And having answer’d those texts, *Tibi dabo claves*, *Pasce oves*, &c. ac-
 cording to the Doctrine of the primitive Fathers, particularly St. *Ambrose*
 and St. *Augustine*, whose words he quotes, that they did belong to the
 other

other Apostles, and the succeeding Bishops of the Church, as well as to St. Peter: And then coming to answer the objection, That the Pope was Head of the Church; and that the Head must not be cut off for whatever disease, because it inferr'd the death of the Body; he denies the Pope to be Head of the Church, unless you will say ministerially, that is, to serve and assist the Body, under the Head, which is *Christ* alone. And he asserts it as without all doubt, that the Pope is more truly the Vicar of the Church, than of *Christ*: And therefore, that as a Lord may at his pleasure depose his Vicar, so the Church may the Pope. *Quia cum sit Papa vicarius Ecclesiae, nemo dubitat quin dominus vicarios suos possit ad nutum suum destituere: Nec dubium est, veriùs dici Papam, Ecclesiae vicarium, quàm Christi.* And before he says, *Quicquid tamen dicant aliqui, ego cum illis non sentio, qui Romanum Pontificem Caput Ecclesiae dicunt, nisi forsitan ministeriale; legimus enim, quia Christus est Ecclesiae Caput non Papa—Ecclesia verò ipsius Christi corpus, cujus etiam ipse Papa est Membrum.* Therefore that he may be cut off, and depos'd if inutile or scandalous, *nec, ut aliqui delirant, propter solam Hæresim.*

i. e. "For seeing the Pope is Vicar of the Church, none doubts but a Lord may, at his pleasure, turn off his Vicars: Nor is it a doubt to say, that the Pope is more truly the Vicar of the Church than of *Christ*. And whatever some Men do say, I cannot agree with those who call the Pope the Head of the Church; unless, perhaps a ministerial Head; for we read that *Christ* is Head of the Church, and not the Pope—For the Church is the Body of *Christ* himself, of which the Pope himself is but a Member.

Then he tells p. 17, 18. what is meant by the Church, viz. The whole Body of believers, both Pastors and People. But that the authority and governing part lay only in the Pastors, who therefore are call'd the Church virtually, as including the whole. Let me make a comparison familiar to us: It is as the House of Commons are called the Commons of *England*, and their Acts, the Acts of all the Commons of *England*. This he shews first, as it was under the Law, where *Deut. xvii.* the Priests were to be the Judges of the People. And that the same was the state under the Gospel, as shewn *Mat. xxiii. 1, 2.* the Jewish Church being a type of the Christian. And that *Christ* compares the Apostles, and in them the Clergy, to Fishers, and the People to the Fish. He calls the Clergy likewise the Husband-Men and Labourers in the Vineyard, which was the Church, and says, *He that heareth you, heareth me, &c.* And, *Go and teach all Nations.* And, *Whatsoever ye bind on Earth, &c.* And, *To thee I will give the Keys, &c.* which, as St. *Augustine* says, upon the place; *Per illa verba datam esse judiciariam potestatem, non solum Petro, sed toti Ecclesiae in Episcopis & Presbyteris; i. e. By these words there is judicial power given, not only to Peter, but to the whole Church, in the Bishops and the Presbyters.* And, as *Aeneas Sylvius* goes on; *Sciendum est enim (ut Clemens asserit in Epistola supradicta) Episcopos vicem Apostolorum gerere, & reliquorum Discipulorum vicem tenere Presbyteros, sic enim prædicasse Petrum, qui à Domino didicisse, ait: Unde apparet Ecclesiae potestatem omnimodam in Sacerdotibus consistere. i. e. For we must know (as Clemens says in his Epistle before quoted) That the Bishops are in the place of the Apostles, and the Presbyters of the other Disciples: For so he says Peter did teach, who learn'd it from the Lord. Whence it appears that all the power of the Church is lodg'd in the Priests.* And having thus resolv'd the power of the Church Universal into the Bishops and Clergy, he makes the conclusion, *Dicimus ergo Universali Ecclesiae, quæ omnes Christi fideles amplectitur, Potestatem omnimodam fore concessam,*

sam, Romanumque Pontificem illi subiectum, posse per ipsam, non bene regentem, deponi, abjici, excommunicari. Rursus adjicimus, quia quæcunque illa Universalis Ecclesia potest, hæc etiam Clericorum potest & in hac potestatis supremæ exercitium inveniri. i. e. Therefore we say, that all power is given to the Universal Church, which contains all the faithful of Christ; and that the Pope of Rome is subject to her, and if he govern not well, may be depos'd by her, thrown off, and excommunicated. And we farther say, That whatever that Universal Church can do, the Clergy may do, and that in them the exercise of the supreme power is to be found. Here the Pope is entirely submitted to the College of Bishops. And tho' he may be president for order sake, when they are assembled in Council, yet he is deny'd to be Prince of the Council, to have power to dissolve or prorogue them without their own consent: And that they may call themselves without him, if he consent not, as is asserted in the same place, p. 19, 20. And if he separate himself from them, he thereby separates himself from the Unity of the Church, and makes himself a Schismatick. He is here deny'd to be Head of the Church, or Vicar of Christ, but rather Vicar and Servant to the Church, that is, to the episcopal College. And to set him above them, is call'd wickedness and sacrilege, and blasphemy, against the Holy Ghost: And the root both of ancient and modern Schisms: And this from the mouths of several Popes themselves, as well as in other ancient and godly Fathers: And this not only asserted, but put in practice by the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, who depos'd several Popes, as other Councils had done: And these Councils are vindicated, and re-asserted in the Decrees of the *Gallican Clergy*, An. 1682. then he shews that the Popes of *Rome* were prohibited by the Councils of *Africa* from receiving any Appeals from their Synods; which totally overthrows the pretence of the Pope's universal Supremacy. As he says p. 15. *Ex Conciliis etiam Africanis prohibiti sunt Romani Pontifices, ne appellationes illorum audirent, qui à Synodo appellabant. i. e. The Popes of Rome were prohibited by the African Councils from bearing the Appeals of those who appeal'd to them from the Synod.* That is, from the *African Synod*; which made the Church of *Africa*, as free and independent as that of *Rome*; and consequently, every other national Church: Tho' *Rome* was then more eminent, as one Nation is more than another; yet independent.

From this Super-eminence or Supremacy of *Rome* it was that those great appellations were given to her of plenitude of power, and being chief of Bishops, &c. of which this same Pope gives this account, p. 19. *Quoniam Sacerdotes per Orbem dispersi nec statuunt Canones, nec judicant, nisi quilibet Plebem suam; tuncque Papa omnibus major est—in eoque plenitudo potestatis existit. i. e. Because the Bishops dispersed over the World, do not make Canons, nor judge, except every one his own Flock; in this sense, the Pope is greater than they all—And in this the plenitude of his power does consist.* That is, he was greater than any single Bishop, but not than the College of Bishops, when they were met together: As it may be said at this day of the Bishop of *Canterbury*, with respect to *England*.

And when *Aeneas Sylvius* came to be Pope, and took these high Titles upon him, we ought to understand them in that sense which he himself has thus explain'd: Nor has the Church of *Rome* any other way to save him from contradicting himself, in those expressions they produce of him after he came to the Pontificate, of his greatness and Power, which they would have overthrow his authority, in what he had so strenuously argu'd before.

And as this Pope thus zealously asserted the rights of the Episcopate against the then growing encroachments of the Pontificate; he likewise saw, on the other hand, and for the same reasons, what humble Servants Men would prove to those who could give them rewards, even to set up the *Regale* of temporal Princes above the authority of the Church. Thus he prophesies, p. 42. *Episcopos verò aliquos, ne quid temporalitatis amitterent, libertatem Ecclesiæ Principibus vendituros, eosque Judices & Dominos supra Concilium erecturos.* i. e. That some Bishops, lest they should lose any thing of their temporalities, would sell the liberties of the Church to Princes, and set them up as Judges and Governors of Councils.

But we need not the testimony of Popes against the *Regale*; they are produc'd on the other side, as of most force against the Pontificate, that being their own concern; and Men are not apt to be partial against themselves.

More of this sort might be produc'd: I am afraid some Readers may think this too much. Therefore to return to more ancient authorities, which will bear the weight we lay upon them, this notion which Gregory the Great, Pius II. and other Popes quoted by him, had of the Church, opposite to that of an universal Head upon Earth, but govern'd by the episcopal College, is what in the earliest time had prevail'd in the catholick Church.

This is the language of the great St. Cyprian, Ep. 68. p. 178. That therefore the episcopal College is large, and there are many Bishops, join'd together in the bond of Unity: That if any Bishop of the College should propagate Heresy, and so seek to tear and waste the Flock of Christ, the rest might mercifully interpose for the saving of the Flock, and gather again the Sheep of the Lord into the Fold. For tho' we are many Pastors, (lays he) yet we all feed the same Flock. And Ep. 55. p. 112. he says, That as there is but one Church thro' the whole world, divided into many members; so there is but one Episcopate, diffus'd in the numerous agreement of many Bishops.

Among these the Bishop of Rome held the first place, as being Bishop of the most eminent City in the World, it being then the seat of the Empire: And therefore applications were made principally to him in affairs of the Church.

But for any such universal Supremacy as is now pretended, on account of his being the ultimate and infallible judge of controversy, it was totally unknown to these early ages: In which, tho' there were many and great controversies, yet no such appeal to the Bishop of Rome does appear from any body: And it could not have been miss'd if that had been the principle of those times; for it had been a summary way, and the only true way of ending all their controversies.

But on the contrary we find, that St. Cyprian and others did oppose the Bishop of Rome, argue against him, and reprove him sharply where they thought he deserv'd it.

And St. Cyprian and other Bishops give him no other title than that of Fellow-Bishop and Joint-Brother: And take leave to differ as freely from him as from other Bishops.

St. Cyprian, when Archbishop of Carthage, would not take upon him to be Bishop of Bishops, even over those Bishops of his own Province whom he call'd together in Council, and wherein he presided; nor requir'd that any of them should be determin'd by his authority, upon any point: But allow'd that they might differ from his judgment, seeing they were not accountable to him or any other, but to Christ the chief Shepherd, who had entrusted them with his Flock under their charge. Cyp. in Concil. Carth.

p. 129, &c. And as he assum'd no such Supremacy to himself, as little did he allow it to any other.

The notion of an universal Vicar was not then invented. St. Cyprian says of every Bishop, that he does *Vice Pastoris custodire Gregem*, Ep. 8. p. 16. *Keep the Flock in the place of Christ the chief Shepherd.*

And the Canons after made to regulate the precedence and jurisdiction of the Patriarchs, of whom Rome was one.

And the Council of Carthage, A. D. 419. Can. 126. forbidding appeals to any *Trans-Marine* jurisdiction, under pain of excommunication, are absolutely inconsistent with such an universal Supremacy as Rome did afterwards claim, and that *jure divino*.

That this usurpation of the Bishops of Rome upon the Episcopate, made the famous Archbishop of Spalato M. Anton. de Dom. quit their Communion, and come over into England, in the Reign of K. James I. to seek for a more pure and primitive Episcopacy here, as himself gives the reason, in his *Consilium Profectionis*.

But finding here a more heterogeneous *Erastianism* in the Regale, he return'd: But whether into their Communion again or not, is not certain.

1. But the Bishop of Rome having thus grasp'd the power of the whole episcopal College into his own hand, took upon him not only to tyrannize himself, but, out of the plenitude of his power, he sold the right and authority of other Bishops to Kings and secular Princes, on condition that they would aggrandize his See, and maintain him in his usurpation over the rest of his Collegues the Bishops. Thus sharing the spoils of the Church with those who were able by their power to keep his robbery from being questioned: As Bishop Burnet says in his *History of the Regale*, p. 241. *The King and the Pope agreed to divide the promotions to all Prelacies between them.*

It was the Pope who first thoroughly settled the Regale into an ecclesiastical Establishment, as Grotius tells (*de Imper. Summar. Potest. circa Sacra*. c. 10. §. 24.) from Onuphrius and others, that the custom of the Emperors chusing Bishops prevailed from the time of Charles the Great: And that it was established by the authority of Pope Adrian I. Who ordain'd that the Ring and Pastoral-Staff of a deceas'd Bishop or Abbot should be carry'd to the Emperor; and that he might invest whom he pleas'd therewith, and command them to be consecrated accordingly. And from hence this custom prevail'd thro' France, Germany and Italy, which was then call'd the *Latin World*: And other Kings, as Spain, Hungary, &c. imitated their example. So that, says Onuphrius, this became the custom of the *Latin World*: And Kings did, at last, extend it even over Rome itself. (It is no new thing to see partners fall out in dividing the spoil, and to rob one another) several of whose Bishops he there instances were chosen by the Roman Emperors, who, he says, did not only chuse all Bishops, Abbots, Deans, and Prebends, and all inferior orders of the Church, but the Bishop of Rome himself.

This continu'd in the Church of Rome 300 years, during the Reigns of sixty Popes, till Pope Hildebrand set himself against it, and others after him; and have brought it to what we now see: They have bent the bow as much the contrary way, and assum'd the power of deposing Kings to beat down their pretence to the investiture of Bishops, when they found that it stretch'd itself even to the Bishops of Rome themselves. But when they had got free themselves, they were content that the other Bishops should be kept still under the yoke; and made a new dividend of the spoil, allowing to Kings by Concordates the presentation of some Bishopricks and other Church preferments, that they might securely enjoy all the rest. This was

the effect of resolving the whole power of the episcopal College into one, as *Gregory the Great* foretold.

This bargain the Pope has made for them as supreme Head and Goyernor of the Church.

2. But not content with this, and to humble the Episcopate more effectually, he, as the sovereign disposer of all other Bishops and their authority, has set up vast swarms of regulars in all countries subject to his Supremacy; and has exempted them (contrary to the ancient Canons) from the jurisdiction of their respective Bishops, and made them accountable only to the superiors of their respective orders, and ultimately to himself: Therefore they are justly call'd the Pope's Life-Guard, as depending wholly and solely upon him: And serve him to purpose in battelling, upon all occasions, his great foe Episcopacy, as *Lainez* the General of the Jesuits did at the Council of *Trent*, by the same arguments which the Protestant Presbyterians have since borrowed against the episcopal authority.

But the stout opposition then given by the Bishops of *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Hungary*, and all the Popish dominions except some of *Italy* who were the Pope's creatures, to this pretended Supremacy of the Pope over all other Bishops, and in defence of the primitive divine right of the Episcopate, infomuch, that they forced the Pope to use all his arts to have that question dropt which he had brought into the Council against the divine right of Episcopacy, (excepting only that of the See of *Rome*) and to keep the unanimous opinion of the Bishops, for the divine right of every Bishop, as well as of the Bishop of *Rome* from being past into a decree of that Council: I say, this shews us plainly, that the Bishops of the *Roman* Communion are kept under the usurpations of the papal Supremacy by art and power: And in all probability would have deliver'd themselves before this time but for fear of falling more absolutely under the power of the *Regale*; which, by the artifice of the Popes, is kept over their heads, that they may not think of steering off from *Scylla* for fear of falling into *Charybdis*. But the chanel lies betwixt these two: Which is the primitive Episcopate, free from the encroachments of the *Pontificate* and the *Regale*, that have agreed to support and maintain each other.

3. Another artifice to break the episcopal authority, is the many peculiarities which the Pope has made, exempt from the jurisdiction of the Bishops: And the *Regale* thinks fit, for the same reason, to keep them up: The *Pontificate* and the *Regale* quarrel sometimes about them, to get them from one another; but both agree to keep them from the Bishops.

4. Again the Pope as supreme Treasurer of the Church, has sweetly dispos'd of her patrimony: He has appropriated to the regulars, and sold and infeodated to other Lay-Men (for all the regulars are not Clergy) all the riches in *Italy* and most in other Popish Countries: And the *Regale*, where pretending to reform, has seiz'd upon all these, but return'd nothing to the Church, from which they were taken.

This still the effect of letting the whole depend upon one, whether King or Bishop; but with this difference, that there is none who pretends to be universal King: And therefore what every King may do in his own dominions, the universal Bishop may do all the christian World over.

Then the grand pretence of the Pope's universal Supremacy was discourst, viz. to preserve Unity in the Church, as being one Society, which could not be without a visible Head. To this it was said,

1. That there is one World. That this whole World is one Kingdom to God. As it is written, *His Kingdom ruleth over all*, Psal. ciii. 19. *They shall speak of the Glory of thy Kingdom*, Psal. cxlv. 11.

That God has appointed no universal Deputy or Monarch under him, over the whole World; and that the Peace and Unity of the World is best so consulted by his all wise providence: For that no mortal Man's abilities are sufficient to govern the whole Earth. It wou'd occasion infinity of Defections and Rebellions, and bring the World to greater Wars and Confusions, than as it is now canton'd into many independent Kingdoms and States.

That Appeals cou'd not be made from all parts of the Earth to a King in any one place: Besides many other insuperable difficulties, which are obvious to any who will consider of such a scheme,

2. That the same do occur in the notion of an universal Bishop, to whom Appeals from all parts of the Earth must come.

That therefore many and independent Churches are no more an objection against the Unity of the Church, than many Kingdoms against the Unity of God's universal Kingdom.

That there is a general Law, call'd the Law of Nations, by which all Kingdoms and States think themselves oblig'd; and by which the peace and commerce of the World is maintain'd.

That there is a yet stricter and more firm bond of Unity betwixt the several Churches of *Christ*: For whereas any civil sentence, as of death, confiscation, &c. pass'd by any King has no effect out of his own Dominions: The sentence of excommunication, or other spiritual censures, when pass'd justly by any Bishop of the catholick Church, have, by the rules of the catholick Communion, their effect in all other Churches through the World. And when those censures are releas'd by the proper Bishop, the Criminal is absolv'd, and restor'd to Communion not only of his own Bishop, but of all the Bishops of the catholick Church.

So that the power of every Bishop extends all over the whole christian Church; whereas the power of any King is limited within his own dominions. And the Church is cemented in a stricter bond of Unity than the secular World; the Communion of Saints being a more sacred and stricter tye than the commerce of Nations; and extends it self to the other World, takes in the Saints and Angels of Heaven, as making one Family, one Body with the Church upon Earth, all united under one Head, *Christ*, the Lord and Father of all.

3. That God has made *Christ* his only universal Deputy over the World and of the Church; he is the only universal King and Bishop; and it is as great blasphemy for any one to arrogate to himself the one as the other.

For the Kingdom is the Lord's, and he is the Governor among the Nations: And the Churches of those Nations who turn to the Lord *ŷ. 27.* Hence the Gospel is call'd, *The Kingdom, in all the World:* And no particular Kingdom is *The Kingdom*, more than it is *The World*: And the Kingdom of the Gospel means nothing other than the Church: But *Rome* wou'd be not only the chief or principal of the Churches or Kingdoms; but it wou'd be *The Church, The Kingdom*, that is, *The World*; and her Bishop will be content with nothing than an universal Kingship.

Psal. xxii. 28.

Mat. xxiv. 14.

4. That the whole catholick Church must depend absolutely upon the universal Bishop, in matters of Faith as well as Discipline; and therefore as his power is infinite, so must he be infallible, else as *Gregory* said, *The Church must suddenly fall, if it come to depend upon one.* Hence the Popes when they had set up for universal Supremacy, assum'd likewise infallibility to themselves.

But then the confusion they are in to find where this infallibility lies, has render'd their pretence to it contradictory to itself; the necessity they pretend

pretend for it, being to reduce things to a certainty and infallible judgment, they are in nothing more uncertain than in this.

Bellarmin and the *Italian* Fryars, who writ at the Pope's feet, place this infallibility in the Person of the Pope, as Successor to *Peter*, and consequently Heir of all the Promises made to *Peter*: And extend it not only to matters of Faith, but of practice; for they rightly say, That this argument, the necessity of an infallible guide from the goodness of God not to suffer Mankind to be at a loss for want of means to know his duty, will reach to matters of Practice as well as Faith; since Men will be judg'd at the last day for the one as well as the other.

And then how shall we believe such to be our infallible guides, even in Practice, whose lives, as wrote by their own Historians, are full of enormities, neither few nor little?

Nay more, who are erroneous in their Principles, as well as Practice: Who have established the deposing Doctrine by authority of what they call a general Council, * and sanctify'd it by indulgences to those Subjects, who shall take Arms against their King, and depose him upon account of Religion. And the Popes have often put this in Practice, † in several Kingdoms.

There were six Popes who succeeded one another, during what was call'd the Holy League in *France*, of whom every one join'd with the League against the King; and this was made an invincible argument by the Pope's Legate, to justify that Rebellion, *Anno Dom.* 1593.

Some Writers of late years, have made distinctions to mollify this Principle and Practice of the Popes: But however the Popes will not give it up nor can they be brought to disclaim it.

This was no objection to *Bellarmino*, who wrote in defence of the deposing Doctrine, and of the Council of *Lateran* which enacted it: He thought the Pope was an infallible guide, in this, as in all other things.

And pursuing the consequence of this *Hypothesis* to the utmost, cou'd not stop short of this monstrous position, that if the Pope shou'd command the practice of vice and forbid virtue, the Church were bound to believe vice to be good, and virtue to be wicked, *de Rom. Pont.* l. 4. c. 5.

We must suppose that he thought it impossible the Pope shou'd do so (tho' there are too many instances of it) and that the universal Bishop must also be universal Guide, and consequently arbitrary and infallible, since the whole catholick Church must depend upon him.

The same reasoning makes these Men place the Pope far superior and paramount to all Councils, even general, compos'd of all the Bishops in the Earth. They may advise, but the decision lies in him alone.

Others whose sense or courage fail them to run to this excess of madness, place the infallibility indeed in the Pope: But then they say it is only when he is in *Cathedra*.

Here again they break into different Parties, some say he is in *Cathedra* in the *Conclave*; others deny that, and say that he is only so in a general Council.

Some say, That the infallibility is not in the Pope, but in the Council: That therefore the Council is above the Pope, and may depose him as the Council of *Constance* depos'd three contending Popes, who were all then in the World; which Council the general Assembly of the *Gallican* Clergy, *A. D.* 1682. do quote, in the second of their Decrees then publish'd; and stand upon the authority of a Council as superior to that of the Pope.

* Great Council of *Later.* c. 3. *Anno Dom.* 1215. † *D'Avila's Hist. Civ. Wars in France*, *Lond.* 1678. l. 13. p. 598.

Others like none of these ways; and place the infallibility neither in Pope nor Council separately; but only in both together.

Lastly, Because even so they cannot hold up their infallibility: For there are several instances given, where Pope and Council have oppos'd former Popes and Councils, and rescinded their Acts as erroneous: Therefore there are some who place the infallibility in the Church diffusive; which if they had not limited to those only of the *Roman* Communion, they had come nearer to the truth; if they wou'd consider themselves only as a part of the catholick Church, and see what it is which they hold in common with all the other christian Churches; they might in such a Faith find an infallible assurance, tho' not from any or all of the Persons who hold it: Yet from the nature of such an universal Testimony; and in such publick and notorious matters of fact, as it is impossible for Mankind to be impos'd upon; which is demonstrated, even to our senses, in the *Method with the Deists*, &c. lately published.

But the Church of *Rome* grounding all those things wherein she differs from other Churches, upon her own infallibility; and not knowing where to find it, being divided into so many different and opposite *Hypotheses* concerning it, whereof if any one be true, all the rest must be false; will be forc'd at least to suspend whatever she builds upon her own authority, different from the common sentiments of other Churches and of Mankind, till she can reconcile her self with her self; and agree, where her infallibility lies; and to what things it extends, whether only to matters of Faith, as some; or also to matters of Practice, as others of as great name as any in her Communion have contended; and have the better of the argument upon their Principles.

But till these things can be adjusted, her Bishop must lay aside his pretences to universal Supremacy, which includes omnipotency and infallibility—And their vain boast of Unity must cease, till they can agree among themselves upon this foundation Principle of the Pope's Supremacy, whereon all the rest of their new Doctrines do depend.

5. And besides all this it was farther urg'd, that a local Infallibility or Supremacy fixt to any one place, wou'd render the christian Religion as narrow and precarious as the *Jewish*, which was confin'd to the Temple in *Jerusalem*; and therefore was never design'd for the universal Religion; and it becomes impracticable, whenever that place is in the hands of enemies, as *Jerusalem* now for many hundred years has been; and therefore the *Jews* can have no Sacrifices, nor have had these almost one thousand seven hundred years, in any part of the World.

Now suppose that *Rome* were conquer'd by Infidels, as *Constantinople* has been; or that a christian Prince should seize *Rome*, as has been done; then cou'd not Appeals be brought to the Bishop of *Rome*, without the King of *Rome*'s leave; who it is not like wou'd permit so vast a concourse, from all parts of the World to a power more universal than his own.

Nor wou'd christian Princes, especially if in War, think him an equal Judge amongst them all, who were in the power of any one of them.

The Church of *Russia* did submit to the Patriarchat of *Constantinople*, while it was in the hands of christian Emperors who were at peace with them: But have, with good reason, and even of necessity, broke off from it, since it has been conquer'd by the *Turk*.

When the Pontifical Chair was translated from *Rome* to *Avignon* in *France*, where it remain'd about seventy years, what disputes did it create? Popes and Anti-Popes set up against one another; and that Church torn to pieces with many and long Schisms, which all the wit of Man can never reconcile with her pretended Supremacy and Infallibility.

Then

Then a remedy was thought on for all these things. And it was said, that the western Church was (like her Master) crucify'd betwixt the usurpations of the Pontificate on one side, and the *Regale* on the other.

That if the King's Supremacy, and power of the State over the Church were reduc'd to what our Laws before-mention'd have limited and explain'd *viz.* To extend only to a civil power, tho' in ecclesiastical Causes and over ecclesiastical Persons:

And if the Pope's Supremacy were brought back to the limits of his first Patriarchat, *Jure* only *Ecclesiastico*, for the better regulation of the episcopal College, and exerting of its authority:

Then the primitive Episcopacy wou'd again flourish and shine forth in full vigor.

Then the correspondence of Bishops by communicatory Letters wou'd be reviv'd; and when they cou'd freely speak their minds, without dread of the inquisition on the one hand, or the *premunire* on the other, there is no doubt but our differences wou'd lessen as to other particulars, which are now heightened, on purpose to serve Parties and support Supremacies.

Then those many and pious Men in the Church of *Rome*, who do wish and have labour'd for a Reformation there, but dare not push it on, for fear of falling in with the *Regale* Erastianism; they seeing no other shore to row to, wou'd gladly avow, what they now secretly approve in our Reformation.

And we shou'd find no scruple to own and amend what we found amiss on our side.

And on all sides such a temper wou'd be put on, as to give us a prospect of a more glorious Reformation than ever the Church saw, since *Constantine* first turn'd Christian.

Then Kings and christian States being freed from the just fears which the deposing Doctrine (taught rather by the Court than Church of *Rome*, merely to support the papal usurpation) had given them, wou'd not think it their interest to encroach upon the sacred office; but leave it in its full vigour and authority, as being the greatest support and assurance upon Earth to their Government, as well as towards the Salvation of their Souls.

They would not then seek to bring any *Quo Warranto* against the divine Charter of the Church, granted to her by *Christ* our Lord; but they would highly honour it, and rejoice in it, that it was independent and superior to all the powers upon Earth: Without which it could not be divine; nor could we have any assurance in the celebration of the sacred offices, or any thing of Religion:

Which cannot stand upon a less foundation than *Christ* has laid for it: And he gave to his Church no more authority than was necessary to the carrying on of those ends for which he did institute it: And therefore to lessen that, must certainly so far deprive us of those benefits which *Christ* design'd to the world in the erecting of his Church among Men.

That therefore the restoring of her authority is necessary towards our obtaining of these benefits, which is the Salvation of our Souls, as well as temporal blessings.

That then, and not till then, Religion will be restor'd to its ancient lustre, will be venerable and glorious: Which can never be while those who administer it are render'd precarious, which is contemptible.

Then Religion with its beauty will recover its force and influence upon the minds of Men, and be able to look vice out of countenance, and restore a lasting peace and security to Kings and States: *For Godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the Life that now is, and of that which is to come.*

1 Tim. iv. 8.

Then will not our Kings be tempted to look abroad for an independent Bishop, since they cannot believe any other to have divine commission. For it is a contradiction to call such an one my Bishop, and not to think him my superior, and that I am oblig'd to obey him in all things relating to his office: As much as to call a Man my King, and yet pay him no duty in temporals.

Then Bishops will transact with one another as Collegues; as temporal Princes do, each independent and supreme within his own dominions; yet digested into superior and inferior classes of Emperors, Kings, sovereign Princes, and States.

Thus some Bishops might be Metropolitans, some Primates, and some Patriarchs, for the better regulation of the episcopal College, without any infraction upon the Episcopate and the Supremacy of every Bishop over his own Subjects. For example,

The Princes Electors of the Empire pay a duty to the Emperor, and do him personal services; yet are they sovereign and independent Princes; and the Emperor has no authority, without their leave, in their dominions: And he treats with them, and they with him, by their Ministers and Ambassadors, as other sovereign Princes do.

Then would every Bishop have full authority within himself to regulate and direct his Clergy; to correct vice, and reform error; and all Bishops would stand by and assert the Discipline of each Bishop duly exercis'd within his own district: And the example would encourage others: And the Reformation would become universal: Then Bishops would be justly chargeable with any scandals in the Clergy, or what was notorious in any other of their subjects; and with the growth of heresies and errors. And mere shame would bring matters to a decency, tho' every one had not the pure zeal of Christianity: For which they have now too apparent an excuse, viz. that Discipline is lost, and will not be permitted by the State: Which, by virtue of *Conge d'Esliers*, *Quare Impeditis*, Prohibitions, &c. have made themselves the sole and ultimate judges not only of all Bishops and Churches, but of their excommunications, and every exercise of their spiritual jurisdiction. Here any Bishop who is negligent or fearful, and wants an excuse for letting Religion go to wrack, has one ready to his hand; and his Fellow Bishops cannot convene themselves in Synod to judge of him, or to consult of any other affairs of the Church without the King's Licence: And therefore they easily put it off themselves, and lay all the miscarriages at his door. On the other hand, the State are as willing to clear themselves, and say, that the Bishops and Clergy might do more than they do: That they are idle, they are idle, and complain for want of straw, of more power and authority, without which they pretend that they cannot make bricks: And desire ease from their burdens, that they may sacrifice to the Lord.

Thus while each put it upon the other, it is neglected on both sides: As the saying is, *What is every body's business is no body's business*.

XIX.
The proper
office of the
Priesthood.

In order to apprehend these things the better, the Company were desirous to consider what was the proper office of the Priesthood, and for what it was ordained; that we might thereby know how far it was to be dispens'd with, and when encroachments were made upon it.

The office of a Priest is describ'd, *Heb. v. 1.* viz. *He is ordain'd for Men in things pertaining to God.* As to offer up the prayers of the People to God, and make intercession for them; so on God's part, to sign and seal the pardon of their sins to them, and in his name to bless them.

That Priests in this do represent the Person of *Christ*, who is the supreme High-priest, Mediator, and Intercessor with God for Men.

That

That therefore as no Man can be a lawful Attorney for another, to sign and seal covenants in his name, which shall oblige him to the performance, without a letter of Attorney expressly empowering him so to do, and whereby that Person does oblige himself to stand by and perform such covenants, as if he himself had sign'd them:

Much less can any Man take upon him to be God's Attorney or Representative; and, as such, to sign and seal covenants in his name, without his express commission for that purpose.

No, *Christ* himself could not do it, as it is inferred from the office of a Priest before describ'd, *No Man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron. So also Christ glorified not himself to be an High-priest: But he that said unto him, thou art my Son—Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec.*

And as this was an honour too great even for *Christ* to take upon himself without an express commission from God, it must needs follow, that no other Man whatsoever can take this honour to himself, without the like commission.

We find the same commission given to the Apostles, and with the greatest solemnity that *Christ* did any thing while he was upon the Earth. The same day on which he rose from the Dead, having open'd the Prison-doors, to shew that he had pay'd the full debt, as our surety, and made satisfaction for all our sins, for which he was cast into the Prison of Death and had for ever been there detain'd if he had not pay'd the *uttermost farthing*: On the same day, having now triumphed over the powers of Sin and Hell, he, as the first act of his mediatorial Kingdom, whereby *all power in Heaven and Earth was given unto him*, did invest his Apostles with the same commission which his Father had given unto him; and with circumstances greatly to be notic'd, and which shewed something extraordinary then to be done. *The same day at evening, being the first day of the week, when the doors were shut, where the Disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, came Jesus and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you. And when he had so said, he shewed unto them his hands and his side. Then were the Disciples glad when they saw the Lord. Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you, As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them: And whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.*

And as he gave this commission unto them, so he gave them power to transfer it upon others; and those upon others to the end of the world: To which time he promised to be with them, and these their successors, in the execution of this commission, *Mat. xxviii. 20.*

That in all ages since the beginning of the world, God had such representatives empower'd by him to bless or curse in his name.

Before the Law in the patriarchal dispensation, as we find in the instance of *Abraham* and *Abimelech*, where tho' *Abimelech* King of *Gerar* is recorded for so good a Man, that God vouchsafed to appear to him and spoke with him and withheld him from sinning because of the integrity of his heart, yet commanded him for the saving of his life, to procure *Abraham* to pray for him: *For (said God) he is a Prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live—So Abraham prayed unto God, and God healed Abimelech.* Gen. vii. 19.

And thus said God to the three friends of *Job*, *Take unto you now seven bullocks, and seven rams, and go to my Servant Job, and offer up for yourselves,* Job xlii. 8.

selves a burnt-offering; and my Servant Job shall pray for you, for him will I accept.

Thus *Noah* blessed *Shem*, and cursed *Canaan*, *Gen. ix.*

Isaac blessed *Jacob*, and rejected *Esau*, *Gen. xxvii.*

And *Jacob* blessed *Pharaoh*; but more particularly the twelve Patriarchs, *Gen. xlix.* as *Moses* afterwards did to the twelve Tribes, *Deut. xxxiii.*

Thus God dispensed his blessings and his curses by the ministry of Men, whom he had thereunto empower'd.

As he did by *David* and the Prophets, whose example if we should imitate herein without the like commission, we should greatly sin.

That God empower'd the *Levitical* Priesthood under the Law to bless and curse in his name: The *Levites* were to pronounce the curses and blessings, *Deut. xxvii. 28.* as it is order'd chap. *xxvii. 14.*

For them the Lord thy God hath chosen to minister unto him, and to bless in the name of the Lord, Deut. xxi. 5.

Every Man may bless another, in one sense, that is, to pray for the blessing of God upon him; but to pronounce a blessing in the name of the Lord is an act of authority, and cannot be done without a commission from God. Hence the Apostle argues the greatness of *Melchisedec* above *Abraham*, because *Melchisedec* blessed him: *And without all contradiction* (says he) *the less is blessed of the better.*

The seals which the *Levitical* Priesthood were empower'd to put to the covenant which they administer'd to the People in the name of God, were Circumcision and the Sacrifices, which were appointed as types of *Christ*, for the remission of their sins.

The seals of the new Covenant are Baptism and the Lord's Supper, as commemorations and exhibitions of the Sacrifice of *Christ* already past, and a true real conveyance of all the benefits of it to the worthy receivers, for the remission of their sins and a pledge to assure them of Heaven.

Now surely these are greater and more glorious, and at least as efficacious as the seals of the Law: And therefore the Priests of the Gospel, to whom *Christ* has committed the administration of these, are as truly and properly Priests, empower'd by *Christ* to seal Covenants in his name with the People, as the Priests under the Law.

Here it was discours'd, how the notion of Priesthood has been dwindled, and indeed quite taken away, in our late times of Schism and Rebellion; to make way for those who had no commission to shew for their usurping that sacred office. Therefore they reduc'd it all to Preaching, and lov'd the name of Preachers better than that of Priests, which they would have rejected under the Gospel dispensation: And then whoever thought himself a gifted Man, that is, able to speak with assurance, apply'd himself to the good liking of the People; and if he got a call from them, they thought this sufficient to qualify him for their Teacher: And the poor People were very fond of having this authority put into their hands; as if they could chuse commissioners to sign and seal the Covenants of the Gospel to them, on the part of *Christ*; and oblige him, by virtue of his promise to the Apostles and their successors, to ratify and confirm in Heaven whatever had been transacted with them, in his name, by whomsoever they pleas'd to chuse into that office, without deriving any succession from the Apostles or thinking that there was any need of it.

They said, That other Men cou'd read the Gospel and the absolution or retaining of sins therein contain'd, as well as any Bishop or Priest ordain'd by him.

So they might a Patent, a Pardon, or Declaration of War, as well as any Judge, or Herald. But with this difference, that their doing of it who are not legally empower'd, signifies just nothing: And no Act done in any Man's name has any force, or does oblige him, unless it be done by those who are thereunto commissioned by him.

And as it is High-Treason to do such Acts in the King's name, without his Commission; or to grant such a Commission in his name, without his authority:

It is no less blasphemy against God, to act in his name; or give Commission to others so to do, without his express Warrant.

And they who knowingly do abet such, and follow them as commissioned by God, render themselves guilty of their sin and partakers of their blasphemy and treason against God.

And such Commission from God must be outwardly given: For that only is visible to us; and God never made a Priest, but by an outward Commission; *Christ* took not upon him the office of a Preacher till he was outwardly commissioned by the voice from Heaven at his Baptism. For it is said, *From that time Jesus began to preach*, Mat. iv. 17. and he was then *about thirty years of age*, Luke iii. 23. and none can doubt of his inward call or qualifications before.

And as *Christ* did not take this honour unto himself till he was outwardly call'd, as was *Aaron*; so did he not leave it to the inward call of any of his Disciples, to make themselves Apostles; but he chose twelve by name, whom he ordain'd into that office; and after chose seventy others into an inferior degree of Preachers; and from that time to this, the same Commission has descended by outward Ordination, given by those to whom *Christ* left that authority.

Then it was said, that the honour of the Priesthood must needs be very high when it is reckon'd a glory even to *Christ*: And that he cou'd not glorify himself to be a Priest without an express Commission from his Father: And the reason is plain, because none can make an Attorney, a Representative, or Commissioner, that is, a Priest of God, to transact or seal Covenants with Mankind in his name, but he himself.

How dreadful then did it appear to all the Company, to consider the lamentable state of those Communities amongst us, who think that any three or four of them can set up a Church by their own authority! And where every Mechanick, Boy, or Girl, may take this honour to themselves, of standing in God's stead to the People, and transacting with them in his tremendous name, and by his authority!

The Apostle says, *How shall they preach, except they be sent?* But these think they can send themselves. And the People like these best, who come in their own name, that is, by their own impulses, without Commission deriv'd from any body. They think these to be enlighten'd and gifted-men: But that those cannot have the Spirit, who deduce their authority by any Commission granted to them from others; they look upon that to be a formal and low dispensation; and it is no wonder that they take these measures with the Ministers of *Christ*, when they made the same objection against himself, as he said, *I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not: If another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive.* This has been the humour of giddy and unstable People from the beginning, not to be wise unto Sobriety, but to think of themselves more highly than they ought to think: And to heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears. And they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables.

Rom. x. 15.

Joh. v. 43.

Rom. xii. 3.

2 Tim. iv. 3, 4.

Of toleration.

Then a discourse arose concerning toleration, how far these were to be suffer'd: And it was said, that there was a great difference betwixt bare sufferance, and a toleration by Law. The *Jews* are now with us upon sufferance, and they have free liberty of their Religion: But they have no toleration or authority of the Government for their Synagogues, &c.

That *Christ* did suffer the Buyers and Sellers in the Temple, for a time. But he gave them no License (nor wou'd, if they had ask'd him before he drove them out) to prophane the House of God.

That God suffers all the sins in the World, and bears long with them to give Men space of repentance: But he gives no Man license to sin nor promise of impunity, no not for an hour.

That when diseases have taken deep root, and the infection become universal, so that many simple and well-meaning Persons are drawn in; and others have suck'd it in with their Milk and are carry'd away by their education, there may be prudential reasons for a sufferance of such errors, for a time, till all the milder methods of perswasion and conviction shall be us'd, which are the best and most agreeable to the spirit of christianity.

But that in no case can any license or authority be given for error to propagate it self: Because that makes those who grant it partakers with it, and answerable for it. It becomes their act and deed.

That the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel* were blam'd and severely punished by God for suffering, much more for encouraging of idolatry and other prophanations in their Kingdoms; which they ought to have restrain'd with the civil Sword.

Rev. ii. 14,
15, 20.

That the Churches of *Pergamos* and *Thyatira* were censur'd and terribly threaten'd for suffering false Prophets to teach and seduce the Servants of *Christ*; and for having those among them *who held the Doctrines of Balaam, and of the Nicolaitans. Which thing (said God) I hate.*

Here the universal toleration in *Holland* came under consideration: And it was thought a sacrificing of God to *Mammon*.

And yet such a toleration as the *Dutch* do allow, wou'd cure non-conformity in other places, that is, not where Men shall be brib'd to prophane the holy Sacrament for an office; and an Action lie against the Minister who shall refuse it to them, tho' he knows, sees, and hears them, in their conversations and principles to be never so much unqualify'd: But where all that go to Meetings are render'd incapable of any place of trust or profit in the Government; which cannot be call'd any sort of persecution, unless to those whose conscience will not rest satisfy'd till they are in power; rather than miss of which they can dispense with kneeling at the Sacrament (tho' they made it no less than idolatry) and conforming, as oft as the Law makes it necessary for an employment, to the whole Common-Prayer, against which they rail, as being the Mass in *English*, and give it as a reason of their non-conformity; and all their objections against the whole office of Matrimony, the superstition of the Ring, &c. give way to a good settlement upon Marriage, lest it might be liable to a dispute in Law.

Which makes it plain, that they can accept of an equivalent for their conscience; or otherwise, that it is not conscience of which they are sick.

And the same reason that makes them submit to the sacramental test, wou'd keep them out of meetings, if that were required as a condition of preferment: But this was a digression.

Contempt of
the Clergy.

It was said, that the indulging the liberty of preaching and other offices of the Priesthood to all, whether in Orders or out of Orders, had render'd it so contemptible, as that this office, which was counted a glory to *Christ*, was now fallen so low with us, as to be thought beneath a Gentleman!

And

And whereas in the primitive Church to reduce a Priest to Lay-Communion was thought a degrading him from the honour of the Priesthood, and a punishment equal to the excommunication of a Lay-Man, both being inflicted for the same crimes; now it is so far from that, that the Lay-Communion, as of Princes and other great Men, is counted more honourable than the sacerdotal: And if any Man of estate or quality takes upon him the Priesthood, it is thought a mighty condescension, and an adorning of the Priesthood, rather than any addition of honour to the Lay-Man.

And no wonder, when instead of the Priests of God, they are now call'd the Lay-Men's Priest, such a Man's Priest or Chaplain, and reckon'd as his menial Servant belonging to his Family, and part of his equipage: Otherwise the expression is proper enough, to say my *Chaplain*, as I say my Parish-Priest, my Bishop, my King, or my God; which argues my being under their care and direction; and that I belong to them, not they to me.

The Priests under the Law had their habitation in and about the Temple, and in their Cities and Suburbs, which by God's express order, were assign'd them in the Countrey; and tho' they went Circuits and taught the People, yet they liv'd in no Family, no not in the King's, as Chaplains, that is, as Chaplains are now reckon'd, under the notion of Servants. To be a *Sacris* in any Lay-Family, is to preside over and administer the offices of Religion, as to his cure and flock under him: They are his cure; and he, not their Servant, but their Pastor; and ought to be plac'd over them by the Bishop, and not left to every one's fancy (and some very unable to judge) to take in, and turn out, at their pleasure, as they do to their Foot-Men; that they may be wholly subservient to their humour and their frolics, sometimes to their vices; and to play upon the Chaplain is often the best part of the entertainment; and Religion suffers with it. There is none who consider the office, and upon that account desires a Chaplain, but wou'd be content to receive him from the Bishop, as he does (or ought to do) the Minister of his Parish. If any will not have Chaplains, upon these terms, let them want them; so much the better; and let them frequent the Parish Communion; from which private Chapels, as they are too frequently us'd, are a sort of exemption and breach of the parochial Communion: They are, when so us'd, a reliet of Popery, and infraction upon the discipline of the Church, which ought to admit of none into her Communion that are not under the visitation and direction of the Bishop, who is the Principle of Unity in his Church: Otherwise they are Separatists, and if set up in opposition to the Bishop are formal Schismatics; like the Regulars in the Church of *Rome*, who are exempted from the jurisdiction of their respective Bishops: But they have the plenitude of the Pope's power to plead; which will not serve in our case.

Let me here (said one) give an instance I have heard of the late King of *Sweden*, (and I suppose it is the same with all their Kings) that when he travell'd, tho' he had his Chaplains with him, yet he always had the Minister of the Parish where he came to officiate to him, when he could be had; as being then, both himself and his Chaplains, under his Cure.

But let us go up as high as we can, and see what we can find like this office of an Household Chaplain in very early times, and what it was.

The nearest instance we find of it was in *Micah*, which was in the times of confusion, when *there was no King in Israel*, and the stated worship of God was thrown loose and neglected; the *Levites* left to wander, and sojourn where they could find a place: And every Man did that which was right in his own eyes: Then *Micah* set up Idolatry, and made him an house of Gods: And tho' he agreed with a young Man a *Levite*, and allow'd

Judges xviii.

low'd him *ten Shekels of Silver by the year*, besides Meat, Drink, and Cloaths, or an *order of Garments*, as our Margin reads it; if this was to be his Chaplain, yet it was far from the notion of being his Servant, but as *Micah* expresses it, *Dwell with me* (said he to the *Levite*, tho' a young Man) *and be unto me a Father and a Priest*. And, under the same notion he became afterwards a Father and a Priest to the Tribe of *Dan*, *Judg.* xviii. 19. So that in those days a Priest (if he was a Chaplain) was reckon'd as a Father, and not as a Servant, even tho' he was hired to live in the house, and be *à Sacris* or Chaplain to the Family: For in that case such a Family was his Cure, and he was their Pastor or Father; and they were all under his direction and government, and not he under theirs, as to what concern'd Religion.

Heb. vii. 4.

And his receiving hire or reward for his office did not infer his subjection as to what related to his office, more than our paying tribute does infer that the King is inferior to us, and that we hire him or pay him wages to govern us. The Apostle argues the greatness of *Melchisedec* above *Abraham*, from *Abraham's* paying tithe to *Melchisedec*, as unto a Priest of God. Who feedeth a Flock, and eateth not of the Milk of the Flock? Yet this argues not the superiority of the Flock above the Pastor.

That there can be but one Pastor (unless in subordination to superior Pastors) to one Flock; as no Man can serve two Masters, yet one Master may have many Servants: And the reason is, because he is not under their charge and government, but they are under his: So where one Man has many Priests or Chaplains, he is not their charge, but they are his.

That as we find nothing in the Law of Kings being allow'd Household-Priests or Chaplains, Kings themselves were not then thought too good to attend the publick Service of God in the Temple:

So among the Heathens, no mortal Man, none of their Emperors ever assum'd to himself to have Priests dedicated to his Service, till he arriv'd at the blasphemous vanity of being made a God: For Priests belong to none but Gods: A Priest, as a Priest, cannot be a Servant to Men: God and Priest are relative terms, and therefore a Priest can belong to none but a God. Thus thought the Heathen: But so much is the christian Priesthood with us fallen below even theirs!

Now the office of the Priesthood being thus totally inverted, the honour must fall with it, and of Religion too, with the use and benefit of it, being administer'd by hands render'd so contemptible.

And it is thus, by a natural consequence, in all sorts of offices and employments whatsoever. The office of a King, a General, or a Judge, are no farther regarded by us than as we find them useful to us, and that we stand in need of them: And the reverence we have for these must bear proportion to the value we have for those ends to which they are ordained. Therefore whoever bring these offices into contempt are justly reputed wicked Men and profligate, who love not the Peace of the World or Good of Mankind; but would introduce confusion and destruction, to satisfy their own ambition, or other self-ends.

And the argument will carry the same as to Religion: There needs no application: We cannot pretend any reverence for it while we hold the Priesthood, by which it is administer'd, in the last contempt: And the dishonour redounds to God himself.

1 Kin. xiii. 33,
34.

This was the reason it was reckon'd so grievous a sin in *Jeroboam*, that he made Priests of the lowest of the People; tho' it was to his Calves, to the Idols he had set up: For the Worship being referred to God, tho' in an idolatrous manner, which he had forbidden, the dishonour referred likewise to him, in the contempt that was put upon those Priests by whom they worshipp'd

worshipped what they call'd God, as being what they had set up and dedicated to represent him and bear his name.

This was the reason that God did bestow such a distinguishing dignity upon the Tribe of *Levi*, beyond all the rest of the Tribes; and counted it no small honour to them that he had *separated them from the Congregation of Israel, and brought them near to himself, to do the Service of the Tabernacle of the Lord.* It was death for any other to approach to the Altar: For which presumption a great and a good King was smitten with Leprosy to his death. And God put so much of his own Honour upon his Priests, that any dishonour done to them was called a prophanation. The Daughter of a Priest that play'd the Whore was to be burnt with fire, because she prophan'd her Father. A Priest was not to marry a Widow, except the Widow of a Priest: To marry the Relict of any Lay-Man, was call'd a *prophaning of his Seed among his People.* And the reason is given, *For I the Lord do sanctify him.* And they were not to communicate this sanctification to the People: They were not to appear before the People in the holy Garments in which they minister'd, but to put on other Garments when they went out to the utter Court to the People; and it is said, *They shall not sanctify the People with their Garments.*

A Priest was not to mourn for the Dead, as the Laity were; and the reason is given, *He shall not defile himself, being a chief Man among his People, to prophane himself. They shall not make baldness upon their Head, &c. They shall be holy unto their God, and not prophane the name of their God.* The prophanation of the Priests is call'd a prophaning of God. And so on the other hand, as we are commanded to sanctify God, and to esteem him holy, the same is communicated to the Priests, who represent him and officiate in his name. *Thou shalt sanctify him therefore, for he offereth the Bread of thy God, he shall be holy unto thee; for I the Lord who sanctify you am holy.* The meaning of which is, that if God be holy, so must his Priests be esteemed by us; not upon a personal account, as God is holy in himself and none but he; and some Priests, as *Hophni* and *Phinehas*, are Sons of *Belial* and know not the Lord, and there was a *Judas* among the Apostles; but upon account of their office, which is holy; and that they offer the Bread of our God, which is holy.

Now can the Shew-Bread in the Temple be called the Bread of our God so properly, so strictly, so eminently, as the Bread in the holy Sacrament, which is the Body of *Christ*? And *we being many are one Bread and one Body; for we are all partakers of that one Bread,* 1 Cor. x. 17. And does not then Holiness and Honour belong as much, at least, to the evangelical Priesthood who offer this Bread of our God, as to the Priests under the Law, who set the Shew-Bread upon the holy Table in the Temple? And is not the one as properly the office of a Priest as the other?

Whence then came this direful contempt that is cast upon the evangelical Priesthood amongst us; and is run down thro' all orders and degrees of Men, till it is denied by some who call themselves Clergy-Men, to be any Priesthood at all? And then what is it? Something without a name, without a meaning, fit to be trampled upon, and made a tool of State, to cajole the People! Only a privilege of haranguing, to be silenc'd by every nod of those in power!

But if the People's dishonouring the Priests of God be a prophaning of God himself; and the mark of so desperate a state as to be reckon'd past remedy, according to the Prophet, *Let no Man strive or reprove another, for thy People are as they that strive with the Priest:*

What then must the condition of those Priests be, who prostitute and prophane their own character! If an Ambassador suffering any indignity, is

justly reputed his dishonouring of the Prince whose Person he sustains: How much more is it a dishonour done to his Majesty, if the Ambassador himself shall vilify and disgrace his own character; and how much more severely wou'd it be resented by his Master?

Lev. x. 3, 17. The Lord says of his Priests, *I will be sanctify'd in them that come nigh me*: And gives that as a reason why he devoured Nadab and Abihu by fire. And says, that the Priests are *to bear the iniquity of the congregation*: And as others are forbidden to prophane the Priest, so is he commanded not to prophane himself. And it is called a *prophaning of the Sanctuary of his God*; for the Crown of the anointing Oyl of his God is upon him: And a prophaning of God himself, *That they prophane not my holy name: I am the Lord*. And the Priest was to bear the iniquity of the holy things; and the iniquity of the Sanctuary; and the iniquity of your Priesthood, says God to them: And because *Ye have corrupted the Covenant of Levi, saith the Lord of Hosts: Therefore have I also made you contemptible and base before all the People: For the Priest is the Messenger of the Lord of Hosts*. And according to this high dignity of his office, St. Paul commanded the first Bishop of Crete to support it to the full, *These things speak and exhort, and rebuke with all authority: Let no Man despise thee*.

Lev. xxi. 4, 12, 15, xxii. 2.
Ex. xxiii. 38.
Num. xviii. 1.
Mal. ii. 7, 8, 9.
Tit. ii. 15.

Then it was said, that all this is come to pass, that the root and bottom of all this was the bringing the Priesthood at first under the Regale, as to those things that appertain to its office.

Whence it became subject to every body else, even to the Beasts of the People: For there is nothing can let it out of the reach of the People, that will not likewise put it above the power of Kings; for if it be divine, it is independent of them all; and if not, it must be a cheat, and ought to be treated accordingly by every body.

But, on the contrary, it was insisted upon, that all the Kings and Powers upon the Earth, nay all the Angels of Heaven have not authority to constitute any to transact with Men in the stead of God and in his name; that is, have not power to make a Priest.

And that the Commission before-mentioned which Christ gave to his Apostles, *Joh. xx.* to the Angels of the Churches, is more than he has granted to his Angels of Heaven; to whom *he hath not put in subjection the world to come*, (*Heb. ii. 5.*) the administration of the Kingdom of Heaven to Men, otherwise than as being all of them *ministring Spirits, sent forth to minister unto them who shall be Heirs of Salvation*, (*Heb. i. 14.*) They have been sent to the World with messages, and upon particular errands; and have a charge given them over us, to keep us in all our ways: But none of them, without a special Commission, cou'd consecrate or administer the holy Sacrament, cou'd confer holy Orders, or other acts of the Priestly-office: And no such Commission was ever granted to any of them: Nay the Apostle argues (*Heb. viii. 4.*) That if Christ himself were upon the Earth, *he shou'd not be a Priest*, that is, according to the Law; because he was not of the Tribe of Levi (*Chap. vii. 14.*) to which the Priesthood under the Law was annex'd: So strict and inviolable was the office of the Priesthood then kept. Therefore that Christ might make no infraction upon the Levitical Priesthood, he was called of a prior and superior Order of Priesthood, that of *Melchisedec*: And the same he deduc'd to his Apostles and their Successors to the end of the World; the same Commission, the same Glory, which his Father gave unto him, *Joh. xvi. 22.* He sent them, as his Father had sent him, *Chap. xx. 21.*

Which is now so far forgot, that Men, Women, and Children, do press into the evangelical Priesthood (far superior to that of Levi) without any ordi-

ordination, or pretence of succession from the Apostles. And the reason is, because they mind not the Commission before-mention'd which *Christ* gave to his Apostles, *Job. xx. 23.* but have reduc'd it all to preaching; of which whosoever thinks himself capable, imagines that by that alone he has obtain'd the Commission.

But it was observ'd that there is no word of preaching in that Commission, *Job. xx. 23.* that preaching was not mention'd till forty days after, upon the Ascension of *Christ*, *Matth. xxviii. 19. Mar. xvi. 15.* but that after-Commission did not vacate this first Commission given by *Christ* on the day of his resurrection: It was only a farther explanation of it, with power and authority to preach it to all the World. So that preaching tho' a part of the apostolical Commission, and consequently of the Priesthood, is not the chief part, far less the only thing contain'd in that Commission.

And the notion, that there is nothing in it but the liberty of preaching or haranguing to the People, which every body may take up at their own hand, has render'd it so precarious and these common Preachers so contemptible, that not only Kings and States, but the meanest of the People think they have authority to command them silence, like any other Common-Cryers whom they hire to cry lost Goods or stray Sheep, or what else they please to impose upon them: At least, that none shall cry in their Streets or preach to them, without their leave and by their Commission: And Kings claim this by a power paramount.

As the Court-Bishops said to *Amos*, *O thou Seer, go, flee thee away into the land of Judah, and there eat bread, and prophesy there: But prophesy not again any more at Bethel, for it is the King's Chapel, and it is the King's Court.* Here is an early precedent for exemptions; and others besides Kings have taken this privilege to themselves; as many as have power to maintain it. Leaving a Staff and a pair of Shoes at any Minister's door in *Holland*, is a sufficient discharge from his office without any tryal; he is to ask no questions, the will and pleasure of the Magistrates is sufficient: How then can such be the Ministers of *Christ*, or have any Commission from him? Or what authority is given by his Commission, that can be thus blown away by Burghers? And why not by them, as well as Kings, since Kings are as much Subjects to *Christ* and to his Kingdom as they are?

Amos vii. 12, 13.

It was said, that by these means the true notion of a Church and of Priesthood had been utterly lost amongst those where *Erastianism* has prevail'd: And consequently the reverence due to Religion, and to God had sunk with it; and also the benefits annex'd to the holy offices of the Church, as means of grace appointed by *Christ* our Lord, on which are grounded our hopes of glory.

That it is blasphemy as well as folly to think God did thus dignify his Priesthood on purpose to make the Priests proud; or for that reason to refuse them the honour which God has given them: We may, by the same rule, refuse honour to Kings or to any other to whom it is due: But God did put so much of his own honour upon his Priests, because without that, he knew that neither he himself nor his institutions wou'd be honoured and valued as they ought to be; and consequently Men wou'd thereby lose the benefit of them, and ruin their own Souls by despising the means he had ordained for their Salvation.

Here one interpos'd with a caution, that we should have a great care not to carry these matters too high; that to over-strain any thing is to ruin it, and lose all its just force; that it is easy and natural for a heated imagination to magnify any beloved object; and thereby to render that hated and

and despis'd, which otherwise in its due proportion wou'd be honour'd and esteem'd; that therefore we shou'd contain our selves within the sobriety of Religion, and not to exceed the plain rule of holy Scripture; that if the Priesthood be of such mighty dignity indeed, then it wou'd be expected, that the style of Scripture shou'd bear up to it, and speak of the Priesthood in an elevation proportionable.

To which it was answer'd, that the caution was just and necessary: But that as we are not to over-rate things, neither must we under-rate them: For that by so doing, we likewise lose the benefit and advantage of them; especially in matters of Religion, and which concern our Souls; that it is not easy to over-rate these; that the common disease of the World is to under-value and neglect these; that the rule propos'd is the best and safest, to govern our selves by the holy Scriptures, and turn neither to the right hand nor to the left; not to exceed what is there said of the Priesthood, out of any intemperate zeal; nor to abate any thing of it for fear of Man, or to court their favour.

Therefore we were desir'd to turn our eyes to the holy Scriptures, and see there what sort of titles and discriminations were given to those who were dignify'd with the holy Priesthood.

They are there call'd Kings and Priests unto God, Rev. v. 10.

The Stars in the right hand of Christ, Rev. i. 20.

The Angels of the Churches, Chap. ii. iii, &c.

And the Glory of Christ, 2 Cor. viii. 23.

Ministers of Christ, and Stewards of the Mysteries of God, 1 Cor. iv. i.

To whom he hath committed the word of reconciliation, 2 Cor. v. 19.

Ambassadors for Christ, in Christ's stead, co-workers with him, 2 Cor. v. 20. vi. i.

Henceforth not Servants, but Friends of Christ, Joh. xv. 15.

Brethren of Christ, Joh. xx. 17.

As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. Whosoever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain they are retained, Joh. xx. 21, 23.

Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven: And whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven, Mat. xviii. 18.

He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me, Luke x. 16.

It shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of Judgment, than for those who will not receive you, Mat. x. 15.

Obeys them that have the rule over you, and submit your selves, for they watch for your Souls, Heb. xiii. 17.

Esteem them very highly for their works sake, 1 Thess. v. 13.

Hold such in reputation, Phil. ii. 29.

Worthy of double honour, 1 Tim. v. 17.

He remembreth the obedience of you all, how with fear and trembling ye received him, 2 Cor. vii. 15.

Ye received me as an Angel of God, even as Christ Jesus, Gal. iv. 14.

Ye know what commandments we gave you by the Lord Jesus.

He therefore that despiseth, despiseth not Man, but God, 1 Thess. iv. 2, 8.

Of the rest durst no Man join himself to them; but the People magnified them, Acts v. 13.

No Man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron, so also Christ glorified not himself to be made an High-priest, but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son — Thou art a Priest, &c. Heb. v. 4.

They

*They are not afraid to speak evil of dignities, 2 Pet. II. 10. Jude 8,
They respected not the Persons of the Priests, Lam. IV. 16.
Let no Man strive or reprove another, for thy People are as they that
strive with the Priest, Hos. IV. 4.*

*Rebuke with all authority. Let no Man despise thee, Tit. II. 15.
I Tim. IV. 11, 12.*

For God hath not given us the Spirit of fear but of power, 2 Tim. I. 7.

I magnify mine office, Rom. XI. 13.

*In the name, and with the power, in the Person of our Lord Jesus
Christ (2 Cor. II. 10.) to deliver unto Satan, 1 Cor. V. 4, 5.*

*We are the savour of Death unto Death, and of Life unto Life: And
who is sufficient for these things? 2 Cor. II. 16.*

Many other texts were produced, which shew the office and dignity of
the Priesthood.

And then as a conclusion to the whole discourse, it was thought proper
to enquire into the original of these two Societies, the Church and the
State: For that by this, the nature and tendency of each would better ap-
pear, and their dependence or independence upon one another.

I. As to the original of the State, or of political Government amongst
Men.

XX.
Original of
the Church
and State.

The Government here call'd political is distinguish'd from the paternal or
natural Government of Fathers over their Families, and means that of Na-
tions, under Kings or States, as the word political is now understood.

1. And some, to support their notion of the original of this sort of Go-
vernment in the world, would have it suppos'd, tho' without any ground,
that there was no such Government till after the Flood; and that it had its
beginning by very wicked means, by the usurpation and tyranny of *Nimrod*,
the beginning of whose Kingdom was *Babylon*; who gave rife to the first
Assyrian Monarchy, so call'd from his Son *Asbur*, who built *Nineveh*.

Gen. X. 10, 11.

And they thought that this was so far from being an advantage or bene-
fit to Mankind, that it was an encroachment upon their liberties and free-
dom; and was a pattern to all the after and succeeding despotical Govern-
ments which have prevail'd ever since.

They thought that the World was better before in the paternal Govern-
ments of Families only.

2. Others said, that this was not the original of political Government:
Which they suppos'd began by the common vote or election of the Peo-
ple: And tho' they cannot find the original contract, yet they take it for
granted that there is no other just foundation of political Government a-
mongst Men, who they think were all born equal.

3. Others, thinking all this to be precarious, and plainly against matter
of fact, took to Sir *Rob. Filmer's* way of the Patriarchat; supposing that
from the original right of *Adam* over his Children, (which was the whole
World) that authority descended to the eldest, as his heir: And that thus
it continu'd in the ten Patriarchs before the Flood: And that after the
Flood, when the World was sufficiently peopled, in order to their dispersion
over the Earth, then *Noah* the universal Father and Monarch sent of his
Sons and their issue into several Countries, and emancipated them, by which
they became distinct and independent Kingdoms and Nations.

4. But because this would have been a disinheriting of his eldest Son
and Heir, and so an alteration of the right of the Patriarchat; which it is
suppos'd instituted at first by God, and to have obtain'd without interrupti-
on from the beginning of the world, when it was largely peopled before
the Flood: And that it might be made a question, whether *Noah* without
a particular command from God (which does not appear) could have al-

ter'd the original institution of Government; and whether that could have precluded his eldest Son of his right of succession and his Heirs: Therefore others thought that the division of the World into Nations, which is recorded in *Gen. x.* to be done at one time, whence *Peleg* had his name, must have been the immediate act of God himself, and was perform'd by a great and stupendious Miracle, the division of Tongues; whereby it was determin'd who and who should go to compose each Nation, all they of the same Language sorting together, and God appointing the Governor over each of them: As it is written, *Ecclus. xvii. 17. For in the division of the Nations of the whole Earth, he set a Ruler over every People.* That the names of all these, and of their countries, are distinctly set down *Gen. x.* of the Sons of *Japhet*, fourteen; of *Ham*, thirty; and of *Shem*, twenty six; in all seventy: Into so many Languages and Nations was the World then divided.

And as God does all things with respect to his Church, so in this most remarkable Revolution there was a particular regard had by God, as to this number of seventy, to the number of the Children of *Israel* that went down long after into *Aegypt*, which are all recorded *Gen. xlii.* the Sons of *Leah*, thirty three; of *Zilpah*, sixteen; of *Rachel*, fourteen; and of *Bilhah*, seven, in all seventy. And this is particularly insisted upon in the Song of *Moses*, as a remarkable instance of God's having always an eye to his Church, his *Peculium*, in his ordering of the World: The whole Creation was made for her sake, and partakes with her whether in her adversity or glory, *Rom. viii. 19. to 24. All things are hers, 1 Cor. iii. 22, 23.* *Moses* begins his Song with this respect God had to his Church (then the Nation of *Israel*) in that number of the seventy Nations, into which he divided the World after the Flood, *Remember the days of old,* (says he to them) *consider the years of many generations, ask thy Father, and he will shew thee, thy elders, and they will tell thee: When the Most High divided to the Nations their inheritance, when he separated the Sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the People, according to the number of the Children of Israel.* These were the seventy Children of *Israel* that went down to *Aegypt*, answering to the seventy Nations after the Flood: And some of these Kingdoms and Cities retain the same name to this day, as *Babylon*, the beginning of *Nimrod's* Kingdom, and *Assyria* from *Asbur*, &c.

That from *Nimrod*, who in prophane History is called *Belus*, every King's name and their succession stand upon record thro' the *Assyrian*, *Persian*, *Grecian*, and *Roman* Monarchies; and from the division of the last into the East and Western Empires, to the present Emperor of *Germany*, and *Sultan* at *Constantinople*.

That the same is to be said of other Nations, tho' being less famous, the Records may not be kept, nor their Memory preserv'd in History.

That tho' there has been many convulsions and revolutions in these States, yet the power was always taken up by the strongest of the contending Parties; and never let fall so low as the free and equal vote of all the People; no, nor of all the fathers of families; to which no conqueror ever did submit his title.

But however, notwithstanding these different opinions concerning the original of the political Government, yet all agreed in this, that the commission and extent of it did reach only to this World: For that in the other, there are no distinctions or representatives of Nations; and every Man's death dissolves his relation to an earthly Kingdom; and therefore political Government is call'd earthly, secular, or temporal Government, because it operates only in this World.

Then

The CASE of the REGALE, &c.

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II.
Of the
Church.

Then the discourse turn'd to consider the original, end, and design of the other Society, call'd the Church.

And it was found, that this lasts for ever; that it is the same Church which is in Heaven, and upon Earth: They are not two Churches, only two parts of the same Church; the one militant, the other triumphant; for they have both the same Head and King: And those upon Earth are call'd *Fellow Citizens, with the Saints, and of the household of God*, Eph. ii. 19. Of the same Family with those in Heaven, chap. iii. 15. And thus the Communion of Saints (which is one of the Articles of our Creed) extends not only to the Saints upon Earth, but to those in Heaven, who have Communion with us, and we with them; we bless God for them, and pray, *that with them we may be partakers of the heavenly Kingdom*. And they pray for us, for our consummation and bliss, and rejoice with us at our conversion: There is the same sympathy as betwixt members of the same Body, which have one Head, that is, *Christ*.

Hence the Church, even upon Earth is call'd the Kingdom of God: And her Government is dignify'd with the same name as that of the heavenly Host, which is a Hierarchy, an holy or sacred Government: It is part of the same Hierarchy which is in Heaven, as being all of the same Family or Society.

And to shew that it is the same, *Christ* has promis'd to ratify in Heaven the sentence of the Church, when justly inflicted upon Earth: And the chief effect of the power of the Church extends to the other World; and will be there exercis'd even over the Angels, as well as over all this World, 1 Cor. vi. 2, 3.

The Saints shall sit there as Judges; the Angels only as Ministers of the Court, and Executioners.

So that the Church is more strictly a part of the heavenly Hierarchy, than the different orders of Cherubin and Seraphin, Angels and Arch-Angels, &c.

And with great reason; because her Head, her Flesh and Blood is made Lord of all these. These are not *Members of his Body, of his Flesh, and of his Bone*. For *he took not on him the nature of Angels, but he took upon him the Seed of Abraham*. Eph. v. 30. Heb. ii. 16.

This is the Ladder which was shewn unto *Jacob*, whose foot stood upon the Earth; but the top reached up to Heaven. Gen. xxviii. 12.

Thus the foot of the Hierarchy stands upon the Earth, exercis'd by Men who are Ministers of *Christ's* Kingdom here below; but the top reaches to *Christ* himself, who is the Head of it: And the Angels of God ascend and descend upon it, to execute his supreme commands and to minister to the meanest Member of it.

So that who are not Subjects to this Hierarchy upon Earth, cannot be in Heaven: We must go up the Ladder by degrees, from the lower to the higher steps.

And the attempt of those who go about to lessen the authority and undermine the foundation of this Hierarchy is like his who cut the bough whereon himself was standing: It is a pulling out the steps, and disjointing of that Ladder by which we must climb to Heaven: Unless we can find a new way of our own thither, which God has not appointed.

That God, by his infinite power, may not bring any to Heaven without going up this Ladder, we must not determine; nor tye God to those rules to which he has ty'd us: *His Mercy is over all his works: And he will not judge those by the Law, who have not the Law*. Rom. ii. 12.

But this we must say, That he has shewn to us no other way; and has made no promise in the Gospel to any who are not in that way: That therefore

therefore none other are within the Covenant of the Gospel; nor have right to claim the privileges of those who are within the Pale of the Church: That therefore we must leave these who are without, to the uncovenanted mercies of God. Which what they are, or how far they will extend, we know not; but this we are sure of, that the privileges of being within the Covenant of Grace are inestimable; else *Christ* had not taken upon him our Flesh, suffer'd, dy'd, and descended into Hell to purchase them for us.

And this we must say farther, that whatever the condition be of those who know not the Gospel, and so were never within the Pale of the Church; the case is not the same with those who reject the Gospel, when preach'd to them; who seem to be the only Persons meant, *Mar. xvi. 15, 16.* The case is not the same with those who are justly cast out of the Church; or who wilfully cast themselves out, by departing from the Church.

Christ has given power to the terrestrial Hierarchy to exclude from the celestial: For indeed they are the same, as has been said, of which he himself, and none other, is the Head; and whoever is Head of the one, must also be so of the other, since both are the same.

Here was recollected what was before spoken of the Pope's assuming to be head of the whole terrestrial Hierarchy: And *Gregory* the Great was vindicated, who compar'd this to the pride of *Lucifer*, and made it a mark of *Anti-Christ*.

But how much more abhorrent and heterogeneous did it look for those who had no share at all in the Hierarchy, for the political or civil Government to take upon them the Supremacy over the Hierarchy of the Church, in the exercise of her purely spiritual power and authority!

The civil Government, whose constitution and authority is temporary and transient; which must end and be extinguished for ever, while the Church shall reign and be triumphant to all eternity.

And so long shall her censures, when justly pass'd, have their effect: How then can they be alter'd or transvers'd, suspended or superseded by a temporal Government that must vanish and come to nothing? By such Governours, who are themselves subject to her censures, as much as any other, (but without any infraction upon their civil authority) who are admitted Members of her Society, as others are, by Baptism, and no otherwise; and may fall from thence, by Apostasy, Heresy, and such crimes as cut others off?

And it was said, that as the Church was ordain'd to last for ever; so its foundations were laid from eternity. It is said to have been given us, and ordain'd before the World began, *1 Cor. ii. 7. 2 Tim. i. 9. Tit. i. 2. 1 Pet. i. 20.* And that God hath chosen us from the beginning, *2 Thess. ii. 13.* And the Gospel is call'd, *The everlasting Covenant*, *Heb. xiii. 20.*

Therefore the Church is not only the chief part of the Creation; but all the whole Creation, as well in Heaven as on Earth seems to be particularly design'd with respect to the Church, and for her service and advantage; and to sympathize with her, as well in her state of humiliation as exaltation: The Angels of Heaven were given unto her for ministring Spirits; and are said to be our Fellow Servants, and Brethren that have the testimony of *Jesus*, *Rev. xix. 10.* And it is said, *Rom. viii. 19, &c. That the whole Creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together, waiting for the manifestation of the Sons of God. Because (then) the Creature it self also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the Children of God.* And this is call'd, *The earnest expectation of the Creature*: That as the Earth was cursed for the sin of Man; so in the redemption by *Christ*, it should be deliver'd from that curse. Therefore the Prophet *Isaiah* describing the restauration of the Church, speaks of *New Heavens*

Heavens and a New Earth, *Isai. lxxv. 17.* And the Apostle says, That upon the final consummation of the Church, there will be a restauration, or farther reconciliation of *things in Heaven*, as well as upon *Earth*, *Eph. i. 10. Col. i. 20.* And that in the mean time, even now, as the Angels do minister unto the Church, so they do learn many things of *the Wisdom of God* from the Church, *Eph. iii. 10.*

That God, from the beginning of the Creation, did erect his Church, and preserv'd her, as a visible distinct Society (tho' a small one, in its infancy) from all the rest of the World, in the patriarchal dispensation before the Flood, and to *Moses*.

Afterwards in the Nation of the *Jews* under the Law.

Till the Heir did come, our blessed Lord *Jesus Christ*, who brought in the fulness of the *Gentiles*, opening the Pale of his Church to the believers of all Countreys, Nations, and People.

That God express'd the great regard he had for his Church, and which we ought to have for her power and authority, by that wondrous name, which he himself did bestow upon her, the name of *Israel*, that is, a Prince of God, or one that prevails over God; as God himself enlarges upon it, and gives the reason, *For as a Prince hast thou power with God, and with Men, and hast prevail'd.* *Christ* condescended to wrestle, and suffer himself to be overcome by him after whom he named his Church. *Gen. xxxii. 28.*

That to purchase this Church, and gather her as a distinct Society from amongst all the other Societies and Nations of the Earth, *Christ* was content to take our nature upon him, and suffer death for her redemption: She is call'd, *His Body, the fullness of him, who filleth all in all: The pillar and ground of the truth.* All the worthy Members of this Society are *Heirs of God, and Joint Heirs with Christ.* And *Christ* has promis'd to give them *power over the Nations, to rule them with a rod of Iron, even as I (says he) received of my Father.* And to sit with me in my Throne, *Eph. i. 23.*
1 Tim. iii. 15. even as I also overcame and am set down with my Father in his Throne. *Rom. viii. 17.*
Rev. ii. 26, 27.
Chap. iii. 21. Nay more, which none durst express, or so much as imagine, if he had not said it, *That he will gird himself, and make them to sit down to meat, and will come forth and serve them.* *Luk. xii. 37.*

That they are Members of his Body, of his Flesh, and of his Bones. *Eph. v. 30.* That they all (said he) may be one, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee; that they also may be one in us, that the World may believe that thou hast sent me. And the glory which thou gavest me, I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are one: I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one; and that the World may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them, as thou hast loved me. *John xvii. 21, 22, 23.*

That they are a chosen Generation, a royal Priest-hood, an holy Nation, *1 Pet. ii. 9.* a peculiar People.

Whom God keepeth as the Apple of his Eye. And their death is precious in his sight, *Psal. cxvi. 15.* Tho' they fall, they shall not be cast away, for God upholdeth them with his hand, *Psal. xxxvii. 24.*

There shall not an Hair of their Heads perish, *Luk. xxi. 18.*

They are God's Jewels, *Mal. iii. 17.*

They shall judge the World. They shall judge Angels, *1 Cor. vi. 2, 3.*

[Then as to the authority of the Church in this World.]

If he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an Heathen-Man and a Publican, *Matth. xviii. 17.*

[Of the Church with relation to the State.]

He reprov'd Kings for their sakes, saying, touch not my anointed, and do my Prophets no harm, *Psal. cv. 14, 15.*

For he that toucheth you, toucheth the Apple of his Eye, *Zach. ii. 8.*

Kings shall be thy Nourishers, and Queens thy Nurses: They shall bow down to thee with their face towards the Earth, and lick up the dust off thy Feet, Isai. XLIX. 23.

The Sons of Strangers shall build up thy Walls; and their Kings shall minister unto thee, Chap. LX. 10.

Thou shalt suck the Milk of the Gentiles, and shalt suck the Breast of Kings, y. 16.

The Sons also of them that afflicted thee, shall come bending unto thee; and all they that despised thee, shall bow themselves down at the soles of thy feet, and they shall call thee, the City of the Lord, the Zion of the holy one of Israel, y. 14.

Therefore thy Gates shall be open continually, they shall not be shut day nor night, that Men may bring unto thee the forces of the Gentiles, and that their Kings may be brought, for the Nation and Kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish; yea those Nations shall be utterly wasted, y. 11, 12.

Glorious things are spoken of thee, O City of God, Psal. LXXXVII. 3.

This is the Church which in all things, in its original, constitution, frame, and end for which it was design'd, does far excel that Society call'd the State.

And all States do in words give the pre-eminence to the Church. It is not said State and Church, but always Church and State.

And the style (that is all) of spiritual and temporal remains still, tho' I have seen it wrote Lords temporal and spiritual; particularly in the printed Lists of the Convention, in the beginning of this revolution; and in all the Lists since, the spiritual Estate, tho' it is the first of the three Estates in our as in every other constitution, yet is put behind all the Lay-Lords; And the Mitre comes after their Coronets: As if a Parchment from an earthly King, which he may bestow upon his Foot-Man, may have been worse bestow'd upon more ignoble Creatures, Dukes and Dutcheffes in abundance, who instead of Ermin, shou'd have been dress'd in Sack-cloth, had there been any Discipline in the Church; yet were receiv'd by their Fellow-Nobility, as their Peers; whereas they were unworthy of the conversation of the meanest Christian, and ought not to be admitted to it, till they had begg'd for it, in the stool of repentance; I say, that such patents of honour shou'd be thought more estimable, and of higher dignity, even when worn by those who were worthy of it, than the Commission which *Christ* purchased with his Blood, and gave to those he sent into all the World, as his Father had sent him!

But this is one of our modern improvements! For in our Fore-Fathers time, and in all Countreys and Ages, the Mitre stood next to the Crown, even in the civil constitution; and that not only upon the Head of one Arch-bishop, but of every Bishop.

Now because it wou'd look so preposterous, and against the common sentiments of Mankind, especially of Christians, not to give the Church the preference to the State: Therefore Kings have taken upon them to be Heads of the Church within their own dominions: And because this look'd heterogeneous in the hands of a mere Lay-Man who might not be a Member of that Church, therefore Kings were made of an amphibious nature, and complemented with the title of *Mixta Persona* an *Hermaphrodite*, half Lay and half Clergy. And the Nobility got in too under the new invention of Lay-Elders, as now in *Scotland*, and govern all the affairs of the Church.

And considering how they have (by these means) reduc'd her commission and authority, it can be attributed to nothing but the wonderful and over-

ruling

ruling Providence, that there is so much left, as that shadow of a Church that is left! Or any, tho' but outward and seeming reverence, paid to Sacraments or other institutions of Religion, that are administer'd by her hands! Or that the administration of them should be still left in her hands! Tho' that is not done by all. That our Churches should be frequented or kept in repair, where the major and more prevailing number would wish them under ground! But in such instances as these God is wont to shew his Power: As he placed the Sand for a bound to the Sea, that tho' it rage and swell, yet is limited by the decree, *Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther, here shall thy proud waves be staid.*

Nothing but this could have restrain'd that Spirit of Atheism, Deism, Faticism, and Prophaneness, that rages without human controul.

And the Church is laid as low and fenceless as the Sand under their storms; which had long since overwhelm'd the City of God (after the change of her Governors) if the almighty promise, *Mat. xvi. 18. xxviii. 20.* had not interpos'd to preserve some embers alive in the midst of these torrents: And they will be preserv'd till the time appointed by God shall come, when his Breath shall put new Life in them, to lick up that Sea that now covers, but cannot drown them.

Tho' the waters thereof roar, and be troubled, and the mountains shake at the tempest of the same: The Rivers of the Flood thereof shall make glad the City of God. The persecutors and oppressors of the Church shall be converted, and their rage, like that of the Sea, against her, shall turn into Humility and Love to her, like smooth gentle streams to refresh and nourish her: *For God is in the midst of her; she shall not be moved; God shall help her when the morning appeareth.* Psal. xlv. 3; 4, 5.

This is the City, the Society over which the temporal Governments of the Earth have assum'd the dominion! And have said, *Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us,* *Psal. ii. 3.*

Be wise now therefore O ye Kings, and consider, lest while nothing less will serve you than to be Heads of this Society, you cease to be members: For what is that member that will be Head?

And let not so weak a thought arise in your minds, as if all this were only the self-seeking of the Clergy, out of pride to advance themselves. Alas! it must have the quite contrary effect with any of them who considers what an heavy charge they have undertaken, and what account will be exacted from them for their faithful discharge of it! That the Blood of all those Souls who perish thro' their negligence or default will be requir'd at their hands! That they have to *wrestle not only against Flesh and Blood, but against Principalities and Powers, against the Rulers of the darkness of this World, against wicked Spirits that are set up in high places:* And whoever opposes these with that truth and freedom that is necessary, instead of honour, must expect reproach and persecution; of which it is not the least, that they cannot vindicate the honour of *Christ's* commission without being thought to seek their own glory: Yet that must not hinder; the successors of the holy Apostles must be content to pass, as they did, thro' *evil report and good report, as deceivers, and yet true.* Eph. vi. 12.

They must not, to save themselves from reproach, let Religion go to wreck, expose the commission of *Christ* to be trampled upon, divest themselves of the proper arms of their Ministry, and suffer the Devil, without opposition, to ravish out of their hands those Souls for which their Souls, must answer. If they must resist even unto Blood, they ought not to shrink for a little shame: Such a modesty would be pride, a poor impotent pride; a more guilty and shameful pride than that (whereof they are very unjustly accused) of asserting their authority, and not laying it under the feet of great

great Men, for popularity sake! No pride so dangerous, so hateful, as a proud Humility: Such a sneaking, treacherous Humility does not become the Ministers of the Gospel; but such a Humility, as with the greatest Modesty can set its face as a flint for the truth of the Gospel, and shew the utmost courage without any degree of impudence; can keep up its zeal without rage, preserve its sweetness in the midst of its reproofs, and either suffer or overcome with decency: That can support the honour and authority which *Christ* has annexed to his Priesthood, so as to make it evident that it is more for the good of others, and out of a true concern for their Souls, than any vain-glory to themselves; that it is only to enable them to serve their Flocks the more effectually, towards their eternal Salvation; without which they will not be able to do it, but render Religion contemptible, and make you despise those means of Grace, to which are annex'd the Promises of God and our hopes of Glory.

Christ left no more power with his Church than he knew was necessary: And for her or you to make it less, will be but to defraud your selves, and render it ineffectual to you: As *St. Cyprian* said, Ep. 73. p. 209. *It is a most dangerous thing, in divine matters, for any to recede from his full power and authority.* Therefore be not afraid of this power, which is made so great by God that it may do you the more good: You ought rather to wish it greater: For if the Church have not this power, what good can you receive from her administrations? You ought to rejoice to serve the Church, the Spouse of *Christ*, that she may serve you in your eternal concerns: And the honour is done to *Christ*, and not to her; for whose sake you your selves are honoured; who has given you all the power that you have: Therefore grudge not what he has given to others for your good.

When Angels are content, nay glory to be made ministring Spirits, to minister to the Church, do not you think it below your dignity!

Nor to learn of those, *By whom the manifold Wisdom of God is made known to the Principalities and Powers in heavenly places*, Eph. III. 10.

You your selves, and all things were ordain'd for the Church: For God has given *Christ* to be the Head over all things, to the Church, Eph. I. 22.

Christ himself, your King and God, will not think it below his infinite Majesty to gird himself and come forth and serve them, upon whom you now trample, and count them as the dung of the Earth.

They are willing to be your Servants, that they may do you good: It is not their own honour, but that of *Christ* which they seek: As the Apostle speaks, *For we preach not our selves, but Christ Jesus the Lord: And our selves your Servants for Jesus sake.*

XXI.
Steps that
have been
made to-
wards the
Reformation
proposed.

I.
On our side.

Here one desir'd that we would take notice what steps have already been made on both sides by the secret and all-ruling Providence of God, leading and inclining Men by degrees insensibly nearer and nearer towards such a glorious Reformation as has been before propos'd.

First, on our side. The *Regale* among us has much varied and lessened from the height in which it was set up by *Hen. VIII.* In which very time, while they were stretching the *Regale* to the utmost, yet they could not refrain to confess to the truth, and assert the spiritual rights of the Church, as shewn *Sect. ix.* till at last they have come fully and truly to explain it in our 37th Article of Religion. But to name some particulars.

I.
Regal com-
missions.

As to those regal commissions before-mentioned, p. 623. whereby Bishops then held their Bishopricks and ecclesiastical authority, during the King's pleasure only: These are long since worn out of date, and are now detested by all the Clergy of *England*; and no more insisted upon by the State.

The office of the King's Vicegerent in ecclesiastical affairs surviv'd not the Person to whom it was first granted, but was beheaded with him. Such a novel monstrous composition was not long-liv'd; once shewn, then hated and despis'd.

2.
The King's
Vicegerent
in ecclesiasti-
cals.

Then again, the writ of *Conge d' Eslier* was taken away by Act of Parliament, 1 *Edw. VI. c. 2.* as too great an encroachment upon the *Regale*. But our Kings are grown ashamed of that, and still continue the method of the *Conge d' Eslier*, tho' let loose from it by the Law.

3.
Conge d' Eslier.

Then in the beginning of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* the title of Head of the Church was taken from the Crown, as is shewed before

4.
Title of
Head of the
Church ta-
ken away.

Seet. ix. The ecclesiastical commission which the King was empower'd to set up, 1 *Eliz.* was taken away by Act of Parliament, 17 *Car. c. xi.* and remains exploded to this day.

5.
Ecclesiastical
commission.

King *James I.* (as Dr. *Guthry* Bishop of *Dunkell* tells us in his MS. *History of the Rebellion and Covenant*) us'd this method in *Scotland*, that when any Bishop died, the Archbishop conven'd his fellow Bishops, and they gave in to the King the Names of three Persons whom they judged most fit, out of whom the King chose one into the vacant See. But his Son *K. Charles I.* did not observe this, but resum'd the *Regale* in its full extent, and kept the election solely in himself; which the Bishop takes notice of as one great cause that brought on his troubles, and the confusion first begun in that Kingdom. He came young to the Crown, and was not proof against flatterers, who would aggrandize his prerogative; besides that this point was not so fully consider'd in those times, *Erastianism* having run down like a torrent from the Reformation: And they were but few who could recover themselves to reflect impartially against the prejudice of education and popularity: The *Regale* being then made (tho' very unjustly) the characteristick against Popery and Fanaticism; that being suppos'd the only barrier against both; not imagining, in their Honey-Moon, that ever they should have a King in either of these interests; or that their Cannon could be turn'd upon themselves.

6.
K. James I.
in *Scotland*.

Therefore it was no great wonder that a young and un-experienc'd Prince should at the first be carry'd down a popular stream.

But he made great amends afterwards: He set himself for the rescue of the Church from the encroachments of the secular Courts and *Erastian* Laws; which was made a handle by designing Men to stir up the Rebellion against him: And he is justly enrolled among the noble Army of Martyrs: His Mercy was his ruin, for which he was call'd a tyrant. All whom the People overcome are so, because they never lay the fault upon themselves. Thus they charg'd upon this pious Prince all the Blood that themselves had shed, and the war which they began against him, and not he against them, which appears by the dates of their respective commissions for levying their armies.

7.
K. Charles I.

The spirit of those times, and the disposition of that Prince seem fitted to shew the world how far a gracious King can condescend to a mutinous and rebellious party; and how impossible it is by such lenity to overcome them: It is like giving passage to the water, which thereby increases to a deluge; the prevention is easy at the beginning, before a drop grow to be a River, and that River become a Sea.

But the methods by which this King's mildness suffer'd that Rebellion to grow upon him, was not the subject of our discourse: It suffic'd us to know that God's time was not then come for the deliverance of his Church; but that glory is reserv'd for another.

8.
K. Charles II.

Tho' *David* design'd and made preparation for the building of the Temple, yet that was determin'd for another and more peaceable reign.

Then it was observ'd by some in the company, that even in the reign of K. *Charles II.* a commission was granted to some Bishops and others to dispose of such Church-Livings as were in the King's gift, which were above the value of those that are committed to the disposal of whoever carries the *Great Seal*: There was something of consciousness, at least decency in the case.

But there was a much more remarkable instance in his reign, in *Scotland*. In the year 1669. an Act of Parliament was made there, call'd the *Affertory Act*, which asserted the *Regale* very high; and by virtue of which the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, Dr. *Burnet*, was depriv'd: But I am told no other put into his place, but the Bishoprick kept in *commendam*, and Dr. *Leighton*, to whom the King gave it, only styl'd Commendator of *Glasgow*, till by some means or other a resignation was procur'd from Archbishop *Burnet*: However, the then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and other Bishops of *England*, considering how far such precedents might extend, interposed with their full might, nor did they leave it till they had the Archbishop restored.

But that which I am coming to is this. After this *Affertory Act*, a Test was put to the *Scots* episcopal Clergy, which ty'd them to maintain all the King's privileges, &c. granted by Act of Parliament; by this means seeking to draw them in to the acknowledgment of this *Affertory Act*, which set up the King's Supremacy over the Church: But they were aware of the snare, and had the christian courage to refuse that Test, for which some of them were depriv'd.

But they persisted, and prepared themselves to suffer the last extremities, rather than betray the rights of *Christ's* Church: They rid out the storm, and they prevail'd; as others would do if they try'd it. The inherent rights of the Church are so flagrant, that a christian State will hardly invade them but where they are tamely given up. The King seeing the Clergy resolute to suffer and to assert their rights, found he could not bear the odium, nor was able to maintain his claim; therefore a Declaration was publish'd by King and Council, (which in the intervals of Parliament has there the force of a Law) wherein they renounced all pretences to the intrinsic power of the Church; and left entirely to her *all the ecclesiastical power, authority, and jurisdiction exercis'd by the Church for the three first centuries*. Which being the whole that could be ask'd, the breach was made up, and the dpriv'd Clergy were restor'd: And by this, all the *Erastian* teeth of that *Affertory Act* were drawn out.

At present.

But that it might never bite more, it was formally repeal'd by the present Parliament there, Sess. 2. Lord *Melvil* Commissioner. Which shews what others might do who have greater power and advantages than they: For it is not to be suppos'd but that the same justice and right to the Church would be done where the Bishops and Clergy are more considerable, are nearer to the Court, and of more use to it; if that has not corrupted their principles, or abated their zeal; like St. *Peter*, whose courage left him when he had once warmed himself at the fire of the palace. There are some who will profess with as much assurance as he, that they are ready to go not only to prison but to death for asserting the truth of the Gospel and the divine rights of the pillar and ground of it, without which it cannot stand, that is, the Church: But if a Servant at Court ask them, are you for setting up that full authority which *Christ* left with his Church? will be ready to tremble, and cry, *I know not the Man*. *We have no King but Cæsar*. He that would set up divine rights is no friend to prerogative! But to proceed,

The

The Commission before-mentioned of King *Charles II.* for the disposal of Church Preferments is much improv'd since; particularly in this, that now, none but Bishops are in that Commission: None of the Lay-Lords or others mix'd with them, as it was in the time of King *Charles II.* and moreover, the recommendation even to Bishopricks is likewise committed to these Bishops: This indeed is a step farther: These are some of the advances as have been made on our side, towards the freedom of the Church; which plainly shew where the right does lie.

Then the Company were desirous to turn and see what advances had been made on the other side, on the part of the Church of *Rome*, for reducing the *Pontificate* as much as we have done the *Regale*: And it was found, that they have gone farther in this than we have done in the other.

II.
Advances
made on the
part of the
Church of
Rome.

Here was call'd to mind what was said before concerning the opposition given at the Council of *Trent* by the Bishops and secular Clergy in Communion with the Church of *Rome*, as well as those in *Spain*, *Germany*, *Hungary*, and all the Popish Countries, not excepting *Italy* it self, as of those in *France*, who have been most remarkably zealous in this matter.

I.
As to the Bi-
shops and se-
cular Clergy.

And from hence we may suppose it was, that even in that Council there is a fair door open'd for restoring the ancient Rights of provincial Councils, where power is given to them, or rather recogniz'd to be in them and in every Bishop in his own Diocese, to regulate all matters that shall be necessary, as well over all Ministers in the Church, as to prescribe such forms in Worship and Manners as they shall judge necessary for the benefit of each Province. Take the words more at large, as you will find them in that Council. Sess. 23. c. 12. *Cetera quæ ad debitum in Divinis officiis Regimen spectant, deque congruâ in Canendi seu Modulandi ratione, de certâ lege in Choro Conveniendi, & Permanendi, simulque de omnibus Ecclesiæ Ministris, quæque necessaria erunt, & si qua hujusmodi, Synodus Provincialis pro cujusque Provinciæ Utilitate & Moribus certam cuique formulam præscribet: Interea vero Episcopus non minus quam cum duobus Canonicis, quorum unus ab Episcopo, alter à Capitulo eligatur, in iis quæ expedire videbuntur, providere.*

The modern
Popish Writ-
ters.

XXX
A proposed
how the
Bishops, the
not all diff-
rence may
be ended.

Pursuant to this Right of provincial Councils here so far recogniz'd, the Church of *France* have all along acted more vigorously and independently upon *Rome*, than any other of the Churches in her Communion; and from the first encroachments of the Patriarchat of *Rome*, gave Battle to it, and kept it within some moderate bounds; as appears by the several pragmatical Sanctions and Concordates made betwixt their Kings and the Popes.

2.
Particularly
in *France*.

But that which came most under our observation (as being the latest) was the Decrees of the *Gallican* Clergy met in a national Synod, *An.* 1682 which are hereunto annexed.

In the preamble they assert liberties of the *Gallican* Church; yet acknowledge a Primacy in the Pope: But how limited and circumscrib'd, appears in the Decrees.

Of which the first quite takes away his power in temporals, especially that which the Popes have so often practis'd, even in *France* (as before-mention'd in the Rebellion of the holy League) and by which chiefly they have secur'd their encroachments of several sorts; and which they cannot be brought by any means to disclaim, that is, the power to depose Kings, and absolve their Subjects from their allegiance.

The second subjects the Pope to a general Council; even to be deposed by it: As in the 4th and 5th Sess. of the Council of *Constance* is enacted, which is quoted and confirm'd in the said Decree.

In

In the third, the Pope's power is limited by the Canons of the Church, and even by the constitutions and rules of the *Gallican* Church.

In the fourth, his infallibility, even in matters of Faith, is totally taken away and disown'd.

And in the fifth, the Bishops assert the divine Right of their Episcopate, and derive their power from none but the Holy Ghost: By virtue of which they establish these Decrees, and command them to be receiv'd in all the Churches of *France*.

Then the discourse turn'd to the fierce opposition made by the Pope to these Decrees, and how ill they were resented at *Rome*: And it was said, that a *French* Papist wou'd be burn'd at *Rome* for an Heretick: And were there but few of them, or inconsiderable, no doubt they wou'd be excommunicated with *Maranatha*: For all that properly can be call'd Popery in the Pope's Supremacy is hereby pluck'd up by the roots.

It was said, That this was as far almost as our *Hen. VIII.* ever went: For he threw off nothing of Popery but only the Pope's Supremacy: In all other things, he liv'd and died a Papist; he burnt those who deny'd Transubstantiation, and left money in his Will for praying his Soul out of Purgatory.

To this was added, how much the Doctrine of the Pope's Infallibility, and even the height and absoluteness of his Supremacy had abated since *Bellarmin* and the Writers of those times; that the modern Popish Authors, not only in *France*, but all other Popish Countries, even *Spain* and *Italy* it self, have found out a lower sense in which to take the high flights of those before them: And if they are coming down, we may meet in time.

Oh, said one, that this were the time! When that terrible Schism which has so long torn the western Church might be healed! And tho' we cou'd not, in a short time reconcile our differences upon particular points, as of Transubstantiation, Invocation of Saints, Purgatory, &c. Yet that matters cou'd be so adjusted, that these shou'd cause no Schism, that is, that we might join together in outward Communion.

And this (said the Gentleman who propos'd it) wou'd not seem to me impracticable, if this one point were first gain'd, *viz.* That every Bishop making himself free from the encroachments both of the *Pontificate* and the *Regale*, thought himself at liberty to act according to his own conscience, and as he must give an account to *Christ* the chief Shepherd, in his own Church, of which he is Head next and immediately under *Christ*; tho in that subordination to Metropolitans, Primates, or Patriarchs, establish'd by the episcopal College (in manner before discours'd) for the better regulation and commerce of the whole; yet without any infraction upon the plenitude of every Bishop's power within his own Church.

Then continu'd the proposer: Measuring others by my self, if I were a Bishop in *France*, and as zealous for the particular Doctrines of *Rome* as any; yet for so great a work as healing of this Schism, I wou'd open my Communion as wide as I cou'd without what I thought a sin: For example, no Roman Catholick thinks it any sin to worship God without an Image of him; or to pray in a Tongue I understand; or to forbear, at least in publick, and in some places the Invocation of the Saints, and the adoration of the Host; or to give the Cup to the Laity: I say, barring the order of the Church in such matters, I am confident there is no understanding Roman Catholick in *France*, or any where else, that wou'd think any of these things to be a sin; or who wou'd say, but that if the Church commanded such things to be done, he wou'd obey.

Well

3.
The modern
Popish Wri-
ters.

XXII.
A prospect,
how the
Schism, tho'
not all diffe-
rences may
be ended.

Well then, supposing a particular Bishop knowing his own authority, shou'd in his Church remove the Images, forbear the Elevation of the Host, and Invocation of Saints, give the Cup to the Laity, and have the Service in the vulgar Tongue: The Proposer ask'd, What shou'd hinder our Communion with such a Bishop? As to his belief of Transubstantiation, or Purgatory, &c. So it be not impos'd upon me, neither as to the profession or practice of it, shall the difference of opinion break Communion? And how shall I know his opinion? There are many in the Communion of *Rome*, who believe as little of these things as we do; and no Man is bound to tell, or I to ask his private opinion: Besides if I knew it, how does it affect me? Shall I refuse the Communion of a Church, because there are wicked or erroneous Men in it? Then must we needs go out of the World.

And on the other hand (said he) the Roman Catholicks will have far less scruple to communicate with us, because there is nothing in our Liturgy in which they are to join, but what they approve of: They may think it deficient, but not in any necessary point; for such they do not make the Invocation of Saints, the Elevation of the Host, or the Latin of their Prayers, or Images to be: And sure the Laity will not be displeas'd to be restor'd to the blessing of receiving the Cup in the holy Sacrament.

He fortify'd this, by shewing, that the Roman Catholicks in *England* came without scruple to our Churches in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* reign, till they were afterwards forbid by a Bull from the Pope: Who by this means did open the breach to strengthen his Party; for otherwise the distinction of Protestant and Papist had soon ceas'd, when they came to be of one Communion.

That in Queen *Mary's* time, they did not re-ordain those Bishops who had been ordained by our Book of Ordination in the reign of *Ed. VI.*

And that the Pope offered to Queen *Elizabeth* Prayers in the vulgar Tongue, the Cup to the Laity, or any thing if she wou'd but own his Supremacy.

So that the Supremacy is the only point at *Rome*: And were it not for that other matters wou'd be sooner adjusted, so far at least, as not to hinder Communion.

That in this most tender point of the Supremacy, the *Gallican* Church are Hereticks as well as we, yet this breaks no Communion: And what is the reason? There is but one, that is, a Politick, because the *Gallican* Church are too great a Body to disoblige: And the fate of *England* has taught the Court of *Rome* more caution, and to consider the power and quality of those Hereticks, whom they adventure to excommunicate.

There is little doubt, but that if *England* wou'd return again to own the Supremacy of *Rome* to the height that the Popes do demand, they wou'd to regain such a Limb to their Empire, dispense with giving the Cup to the Laity, and Marriage to our Clergy, and our Prayers in the vulgar Tongue, as they offer'd to Queen *Elizabeth*. They wou'd excuse the Elevation of the Host, and Invocation of Saints, and Pictures of God in the Churches, and whatever else stands in the way to hinder our joining in Communion.

But while we stand out against that plenitude of the Papal Supremacy which they claim, it is not their worldly interest to heal the breach of Communion; because that, and that only, keeps up the distinction of Parties amongst us. Few wou'd trouble their heads with mere speculations, when their differences were not brought into practice; and especially considering that they are such differences which the Church of *Rome* her self cannot say, none that are moderate among them will say, that they are necessary to Salvation.

And therefore the whole and only difference betwixt us, I mean that hinders Communion, is that extent of the Pope's Supremacy, which the *Gallican* Church have thrown off as well as we: And if a Politick can keep this from making a breach of Communion with them, as much charity in the Court of *Rome* (if they had it) wou'd heal the separation here; and bring the Roman Catholicks back again to our Churches, which they forsook, not for any fault they found in our Liturgy or Worship; but merely in obedience to a Bull from Pope *Pius V.* which had no other end than to keep up his Supremacy.

That therefore it is not to be expected we can persuade the Pope to move towards a reconciliation which he alone obstructs; and that wholly upon secular interests.

And this the *English* Roman Catholicks will grant, that if the Pope gave them commandment, they wou'd return to our Communion to morrow, notwithstanding all other differences upon particular points; which they cou'd not in conscience do, if they thought any part of our publick Worship was unlawful in it self.

And none will say, that a separation can be justify'd upon less grounds than to avoid joining in what is unlawful in it self.

This makes it plain, that the only cause of their separation from us, is that single point of the Pope's Supremacy.

There are more causes of our separation from their publick offices, as Images of the invisible God in their Churches, adoration of the Host, the Cup taken from the Laity, Prayers in an unknown Tongue, and invocation of Saints and Angels, which compose great part of their Liturgy; and we think to be contrary to the holy Scriptures, and the sense and practice of the primitive Church; and therefore cannot join in what, if so, is unlawful in it self.

But as said before, the Roman Catholicks think it not unlawful to omit these things in the publick offices: And therefore it is not lawful for them to heal the separation.

And if it be lawful, then it is necessary, and consequently a sin not to do it: For it wou'd be a great sin not to do any thing that cou'd be done without sin, to remove so horrid a scandal to the christian Church; to save so many Souls, and Nations, with their posterities from so great a sin as Schism; which produces many more, not only un-christian animosities, but blood-shed and destruction, even of Kingdoms and whole Countries; to restore so much peace and welfare to the Nations of the Earth, and to the Churches of God, as the healing of this Schism 'twixt *Rome* and the reformed wou'd produce; who wou'd not only bestow his pains, but sacrifice his life to contribute towards it!

I.
Concerning
the Schism of
the Dissenters
against Episco-
pacy among
us.

Here one interpos'd and ask'd, whether all this Gentleman's kindness was reserv'd for *Rome*? That he seem'd much more zealous for a reconciliation with her, than with our protestant Brethren the Dissenters.

That we grant it lawful for the Church of *England* to dispense with our rites and ceremonies: And if lawful, then necessary, by the argument above, to heal this Schism of the Dissenters.

The Gentleman answer'd for himself thus;

First, That the Schism 'twixt *Rome* and the reformed is of much greater consequence to the christian Church, and takes in even that of our Dissenters, which is but one branch of it: And therefore, if heal'd, wou'd cure the whole; and consequently, that this deserves our chief care: But, said he, I give not this for my answer; because whatever lawfully may be done, ought to be done for the healing of any Schism.

Secondly, Therefore he objected, that the case was not right stated, as if our Rites, Ceremonies, and other indifferent things were the cause of this Schism:

Schism: No said he, these were only a pretence: But Episcopacy was the Heir which they said, *Come let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours*: For we must know, that was an involv'd cause, like that, *Numb. xvi Dathan and Abiram*, the Heads of the Lay-Rebels, they mutiny'd against *Moses* the civil Magistrate for their Fields and their Vineyards, and would not have him to be Prince over them, *ŷ. 13, 14.*

But *Korah* and the schismatical *Levites*, they rose up against *Aaron*, and would have usurp'd the high Priesthood, *ŷ. 10, 11.*

So was it in the latter Covenant and Conspiracy, *An. 1638.* The Laity fram'd a Rebellion against the King; and the *Levites* made a Schism against the Bishops: Both join'd in the same solemn League and Covenant.

Towards which all things being now ready, and the necessary orders given, it was resolv'd to pick a quarrel. And no pretence being to be found in the Doctrine of our Church, or in any substantial matter, that cou'd pass upon the common People, whom it was necessary to gain to their Party; they began to find fault with the colour of our Clothes, either white or black, and the length or shape of them. They inveigh'd against our Gowns as well as Surplices; then they quarrell'd with our singing: Why shou'd we sing better than they did, with Quiristers and Organs? And why shou'd we pray better too, with a Liturgy? Which every body that was acquainted with it, lik'd much better than their *extempore* effusions.

These and such like were their first quarrels with us.

And calling these indifferent things, and thence thinking to load our Church for not yielding to them in these, does in the first place lay the Schism wholly at their own door.

For how faulty soever the Church may be in not yielding in indifferent things; yet all agree that these cannot be a sufficient cause for separation, and making of a Schism in the Church of *Christ*: Because that being a most grievous sin, allow'd on all hands, nothing can be sufficient to justify a separation, or to save it from becoming a Schism, but the avoiding something that is put upon us, which is a sin: For no Man can be oblig'd to sin; and in that case, the Schism lies at their door who force others to separate from them: But this can never be in the case of indifferent things; because such are no sins, else they were not indifferent.

And here it is to be caution'd, that it is not enough for any Man to say, that his conscience tells him, this or the other is a sin; for so he may say of what he pleases, the colour of our Clothes, the length of our Beards, &c. Nay some Men's conscience (as our blessed Saviour has fore-told) may bid them cut our throats.

But that the rule to determine this, is the Word of God: And in case of doubtful or perverse interpretation, the doctrine and current practice of the primitive Church, who liv'd next to the age of the Apostles, is the best Expositor.

And according to this rule, if the Dissenters can shew any one thing of what they except against in our Liturgy, Rites, or Ceremonies, to have been forbidden, we are willing to submit and amend.

How far otherwise is it betwixt us and the Church of *Rome*? Whose Council of *Constance*, *A. D. 1415. Sess. 13.* does confess, that *Christ* did institute the holy Sacrament in both kinds; and likewise that it was practis'd in the primitive Church; and yet with a *non-obstante* to both, they out of the plenitude of their power, take away the Cup from the Laity; and excommunicate any Priest who shall give it to them.

Now as the Apostle says, *Gal. iii. 15. Tho' it be but a Man's testament, yet if it be confirmed, no Man disannulleth or addeth thereto*: Therefore we say, That much less has any Man power to disannul that part of *Christ*
our

our blessed Lord his last Testament, the Cup, which as the last act of his life, immediately before his entring upon his holy passion, he bequeathed to all the faithful, till his coming again: And that this was the sense and practice of the primitive Church, the Council of *Constance* does allow; and thereby yields both the holy Scriptures and Antiquity to be on our side.

I must not (said the Gentleman) launch out into this, and the other points before-mention'd, for which we separate from the Communion of the Church of *Rome*; for that is not the business of our present meeting. I only name them now, to shew the difference of those things, and their importance, upon which we separate from the Church of *Rome*; and of those things upon which our Dissenters do separate from us; which makes our separation from *Rome* to be necessary, and therefore no Schism in us, but in them: But the separation of the Dissenters from us to be wholly for causes no ways sufficient, even themselves being Judges, that is, if their separation be only upon account of our Rites and Ceremonies, as the case is put by the Objector.

Thirdly, Having thus therefore (continu'd the first proposer) shewn, that if the case of the Dissenters is truly stated in this popular objection, then, in the first place it lays the Schism unanswerably upon them: I will, in the next place proceed to shew, that this was not the true cause of their separation; and that the true cause makes the obstruction which hinders our re-union to lie wholly on their side, and not at all on the part of the Church of *England*.

That this was not the true cause, I offer the following reasons.

1.
In Scotland.

1. That the Covenant lays the stress of their separation upon Episcopacy, which it vows to extirpate root and branch; and never to cease, till that be done.

2. When all the Rites and Ceremonies, and the Common-Prayer too was taken out of their way; and Episcopacy it self modell'd as near the Presbyterian form as cou'd be; which was done in *Scotland*, ever since the restoration of Episcopacy there in the year 1661. Yet they were so far from being satisfy'd with all this, that they grew more outrageous than ever before; they rais'd two open Rebellions, and fought it out at *Pentland-Hills* and *Bothwell-Bridge*; they assassinated the Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews* in the high-way; shot another Bishop in his Coach in the Streets of *Edinburgh*; and by publick Declaration fixt up upon the *Mercat Crosses*, made it not only lawful, but an obligation upon every true Presbyterian to kill the Bishops, and all that took their part; and upon this account declar'd that the King had forfeited his Crown, because he set up Episcopacy; and therefore that it was lawful to kill not only his Majesty, but all that serv'd him or own'd him as King; and merely for this reason, and no other, they have murdered the Soldiers, who were travelling the road, because they saw the King's Livery upon their Backs.

2.
In England.

They were not indeed so quite out of purpose in *England*. For they were govern'd with a straiter rein; and it has been observ'd that as stones move swifter, the nearer they come to their center; so Men are generally more fierce, the nearer view they have of their game.

That even the *English* Dissenters declare against Episcopacy, which we take not to be an indifferent thing, but instituted by *Christ*, and confirm'd by the constant practice of the universal Church of *Christ* in all ages.

That if the Dissenters were gratify'd in all other things, yet wou'd they not comply in this.

That there are several sorts and sizes of Dissenters amongst us, of whom some like well what others will not allow in our Liturgy, Rites, and Ceremonies.

That

That therefore it is impossible to please them all.

That if they wou'd all agree which of our indifferent things wou'd purchase their reconciliation, the Church wou'd readily grant it, for so good an end.

Nay if any one sort of them wou'd name for themselves, without respect to the rest, what wou'd gain them to our Communion, there are none of those things we call indifferent shou'd hinder it.

That they have been invited to make the experiment, to my knowledge (said he) but will not do it.

And while they cannot or will not ask, how knows the Church what to grant?

Nay it is plain, that the reason why they will not tell what wou'd be sufficient to reconcile them, is because their leaders have no mind to it; for then they wou'd lose their subsistence: I speak not (said he) of all; for no doubt, there are conscientious and well-meaning Men mislead amongst them: But the governing part will not tell what wou'd please them, because they dare not tell all; that is, that they will not be pleas'd till Episcopacy be given up, and themselves made Bishops under other names.

And hence (said he) it is evident, that as our Rites and Ceremonies were not the true cause of the separation which the Dissenters made from our Church; so that the true cause which is Episcopacy, and their ambition, do still keep up the separation, and hinder our re-union: To which we invite them upon any terms that are in our power, or that we can in conscience comply with.

And therefore (said he) their case can be no parallel or objection to that reconciliation propos'd with those Bishops of any of those Churches that are in Communion with *Rome*, who shall think it incumbent upon them to comply with us in such particulars as are justly in their power, and which they can in conscience allow.

For the Dissenters who have other ends to serve, and therefore will neither take nor give quarter, will neither propose nor accept any terms of reconciliation, cannot for that (unless only for that) reason, be angry at our seeking or offering a reconciliation with others, who may be better disposed.

Therefore enough having been said upon this point, leave was given to the Gentleman to proceed with his first proposal; who said, that by the best of his observation, the generality of the Roman Catholicks in *England* were of the same sentiments with the *Gallican* Church concerning the Supremacy and Infallibility of the papal See: And thence inferr'd, how unreasonable it was for them to keep off from our Communion, and continue the Schism, merely upon the account of that Supremacy which they pretend to disown.

II.
Of the Roman Catholicks in *England*.

Especially considering, that they have no Bishops of their Communion in *England*, and therefore are left to the guidance of their own conscience here.

At least they have no Bishops of particular Dioceses; and Bishops at large have none who are properly their Subjects.

Or that if they had, then the same considerations ought to weigh with them which are offer'd to the Bishops of the same Communion in other Countries: And these seem to be more free and independent than the other.

And if these shou'd dispense with the particulars before-mention'd to those of their own Communion in *England*, it might be a great beginning, and example to others abroad.

I know (said the Gentleman that was speaking) an *English* Roman Catholic, a Man of very good sense, and now in a considerable station, who, before this Revolution, came over to the Communion of the Church of *England*, and told me, the thing which sway'd him was, that it is allow'd among most learned Roman Catholics that every national Church has power to reform within her self in matters of Discipline and Order in the Church, or whatever hurts not the christian Faith. And (said he) the best and most understanding of the *English* Roman Catholics that I could converse with, would not say that any of the points in dispute betwixt the Churches of *Rome* and *England* were matters of Faith: They would not say it of Purgatory, of the Invocation of Saints, of Half Communion, of Prayers in an unknown Tongue, of Images, no, not of Transubstantiation itself, at least not of the Adoration of the Host. And far less would they say it of the Pope's Supremacy, especially in that exaltation which he would be at.

Therefore (said he) why should I make a Schism from any national Church, for exerting those powers which all agree she has? Whether she makes use of them for good or bad ends, for sufficient cause, or not, is not the question: She is judge of that, and must answer it to God: But I am not her Judge: And such causes are not sufficient (all do agree) to make a Schism; else they would never want cause; every Man's jealousies, fears, or suspicion, would be a sufficient cause to make a Schism at any time.

And if this be true, even upon Roman Catholic principles, then we must lay it upon the Consciences of our *English* Roman Catholics, why they keep up a Schism from us contrary to their own principles?

III.
Of the *Gallian* Church.

And these principles are yet more strongly maintain'd in the *Gallican* Church: They have limited the Supremacy of the Pope in *France*, to the Constitutions of their own national Church, as before has been shewn: Otherwise they must give up whatever they call the Liberties of the *Gallian* Church: They cannot be both free from the Pope's Supremacy, and subject to it.

Therefore if the *Gallican* Church should make the Reformation before-mentioned, it could not be call'd any Schism in her by her own principles: And if no Schism, then sure no crime; for what other crime can it be?

And if so great a good as the restoring Peace to the Western now divided Church, by opening our Communion to one another, can be procur'd without any crime at all; will it not be a great crime not to lay hold of the opportunity?

IV.
Of the *Eastern* Churches.

The same method and the same principles (continu'd he) would likewise open the Communion betwixt the *Western* and *Eastern* Churches, betwixt all the Churches of the whole christian World: Whose Liturgies and publick Worship might soon be so adjusted as to give no cause for breach of Communion.

Then would the Church be truly catholic and one; tho' of different, yet not of opposite Communion.

Then would the communicatory Letters go abroad of one Bishop to another, even to the ends of the Earth; and the ancient Discipline would revive of its self.

Then would Bishops (not only of one Church or Nation) salute one another, as in the primitive purer ages, by the name of Brethren and Collegues.

And tho' distributed among themselves into different Classes of Metropolitans, Primates, or Patriarchs, for the better regulation and commerce of the episcopal College of the whole catholic Church: Yet without any infraction upon the rights and authority of each particular Bishop within his own Church, or divesting him of any part of the episcopal commission granted by *Christ*; (as the papal Supremacy has done, and of which *Gregory*

gory the *Great* complain'd) for that would be to un-Bishop him in effect: And consequently all the Bishops in the World except the one universal one, which the Church of *Rome* would have.

That it is this papal Supremacy alone which stands in the way to oppose such a glorious re-union of all the christian Churches: The Pope either excommunicating or denying Communion to, and refusing Communion with all Churches whatsoever upon the face of the Earth, who will not own his universal Supremacy.

His Supremacy! Now worn out and exploded, limited and circumscrib'd into a cypher, by the best and most learned of the Roman Catholicks themselves: And not believ'd in that height it was set up and maintain'd in the last ages, perhaps by one Roman Catholick now in the world.

And that this Ghost of a Supremacy (said the Gentleman, not with an unbecoming zeal) should continue to disturb the Earth, and hinder the happy union of all christian Churches! Must all be sacrific'd to an idol, which none remain to worship, which all do despise? Is it not time to bury it when it is dead?

I cannot but hope (said he) the time is come: Then it will come, it is then come, when every Bishop shall think it within his Commission, and his duty to govern his own Church most to the benefit of the catholick Church that he can; to the restoring the Peace and Unity of all christian Churches; and to exert the utmost of his authority to that end.

If but one Bishop (said he) would begin it, and open his Communion, as has been propos'd, others surely would do the like; and it would soon become universal.

And it is not to be despair'd that such Bishops will be found in all Communion: Many wish it: God will stir up some to act in it.

At least that they would venture so far as to begin a correspondence and understand one another's minds, and then they would see what could be done.

That to keep off Communion till all the particular points betwixt us are adjusted, is beginning at the wrong end; for these are kept up, and heightened on purpose to hinder us from Communion together.

But if the terms of Communion were once so modell'd as to heal our separation, the disputes about the particular points would soon dwindle when there was no interest to be serv'd by them.

And tho' many particular points are put into the list of our differences on purpose to enflame the reckoning, yet, as said before, there is really at the bottom but one which stops the way to heal the breach of our Communion, and that is, such an excess of the Pope's Supremacy as is disown'd and thrown off by the whole *Gallican* Church.

If they ask why we will not allow so much of the Pope's Supremacy as they have left to him:

We answer, because he will not be content with it. Let them prevail with the Pope to confirm the Decrees of their national Council, *Anno 1682.* and I dare say we shall not long quarrel about his Supremacy: But till he does that I am sure the *English* and *Gallican* Churches are nearer one another upon this point than the Churches of *France* and *Rome*. And why then should we not rather take part with one another against *Rome*, than by our differences in other and smaller matters to let him triumph over us both in his Supremacy; and thro' our default, in not joining together over so great a part of Christendom?

This and all other our differences are so far reconcileable as not to hinder Communion. Let us try: Enter upon a Treaty: Not only of particular Bishops, that may be done now and at all times, but of our national Councils,

Councils, our Convocation, and the general Assembly of the *Gallican* Bishops and Clergy: Which being to meet now again this * *May* MDCC. I cannot (said the Gentleman) but hope that God has a blessing in store, to open their eyes and let them see the way of Peace, which is fully pursuant to their own principles.

And it has been the principle of all sober and judicious Christians, that the publick offices of the Church should be kept as free as possible from disputes and controverted points, to hinder the breach of Communion, which turns mere opinions into principles, and adds Heresy to Schism.

That if the *Gallican* Church would thus purge their publick offices of things which themselves say are not necessary, they might find a more christian way with their new converts than has hitherto been taken; at least free themselves much more from the blame.

And then since they and we are near at one upon the grand point of the Pope's Supremacy, and have jointly thrown off his Infallibility, if they would communicate with us when they come to *England* in what they approve of, and can heartily join with in our publick offices; and that their publick offices were so modell'd as that we might join with them when we went to *France*: They might then make this to be a grand Jubilee indeed! The most glorious that many centuries have seen!

Here the Gentleman stopt, and said he knew proposals of this nature would meet with mis-construction: That there is a party among us who would not wish our breaches were heal'd, because they subsist by the division; and sometimes cry *Halloo* on the one side, and sometimes on the other: Their word is, *No Peace with Rome*. But I hope (said he) they are not against a Peace with *France*, or afraid that the *French* are too much Protestants against the Usurpation of the *Pontificate*.

If they keep as clear of the *Regale*, their Reformation will exceed ours; which God grant: And let them not take it ill (*fas est ab hoste doceri*) that we warn them of the rock upon which we have split.

Our concern is for the holy catholick Church, which consists in the rights of the members of it; and not in the encroachment of any one upon the rest: That will prove (as we have sadly seen) the corruption of the whole: And we envy not, but pray that others may go before us in the restitution of the rights of the catholick Church, and of every one in particular; and by that, of the true christian Faith and Doctrine.

V. In this great work there is a most glorious step to be made (said one) by that King whom God should so inspire to take his *Regale* out of the way from obstructing such mighty ends as these propos'd: He would truly deserve the titles of *Most Christian*, *Most Catholick*, and would be in good earnest *The Defender of the Faith*. The benefits that would thereby accrue to the Church would far surpass all the glories of *Constantine*: No age since Christianity ever afforded such an opportunity for any King to aggrandize his name and memory to posterity, in the truly heroical and christian sense, as is to be had this day: After-ages would call him blessed: And his place would be high in Heaven, who by this should bring a Heaven upon earth; restore the Gospel and the Kingdom of *Christ*, far-shining in its native purity, from under the clouds of regal and pontifical usurpations: For the *Pontificate* can last no longer than it is supported by the *Regale*; all the Bishops in the world are in arms against it, and are restrained only by the secular power of Popes and Kings.

The glory of the first christian King who shall restore the Church.

* The *English* Convocation not being suffered to sit while that of *France* lasted, render'd any Treaty betwixt them impracticable. But the censure of the Jesuits by that *Gallican* Assembly (reprinted here) is the forest blow ever those top of the Regulars sustain'd; and has shook the main pillar of the papal throne: So that the issue of that Assembly has exceeded expectation.

Here the whole Company wish'd and pray'd to God, that they might see the example of such a religious christian King in our days, who wou'd begin to set the Church free, and give up his *Regale* as former godly Kings and Emperors have done.

That they wou'd follow their examples, and of *Constantine*, and *Lewis VII. of France*, who refus'd to accept of it, when offer'd: But rejected it with horror and indignation; rather than the examples of *Jeroboam*, *Saul*, *Uzziah*, *Constantius*, and others who usurp'd upon the sacred office, and stand branded for it to all posterities.

That Kings wou'd not desire to encrease their account at the day of Judgment, wherein besides the errors of their civil administration, they will stand chargeable with all the miscarriages in the Church, occasion'd by those Bishops and Clergy whom they advance: The cure of Souls will be requir'd at their hands, since they have taken it upon themselves; and likewise the sacrilege of taking it, when it was not committed to them by God.

They have taken upon themselves the discharge of that Commission given to *Timothy* to make choice of *Faithful Men*, who shall be able to teach others also, 2 Tim. II. 2. And to *Titus*, to set in order the things that are wanting (in the Church) and to ordain Elders in every City, Tit. I. 5. They now appoint the Bishops for every City. And to them now belongs that severe charge of St. Paul to *Timothy*, I charge thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect Angels, that thou observe these things, without preferring one before another, doing nothing by partiality; lay hands suddenly on no Man, neither be partaker of other Mens sins. But now Kings command hands to be laid upon whom they think fit; and so have made themselves partakers of their sins.

Then it was observ'd, that Kings not only do the office, but exact the tribute due to the chief Pastor: They take those first-fruits and tenths from the Clergy, which they pay'd to the Pope, under the notion of universal Pastor; as the *Levites* paid the tenth of their tenth to the High Priest under the Law.

Thus making themselves the High Priests of the Church of *Christ*, each in their dominions: And if they who profess themselves to be the Subjects and Servants of *Christ*, do thus usurp upon him; shou'd they not reflect when he permits their Subjects or others to usurp upon them? And how can they expect that *Christ* wou'd restore and protect them, while they refuse to restore to him? If they will still prefer human Politicks, or not judge this to be the truest Policy, to make God their friend, it is but just in him to infatuate their Councils and disappoint their designs; for he will in the end prove stronger than Men, and his folly exceed their wisdom.

He has promis'd a most glorious revolution, and deliverance of his Church, and setting her on high above all her Enemies; who shall bow down to her with their faces to the Earth, and lick up the dust of her feet. The holy Scriptures are full of it. And glorious things are spoken of this City of God, by *Moses*, the *Psalms*, and all the Prophets who have been since the World began; by *Christ* also, and his Apostles: And it is easier for Heaven and Earth to fail than one *Iota* of it not to be fulfill'd.

But when God's time will be for these things, or whom he will bless as his instruments in it, are secrets of providence which we know not.

As for the particular proposals before made, the Company pass'd no Judgment upon them; and he that offer'd them said, he did not take upon him so much as even proposals in this case, he thought himself not so qualify'd. He rather call'd what he suggested a prospect of such a glorious reformation as he wish'd: But for the particulars, the ways and means by which it was

to be attempted, he did submit them to his superiors, and ask'd pardon from the Company if he had exceeded in any thing; who took time to the next opportunity to consider of it; and so we parted;

After he had said this one word,

Concors Romanæ & Reformatæ Ecclesiæ Fides,

Neutrius Opinio, mihi Religio est.



APPENDIX

O F

PAPERS

Referr'd to in the foregoing

DISCOURSES.

Numb. I.

The Declaration of the Gallican Clergy, concerning the Ecclesiastical Power in the year 1682.

Cleri Gallicani de Ecclesiasticâ Potestate Declaratio. A. D. 1682.

WHereas many do endeavour to overthrow the Decrees and Liberties of the Gallican Church, which have been maintain'd with so great care by our Ancestors, and are founded upon the authority of the holy Canons, and the tradition of the Fathers: And whereas, on the other hand, there are not wanting those who under pretence of this, are not afraid to lessen the Primacy of St. Peter, and



Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ Decreta & Libertates à majoribus nostris tanto studio propugnatas, earumque fundamenta sacris Canonibus & Patrum traditione nixa multi diruere moluntur; nec desunt qui earum obtentu Primatum B. Petri, ejusque Successorum Romanorum Pontificum à Christo Institutum, iisque debitam ab omnibus Christianis obedientiam, sedisque Apostolicæ, in quâ Fides prædicatur, & Unitas serva-
his

his Successors the Bishops of Rome, instituted by Christ; and the obedience which is due to them from all Christians; and the Majesty of the Apostolical See, which is venerable to all Nations, in which the Faith is preached, and the Unity of the Church preserv'd: And whereas the Hereticks likewise omit nothing whereby they may render that power in which the peace of the Church is contain'd, to be hateful and grievous to Kings and People; and by these deceits do seduce the minds of the simple from the Communion of the Church their Mother, and so of Christ: To suppress which evils, we the Arch-Bishops and Bishops assembled together, by the King's command at Paris, together with others of the Clergy deputed with us, after diligent consideration had, have thought fit to decree and establish as follows.

tur Ecclesiæ, Reverendam omnibus Gentibus Majestatem imminuere non vereantur. Hæretici quoque nihil prætermittunt, quo eam Potestatem, quâ Pax Ecclesiæ continetur, invidiosam & gravem Regibus, & Populis ostendent, iisque fraudibus simplices animas ab Ecclesiæ matris, Christi quæ ad Communionem dissociant, quæ ut incommoda propulsemus, nos Archiepiscopi & Episcopi Parisiis mandato Regio, congregati, Ecclesiam Gallicanam Repræsentantes, unâ cum Ecclesiasticis viris nobilium deputatis, diligenti tractatu habito, hæc lancienda & declaranda esse duximus.

I. That God gave to St. Peter, &c. See before in the *Append. to the Case stated between the Churches of Rome and England*, Numb. III. p. 565.

Numb. II.

Inscription in the Parlour of the Hospital of Ledbury in the County of Hereford, which is mention'd p. 638.

HUGH Foliot was elected by the Presbytery of the Cathedral Church of Hereford in October, An. Dom. 1219. without Letters from the King, written to the prejudice of their free election (even as it is testified of Rob. Foliot to have been chosen before him in the year of our Lord 1173.) He lived Bishop in the reign of King Henry III. *Fredericus* II. being then Emperor, and *Honorius* III. Pope when he was elected, and *Gregorius* IX. when he died, viz. July 26. 1234. So he lived Bishop fourteen years eight months and odd days.

Tho' as well the Doctrine as the Government of the Church, were in the time of this Bishop greatly corrupted, and Bishops were called *Capita Diœcesôn suarum*, as the Pope wou'd be called *Caput universalis Ecclesiæ* even over Kings and Emperors, claiming power to excommunicate and depose them; yet Presbyteries were not (here in England especially) then called *capitula*; nor their Bishop and they divided into two Bodies: For *Gregorius* IX. had not yet published his decretal Epistles, wherein these two titles were first established; 1. *De iis, quæ fiunt à Prælato sine consensu capituli*: 2. *De iis quæ fiunt a majore Parte capituli*: From which decretals the Presbyteries began generally to be called *capitula*, and the Government

vernment ecclesiastical in every Province, and Diocese grew to be severed: The Bishop as the Head, doing many things of himself without consent of the Chapter and *Capitulum*; the little Head or Chapter doing many things by a greater part among themselves without the Bishop.

In the time of this Bishop the Court of *Rome* was charged with much avarice and oppression; for that causes were there delay'd, and cou'd not be ended without gifts and bribery: To take away this offence as it was pretended, *Honorius III.* sent *Gwalo*; and *Gregorius IX.* sent *Pandulphus* the Legates into *England*, requiring of every Cathedral Church two Prebends, for the better maintenance of their Pontifical Estate, thereby to remove the scandal of bribery, and extortion, said there to be then used, in delay of justice; but the King with the general consent of the Clergy, denied those requests strictly urged by both these Popes, in their several times: Whereupon these verses were made; which howsoever they bewray much ignorance and decay of good literature in that time, yet do they sufficiently declare a sound Judgment against the covetousness of both the Popes, which was indeed the only cause that moved them to send so far, and make such unreasonable and ungodly requests.

*Quod virtus reddit, non copia sufficientem,
Et non paupertas, sed mentis hiatus egentem.*

Which may be Englished thus,

*It is not store sufficiency that brings,
But well contentedness with present things;
It is not slender wealth that makes one poor,
But greediness and still desire of more.*

This Bishop never shew'd himself to favour the exactions of these Popes in whose time he lived: Neither did he exact any thing of the Church wherein he was Bishop. He did erect this Hospital for the relief of the aged and impotent People, dwelling chiefly in this Town or Borough which then was his manor; he committed the over-sight and care of the same to the trust and charge of the Presbytery, as to a religious and judicious Senate, most likely to preserve so godly a foundation: And thereunto, the rather to incite them, he endowed them with an annual Pension of XL^s. to be paid out of the Revenues of this Hospital; he gave also to the Library many Books, the names whereof do not remain to be seen.

Last of all (that we may see how christian and true devotion was then linked with human and fond superstition) he gave many Ornaments to the Church, to adorn the sacrificing Priesthood withal, *Innocentius III.* next Predecessor to *Honorius III.* having establish'd Transubstantiation, in the *Lateran* Council not long before; and he bequeathed two Marks yearly to the Presbyters Prebendaries that shou'd be present at his Exequies the 7th day of the *Ides of July*, yearly to be celebrated, and to the Choir half a Mark, then also to be given.



A

SUPPLEMENT.

In answer to a Book, entituled, *The Regal Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs asserted, in a Discourse occasion'd by the Case of the Regale and Pontificate.*



HIS Book was sent to me the 15th of this Month: I have given it a hasty examination, not finding much trouble in it; and thought it best to let it go as a *Supplement* to this Edition of *The Case of the Regale, &c.* that the whole matter may lie together.

As to the Preface, it is angry and superficial, therefore I let it pass: It might have been spar'd, especially considering how obvious it is to retort it.

Only I join with him, as a preliminary; which is observ'd all along in the *Case*, that by Kings and Princes, we mean the supreme civil Power in any Nation, be it in one or many: For I would not intermix the dispute of Monarchy and Commonwealths, that is another subject.

Let it be also observ'd, that by the word *Regale* is not meant any part of the civil Power or Supremacy, let it be exercis'd how it will, either in ecclesiastical Causes, or over ecclesiastical Persons; but only the ecclesiastical Power or Supremacy that is claim'd by christian civil Governments over the Church in their dominions.

This is sufficiently explain'd and caution'd in the *Case*: And if it had been attended to, might have prevented great part of this Answer to it, which does not at all distinguish betwixt the ecclesiastical and the civil *Regale*; and therefore forces me to repeat it oftner than needful.

He runs all along upon the King's Supremacy in the general: Which if it be understood of his civil *Regale* or Supremacy, is not deny'd, but assert-ed in the *Case*; and is allowed to extend to all whatsoever Causes, and over all Persons, as well ecclesiastical as temporal. But the first only is deny'd, that is, his ecclesiastical *Regale* or Supremacy. If this distinction seem obscure to any, it is explain'd in what follows, particularly in *Seet. II.*

If protestations signified any thing in disputes, I could truly say that I am wholly unprejudic'd, and an equal judge (if I were a judge) in the cause here controverted; except that the byals of worldly interest carries considerably for the Assertor against the *Case*. However I hope it shall not so blind my judgment as not to reason impartially and fairly: Of which the Reader will best judge by what follows.

I. To begin therefore, I agree with this Assertor of the regal Supremacy in all his *Theses*, I, II, III. except his mistaking the meaning of the Author of the *Case*, in his p. 218. (it is p. 670. of this Edition) where he gives the

reason of civil Governments being call'd earthly, secular, or temporal; because *the end and design of them had respect only to this world: For that in the other there are no distinctions or representatives of Nations: And every Man's death dissolves his relation to an earthly Kingdom.* Hence the Assertor infers it as the meaning of that Author, that the *civil Government does regard the temporal welfare only of their People; and so long as that was secur'd, it did not concern them* (the temporal Governors) *whether God or Baal were worshipped in their dominions*, p. 3. But it was far from that Author's meaning, that temporal Governments, tho' only for this world, even a Mayor or a Constable, tho' but for a year, should not exercise the civil Sword for the good of Mens Souls as well as their Bodies, and restrain irreligion as well as immorality. This he insisted upon in several places, one taken notice of by the Assertor, p. 2. But this makes them not to be called spiritual Governments, or entitles them to any place in the Hierarchy: Which, tho' it respects this world as well as the other, having *promise of this life, and that which is to come*; yet it respects that to come chiefly; and from thence receives its denomination of a holy and spiritual Government, in contradistinction to that which is only secular and earthly, for the outward peace and temporal happiness of Men: Which yet in its proper sphere, that is, in the use of the civil Sword, is oblig'd to farther and promote, all that in it lies, the spiritual intendments and purposes; as all things whatsoever are: Thus it is written, *Whether ye eat or drink, or whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God.* But the extent of the civil Power is only as to this world; and the sentence of any King or State has no effect out of their own dominions: Whereas the spiritual censures have their effect in the other world: And the censure of every Bishop is valid not only in his own Diocese, but thro' the whole catholick Church. This is insisted upon in the *Case*, p. 164. and in several other places, so that it could hardly be mistaken but thro' inadvertence. However, if the words *End and Design of temporal Government* have really led the Assertor into this mistake, they are alter'd in this Edition to *Commission and Extent*: And that Author shall shew how willing he is to stand corrected not only when he is in any error, but where words may be mended more clearly to express his meaning: So there is an end as to that. And it will answer several other places in the Assertor, where he runs upon the same mistake, even to the end of his Book, which concludes with the same. Therefore let me answer it in this place; and we shall have the less to do with all that is between.

II. He concludes from p. 89. with exceptions against the exposition of the 37th Article in the *Case*, p. 624. and yet I cannot find one exception, having read it over and over; so that I am in a puzzle to know what he means. I desire the Reader to compare the two together, and see if he be sharper sighted than I am. He asks, p. 90. why these words [*That they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal*] were left out? Whereas they are expressly quoted in the *Case*, with other words of the 37th Article, and so repeated in this same page of the Assertor. Ay, but, says he, *What was this part of the explanation left out for? Was our Memory so weak*— And so he goes on for some lines rejoicing! Why, Sir, I will tell you, this was no part of the explanation; it had nothing to do with it; for how far the regal Supremacy extended, to what Persons or Causes, was not the point, for that was freely granted to extend to all Persons and Causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal; but the question is only, of what nature the regal Supremacy is, and what its power is, whether only a civil power (tho' that may be exercis'd upon ecclesiastical Causes and

and Persons) or an ecclesiastical power? And those words of the Article are repeated in the explanation, which do expressly limit this regal Supremacy to that of a civil power: And there was no more needful. All you say against this is in p. 89. *That all authority receives its denomination from the Persons and Causes about which it is conversant; what then can any Man make of this Power, but an ecclesiastical Power?* Now, Sir, this is only asserting, not proving; and I think the assertion is totally wrong: For that from which any Power receives its denomination is not the Persons and Causes about which it is conversant; but from the nature of the Power it self. The subject upon which I exercise my Skill or Power, and the Skill it self or the Power, are two things: And many and different Powers may be exercis'd upon the same thing. For example, a Divine, a Physician, a Lawyer, a King, a Judge, or General, and a Bishop too, may all exercise their several Skills and Powers upon the same Person: Are their Powers therefore all the same? Or do they take their denomination from the Person about which they are conversant? In a christian Country every Man is a Member both of the Church and of the State: Are Church and State therefore the same thing? Then indeed all our dispute is at an end: For there can be no longer a comparison or dispute betwixt the same thing and it self. And, as every Person, so every Cause is twofold, that is, both spiritual and temporal: Thus Murder or Adultery are civil Causes; and punishable by the temporal Laws; they are likewise ecclesiastical Causes, and censurable by the Church. Again, Heresy or Idolatry are call'd ecclesiastical Causes; they are likewise civil, and as *Job* says, Chap. xxxi. 28. *Punishable by the Judge.* Some have run themselves into the mistake of there being two sets of Causes, one spiritual, the other temporal: And they have taken pains to distinguish these, and lay the one sort to the Church, the other to the Power of the State; and by this means to rid the marches betwixt these two Powers. But they have involv'd themselves inextricably, as it could not be otherwise: Instead of reconciling, they set the Church and State to dispute every Cause, to which of their Powers it does belong: And neither side can want good arguments, because indeed every Cause belongs to both. This comes from denominating and distinguishing of Powers, by the Persons or Causes about which they are conversant; and not from the different nature of the Powers. If the Assertor understood all this before (it is so very plain) and only bantered upon this point; I ask his pardon for not understanding him: and I have taken needless pains, as to him; but it may serve others, who know not so much.

By the way I desire the Reader to look into *The Case*, p. 624. the words just going before what is here quoted by the Assertor, and see whether this be not plainly express'd there, *That the civil Power may be exercis'd over ecclesiastical Persons, and in ecclesiastical Causes too, to punish with temporal pains, as well Blasphemers, Idolaters, and Hereticks, as Thieves, Robbers, &c. as well the Transgressors against the first as second Table. Thus the godly Kings in holy Scripture did: Thus they were empower'd by God, &c.* How then cou'd the Assertor so far mistake the meaning of *The Case*, as to urge the Jewish Kings abolishing Idolatry and setting up the Worship of the true God, as an argument against it, or to think that the Author must have recourse for this, to extraordinary Commissions given to those Kings? As he does p. 3. and p. 91.

What has been said will answer the question, with which the Assertor concludes, p. 92. as the summing up of the whole cause. Thus he presses the Author of *The Case*, *He therefore wou'd do well to give us an account*
 6 of

of such acts as ordinarily lie within the Prince's Power. And the answer shall be as short and full. All manner of Acts whatsoever, spiritual or temporal: But so far only as the exercise of civil Power reaches, in any of these Acts: If he exercise this Power unjustly, he must answer it to God; but that is another case: We are now only upon the enquiry, how far his power extends? And I think I have given it extent enough, without any sort of exception: I put the limitation only as to the nature of his Power, the same as the 37th Article has put it, that is, to extend only to a civil Power, tho' over ecclesiastical Persons, and in ecclesiastical Causes. And now have I spoke plain enough? Reader forgive me, for repeating this so often, over and over, as if I call'd either your memory or judgment in question. It is much more often repeated in *The Case*, upon every occasion that it cou'd come in, till the Author was afraid of offending the Reader: But he was resolv'd this point shou'd not be forgot; because the whole did indeed depend upon it; the whole of that invidious objection of seeking to pull down the prerogative, whether of Kings or States; and to set the Church above them, even in temporals, as the Church of *Rome* has done: And therefore the Principle of the independence of the Church upon the State in spirituals, ought to be well guarded, lest some that desire occasion, might take occasion, to represent this to be only *in ordine ad Temporalia*; and that the bottom of it was Popery! But it seems all the pains that has been taken, and repeating it over an hundred times will not do; is not sufficient to open the eyes of those who will not see. To all others it is done to an excess, for which I am oblig'd to ask pardon. They will give it me, upon account of the necessity lies upon me from these different sorts of Men: I hope it is done sufficiently now: Shall I be oblig'd to repeat it any more? I mean, after I have done with this answer: For that must be the reply to every *Thesis* in it; and if the Reader will have patience, I will shew it to him.

III. This must be the reply to *Thesis. iv. That Kings have supreme Authority in matters of Religion.* It is granted in all matters of Religion, as well the essentials as circumstantial, in the difference betwixt which the Assertor spends several pages; lest advantages might be taken, and he be mis-understood to extend the *Regale* even to the essentials of Religion; which he carefully denies; but he needed not have done it for fear of me; for I go farther in his way, than he wou'd have me. I freely grant, that the *Regale* extends to every thing, without exception; even to all the very essentials of Religion, to the very being of a God; that is, it is in the Power of any State, King and Parliament, of every supreme civil Power, whether they will draw the civil Sword (which only is committed to them) against even those who shall acknowledge a God. I speak not of the sin of this, and their answering it to God: That you know is not the point we are now upon; but of the extent of the civil Power, or of the Power of the Sword: And wou'd any have me carry it farther? Yes, even those who are angry with me for carrying it so far! It is farther than all this, to give them any ecclesiastical Power, or let them into the Hierarchy, which is a Government ordain'd by God for the conduct of Men's Souls, to whom he has committed the Keys of Heaven and Hell, to remit and retain sin; whose censures (when justly inflicted) he has promis'd to ratify in Heaven, and by their ministrations to convey his holy Spirit. In their hands he has left the administration of the means of Grace, whereby we are entitul'd to the future glory: These! These! Are far greater things than the utmost extent of the civil Sword; which, when it has kill'd the Body, has no more than it can do. And so far Power was given to it, from above, over *Christ* himself: Who then, or what is excepted from it?

Nothing

Nothing can limit any Power, but a Power that is superior to it in the same kind: Therefore whatever can limit any civil Power, has a superior civil Power; and so of the ecclesiastical.

By limiting here is not meant encroaching upon one another; as one King or State may conquer or oppress another; and the Church may encroach upon the State, in its civil capacity; and so again may the State upon the Church in her spiritual.

But by limiting here is meant a regular and just Power to restrain, to command, and to enact.

And as to the distinction of essentials and circumstantials, it is altogether vain in this case: For it is essential to every Government and Society, to have the ordering of their own circumstantials; without which they cannot meet or do any Act of Government.

The Assertor tells, p. 19. what he means by the circumstantials of Religion, *viz.* The determining of *the Persons, Times, Places, and Ceremonies appointed for religious Worship*. Now no act of publick Worship can be perform'd, but by some Persons, at some Time, in some Place, and with some Ceremonies: Therefore whoever has the command of these, has the whole publick Worship in his Power, and all that belongs to it; as the sole and absolute nomination of Bishops and other Clergy-Men, the prescribing the measures of their Duty, the nature of their Doctrine, the way of their Worship, and the manner of their Discipline: You see how one thing follows another! This is what they call Wire-drawing!

Put the case *è contra*, as *The Case* advises, p. 608. And is the truest way to judge. Suppose the Bishops shou'd prescribe thus to the State, and desire for the security of the Church, to have the appointment of the circumstantials of the State; but not to meddle with the essentials of the civil Government: O no, by no means; only as to the Persons, Times, Places and Ceremonies of the meeting of Parliaments, Councils, Assizes, &c. I doubt the civil Government would think this a little touching their Essentials!

A little of this leaven will soon go thro' the whole lump: Let in the State upon the circumstantials of the Church, or the Church upon those of the State; they will soon draw the essentials with them.

Therefore in order to their good agreement it is necessary, that they be kept wholly independent and unlimitable by one another in their several spheres: This is the argument carry'd on in *The Case*; to shew that the *Regale* which justly belongs to Kings is wholly a civil Power, tho' it may be exercis'd upon ecclesiastical Persons, and in ecclesiastical Causes; and that this is equally the Right of all Kings and States, whether Infidel or other; because it is of the nature of Government it self: But that this is no ecclesiastical *Regale*, or infers any sort of ecclesiastical Power or Authority; because that is wholly of another and a different kind; and therefore must be as independent of the other in its kind, as the other is of that in its kind.

2. How widely then has the Assertor mistaken the *Case*, when he thinks that the original of the *Regale* there given, p. 632. was this sort of *Regale*, of the civil *Regale*? No, that was as ancient as Government in the World: But it was the ecclesiastical *Regale* of secular Princes which is there spoke of; and the original of it plac'd (not in *Eli*, as he afterwards mistakes this Author, who spoke of that merely on a supposition, which he did not aver, and therefore built not on it; as not here for the original of this *Regale*, but in a later and plain instance) in *Jero-boam's* depriving the Priests in his Kingdom; which the Assertor quotes p. 11, 12. and waves, but promises to answer it afterwards; which we find p.

67. where all he says, as to this of *Jeroboam*, is, *When we allow Princes to rake Dungbills to fill Episcopal Sees, it will be time enough to consider of these instances, and not before.* This is spoke with relation to his making Priests of the lowest of the People, of which *The Case* takes not the least notice (tho' it might) but mentions only his depriving the Priests, and that upon a State-point, for not joining with him against their former King, who was yet alive; and this is all the answer it has receiv'd.

3. Having thus easily dispatch'd that instance of *Jeroboam*, the first of the *Regale* in the *Jewish*, he comes next, p. 12. to that of *Constantius*, the first in the christian Church; where he gives a long quotation out of Bishop *Bilson*, of *Constantine's* concerning himself in the disputed election of *Cecilianus* Bishop of *Carthage*; first referring it to the Bishops to decide; but when the Donatists would not acquiesce in their decision once and again, the Emperor at last interpos'd his civil Power in justification of the sentence of the Bishops. Now what advantage can be made of this? All this is regular and well, and exactly pursuant to the Principles of *The Case*: O but the Emperor then at last heard their cause himself; *And exactly weighing what either Party cou'd say, gave sentence with Cecilianus against Donatus; making withal a sharp Law to punish the Donatists, if they persisted in their wilfulness, as dissentious Schismatics from the Church of Christ; which rigor the christian Emperors that followed, did rather encrease than diminish.* And they did very well, and as they ought to do, to support and defend the Church against violent and turbulent Schismatics. And where they thought it necessary to interpose their *Brachium Seculare*, why shou'd they not, as in justice ought, to hear what both Parties cou'd say, to examine Witnesses, and all other Acts of Judicature? For they are the only and the absolute Judges, when to make use of their civil Power, and how far in all religious matters.

But what is all this to that which is urg'd in *The Case* of *Constantine's* refusing the Appeal of the Donatists from the Bishops to him, as to a superior Judge in ecclesiastical matters; and denying even to join himself with the Bishops, as if he were a co-Judge with them, or had any thing to do in it; but asserting their Judgment to be, *As when the Lord himself, residing, judgeth*; and much more to the same purpose, which is there quoted? Why to all this says the Assertor, p. 15. *Certainly those Men must be utterly blinded with prejudice, who against so notorious matter of fact, can believe that Constantine absolutely refus'd to concern himself in this case, upon no better grounds than a few warm expressions he made use of, merely to divert an invidious business; and in which, being then but a young Christian, he distrusted his own skill.* This is all the answer: To which I say, *First*, That *Constantine* did concern himself; but it was only as a civil, not an ecclesiastical Judge. *Secondly*, That he himself must know best his own meaning, and he tells us that it was so, that he renounc'd all ecclesiastical Judicature. *Thirdly*, That to put off what he says so emphatically, and with so great sense of Christianity, in a deriding jest of warm expressions, and his being but a young Christian, is a total yielding up of this instance which you contend about, and favours of a light spirit, and as one who is resolv'd not to be convinc'd. And *Fourthly*, To usher in such a guilty plea, with all that assurance of *Certainly those Men must be utterly blinded with prejudice* — looks like hectoring instead of arguing. And another name I will forbear: But it shews where the prejudice lies, and who are blinded with it.

4. Not being able to deny that the Donatists were the first who appeal'd to the *Regale*, as to an ecclesiastical Judge; he says, p. 16. That they too oppos'd it afterwards. Let him make his advantage of that.

But he says, *That by this opposition to the Regale, they distinguish'd themselves from the Catholicks, as much as by any other of their Tenets.* But this he was not at leisure to prove; till when we must let it rest.

5. He throws away what is quoted in *The Case*, p. 628. of St. *Athanasius* and *Hosius*, as he did that of *Constantine*, with an impossibility to believe them: And when they speak in words most express against the *Regale* and argue against the thing, he would have us believe that they spoke for it: That is, that they spoke only against the male-administration of it; which supposes the thing, and does establish it. Let the Reader look upon their words in *The Case*, and there needs no more to be said.

He says, p. 17. *That of all Men living Athanasius could not do what he did do; that is, upbraid Constantius for acting without a Precedent, in making himself a Prince of Bishops, and to preside in ecclesiastical Judicatures; which St. Athanasius likewise calls making of him Anti-Christ, that is, setting himself up in the place of Christ.* Did St. *Athanasius* say so? Yes. The Assertor does not deny it; but says, *That of all Men living he could not do it.* I suppose he means, ought not to have done it. But why so? Because *he himself appealed to the Emperor Constantine from the Synod of Tyre, and caus'd them all to be conven'd before him; and afterwards resum'd his episcopal Chair by virtue of an imperial rescript, tho' he had been depriv'd by a Synod.* Here I must repeat some words of this Assertor, with which he begins his answer to what was objected from *Constantine*, and this of St. *Athanasius*, p. 12. *It is a pity the story was not told quite out, that we might have understood the whole proceeding from the beginning to the end; for then we might have formed a better Judgment of it. But thus to take and tell things by halves, is a certain way to be deceiv'd ones self, and to deceive others.* We cannot therefore suppose, but that the Assertor knew very well the incessant malice and persecutions with which the *Arians*, *Meletians* and *Eusebians* pursu'd this great Champion of the christian Faith, the holy *Athanasius*, even to take away his life; for nothing but his death they thought could secure them or their Cause: Therefore having got a pact Synod of their own Party at *Tyre*, and the Emperor's Authority to force *Athanasius* thither, they allow'd him not to sit as a Bishop in the Council, but put him as a Criminal to the Bar, and prefer'd monstrous accusations against him, as of Rape, and Murder, whereof the Emperor had taken cognizance. The civil Officers of the Emperor took part with the *Eusebians* against *Athanasius*: And tho' he had fully and evidently acquitted himself of these false accusations laid to his charge, yet he could have no Justice; but on the contrary he was forc'd to flee out of *Tyre* to save his life from mobb and assassination; and went to the Emperor, desiring to be heard before himself, or a lawful and fair Synod; for he had not gone to that of *Tyre*, if not forc'd by the Emperor's command: And lest these accusations might take place against him, he desir'd that his accusers at *Tyre* might be brought face to face with him before the Emperor; whereupon he sent not for the whole Synod, for all of them, as the Assertor words it, but for those of them that had acted against *Athanasius*. And they did not all come, but *Eusebius's* chief Prosecutor, and five more with him; who going off from what *Athanasius* was accus'd of at the Synod, which they could not prove, laid a fresh charge against him of treasonable practices against the Emperor: And their cry, as of the High-priest, &c. against his Master, prevail'd so far, that he was banish'd to *Triers*: Which had not been the sentence if the Emperor had fully believed them: But, as his Son *Constantine* the younger tells in his Letter to the Church

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at *Alexandria*, it was done in kindness to *Athanasius*, and to secure his Life against these his implacable enemies, who thirsted after it: For he liv'd there under the protection of this *Constantine* during his Father's Life, and in high esteem and veneration with him, as his said Letter does at large express: And moreover, that his Father was fully resolv'd to have recalled him from his banishment, but was prevented by death; which he makes the ground of his doing it afterwards. And his Letter to *Alexandria* is no ways imposing or commanding, but a recommending of *Athanasius* in the kindest manner: And they receiv'd him most gladly: And a Synod of near an hundred Bishops at *Alexandria* did vindicate him against what had been done in the Synod at *Tyre*; as did most other Bishops of the catholick Church, to whom they sent circular Letters to acquaint them with it, they being upon the place where the accusations were laid against him; and his opposers not being catholick Bishops, but *Meletian* Schismatics.

Now to sum up the evidence. Here is a Bishop forc'd to a pact Synod, accus'd there of civil crimes, particularly of murder, and over-rul'd. He appeals to the King, who had before taken cognizance of this same fact, and examined into it. Afterwards upon accusations of Treason he is banished; then recalled and sent back to his Church, from which he had been unjustly deposed by a Synod pack'd up of Schismatics: Not imposed upon his Church by the King, but barely recommended. His Church receive him, and a Synod of his own Countrey vindicates him against that of a foreign Nation, which had condemned him. I think there will need little pleading: The true stating of the case does it: The Emperor went no farther than the power of the civil Sword; and St. *Athanasius* hurt no right of the Church in appealing to him so far: Tho' if one or t'other, or both of them had gone too far; what then? All Men have failings. Does this determine the right or the wrong of the cause? Did this make it impossible for *Constantine* or St. *Athanasius* to say those words which they did say? And it is not denied but that they did say them, and that the quotations are true: Only it is impossible!

6. I shall not be so long upon the quotation brought out of *Hosius*, which not only asserts against the *Regale*, but argues against it; against the thing, and not the Male-Administration: I refer the Reader to it: All the reason the Assertor gives why this could not be, is, because *Hosius*, he says, *sate as President in two several Councils, called by the Emperor's authority*. And what then? Who denies Emperor's power to call a Council? Or that his Subjects, as well Clergy as the Laity, are oblig'd to obey him in all lawful things?

But the question is, whether the Church have not a right, nay a divine and inherent right to meet in Council, when they think it necessary, either without or against the King's command; and run the hazard of his displeasure, or the penalties of the Laws, if they judge the case so extreme as to require it? And this not only in the case of an heathen, but of a christian King or State.

The affirmative is now the current doctrine of the Church of *England*, as shewn in the Preface.

7. He makes much (p. 18.) of St. *David's* translating the archi-episcopal See from *Caerleon* to his own *Menew*, (now St. *David's*) and that he did it with the assistance and leave of the renowned King *Arthur*.

To be sure he had his leave if he had his assistance: And that might be requisite upon many accounts: And the concordate or good agreement that ought to be kept up betwixt the Church and the State, should make all things be done by mutual consent where it can be had.

This is brought at an instance that the *Regale* obtain'd before the times of Popery: But it is not altogether so strong an instance as that produc'd against it in the *Case*, *Sect.* xv. of another Saint, *St. Oudoceus's* excommunicating his own Kings, and bringing them under penance. To which the Assertor answers, *Thesis* vi. and makes short work with it, he calls it in ridicule, p. 69. *A worthy precedent to be recommended to the imitation of posterity; which* (says he) *as Princes have more wit, so I hope Bishops have more grace than to allow of.* But we were not asking his Opinion, we would have some of his Reasons. However, the business here was matter of fact, not whether such things were well or ill done; but what was done; whether the *Regale* did obtain in *England* before the times of Popery.

This Author hath, I perceive, a peculiar happiness in writing beyond that of other Men: If he produce any precedents, they must needs be of weight; but let others produce never so many, they must be all so light, as to be blown away with a puff of breath. The Regal Supremacy, p. 34.

8. He spends from p. 19. to p. 24. in distinguishing betwixt the essentials and circumstantial of Religion, excluding the *Regale* from the first, and circumscribing it to the last: Of which before. But he keeps not constant to his theme, for he asserts p. 20. the right of Princes to judge in matters of Faith: That is sure in essentials. But he says, *It is no more than what every Man doth, and what every Man must do.* Then indeed it is unreasonable to deny it to Princes! Every private Man has a judgment of discretion, to judge of all things as to himself, even of the being of a God, that is, whether he will believe or profess it. But is that the judgment here spoke of, here contended for as a prerogative of the *Regale*? Was that the judgment mention'd in the *Case*, p. 124. [in this Edit. 642.] put here upon the margin, to shew that it is answer'd in this place? There an authoritative power of judging, so as to oblige the Subjects, was the point in hand, and particular instances condescended upon, as to confirm or rescind the decisions of a Synod, even in matters of Faith; to *regulate the doctrines of Faith, and that in the most necessary points of it.* And has every Man a power to judge in this manner? The former, that of private judgment or opinion, is all the judgment here attributed to Kings. Is this then an answer to that part of the *Case* which it quotes? I will not say this mistake of the Assertor was willful, because I would rather the fault should be laid upon his haste or inadvertence, than upon his integrity.

But to give a positive answer to what I suppose the Assertor would be at, I will repeat it here again, that Kings or States having the whole power of the civil Sword committed unto them, they are the sole and absolute judges when and how to make use of it: They may set up and establish by their Laws what Religion they please; and root out or persecute the true Religion if they think it otherwise: And the Church cannot defend her self nor her Religion in such case by arms against a lawful civil authority.

But this is no obligation upon the Conscience of the Subjects; they are to follow and obey the Church in persecution, and submit themselves to her authority in ecclesiastical matters, and the Regiment of the Church, and of Religion: For which they must not rebel against the civil power, tho' their Religion had been formerly established by Law, and so made part of their property. Will the Assertor go so far with me? If not, then he, and not I, oppose the regal Supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs.

9. I come next to consider of his answer to p. 132. [here p. 644.] of *The Case* which he puts upon the Margin of his refutation of it, p. 24. and the Assertor has vary'd *The Case* as much here as in the last instance:

There the King having a superior or ecclesiastical Power in the Church is given as a tentation to him to think her original not to be divine, when he finds her Discipline at his disposal.

The Assertor turns it, that his having *Authority and Charge to see that the true Religion be establish'd in his dominions*, is no such tentation: No, far from it; but quite the contrary; as contrary as this is to the argument it pretends to answer.

10. All that is said to *Sect. vii. of The Case concerning David's ordering the courses of the Priests, &c.* is in part of p. 26. of *Reg. Suprem.* which is, That tho' *David, Solomon, Hezekiah, &c. were inspired, and had particular instructions from God, about those matters*, yet, *how does it follow thence that they acted herein merely by virtue of their inspiration?* Because such instructions were given them merely for that purpose: What is the end of giving instructions to any body? Is it not that they shou'd be observ'd? Besides that these instructions were of things which they cou'd not know otherwise; they were arbitrary, and depended not upon any rules of Morality or Justice, as the utensils of the Temple, their exact weight and measure, &c. and also concerning the *courses of the Priests, &c.*

Again consider, this was only answering an objection: These texts of *David's ordering the courses of the Priests; and Hezekiah's setting the Levites in the House of the Lord, &c.* were brought as proofs, and the chief proofs of the *Regale*; the christian Princes having no other Precedent for their *Regale*, but that of the *Jewish Kings*: So that if these texts are but render'd uncertain, as to this purpose, the foundation of the *Regale* is shaken: And as this Assertor says, *How do we know that they acted upon inspiration or these particular instructions which they had given to them?* It may be retorted, *How do we know they did not?* That sure is impossible: Therefore by the Assertor's own confession, the *Regale* is disarm'd of the force of these texts.

But besides what is before said, there are other reasons given in that *Sect. vii. of The Case*, why these Kings did act purely upon these instructions given to them, and not by virtue of their ordinary regal Power. As first, That other Kings were blam'd, and severely punish'd by God, for attempting the like, as *Jeroboam* for depriving the Priests in his Kingdom, who wou'd not own him as King: To which you have heard all the answer that has been made. Secondly, It is said, that if these examples be sufficient to establish the *Regale*, then Kings may take upon them to preach, to consecrate Bishops and Churches, and to dictate Scriptures for us; they having examples for all these things; to this nothing is reply'd: So it is to be suppos'd these Men think, whatever noise they make with examples, that there must be something else necessary to make a good foundation for the *Regale*.

But the Assertor adds, *That Gad and Nathan and other Prophets were inspired likewise and instructed immediately by God concerning the same things, and yet we do not find that the doing of them is any where attributed to them, but only to the Kings. A strong argument that they were regal Acts, and done by the Kings in that capacity.*

The answer to this is very easy, that these commandments were given to Kings by the Prophets, as it is quoted in *The Case* from 2 Chr. xxix. 25. *For so was the commandment of the Lord by his Prophets.* And it was the ordinary office of the Prophets, to be sent with commandments to the Kings, as well as to others.

IV. In the fifth *Thesis* he comes close to the point, and descends to the particulars, as the King's Power in the nomination and deprivation of Bishops.

I. He

1. He says, p. 30. That Kings cannot otherwise take care of Religion. *Ans.* They may do it by the exercise of the civil Sword: That is their Province; and there is a great deal in it; it is a mighty Power; we all feel the influence and effects of it. But cou'd the Assertor pass this over, without thinking of the other side of the case: How the Bishops to whom *Christ* has committed the care of his Flock, and from whom he will require an account of their Souls; how they shall effectually discharge this great trust; if they have not the choice of those whom they employ, especially of their fellow Bishops, the Governors of the Church; if the Discipline intrusted with them, for the necessary Government of their Body, must be wholly dependent upon another Power, who may not be always their Friends? If these two Powers were kept independent of each other, they might each exert their full Power; and the one assist the other: But when they are made dependent upon one another, the one must get the ascendent over the other; there must be contests till the one is dead, that is, quite subdu'd under the other, so as to make no more opposition; as the Church in *Holland*, and the State in *Rome*: And till it is come to that pass, the one must hinder and retard the other, and encroach upon one another; instead of joining and encouraging each other in the common good for which they were both ordain'd.

2. He says, That in the primitive Church the choice of Bishops was by the whole Body of the Church both Clergy and Laity. But from the beginning it was not so, not in the first ages of the Church: And afterwards the testimony and consent of the People is by many mistaken for their election. But there was a time when popular elections did too much prevail; and occasion'd great tumults and Blood-shed; and might give occasion for the Emperors to take the elections into their own hands; they were better there than in the Mob; but this matter is not taken to consideration in *The Case*; it is another subject; and I will not digress here.

3. The Assertor works himself up to a passion, p. 31, 33. against p. 143. (it is wrong printed in *Reg. Supremacy*, p. 31. and call'd 123.) of *The Case*, [here p. 652.] and gives the worst words to the Author that he does in all his Book, he says, *Whether out of his own ignorance, or what is worse, presumption upon that of his Reader, I know not.* What was the fault? He tells p. 33. *With what face then can any Man assert, that the Emperor's Authority in the election of Bishops, began in Charles the great.* To this I have two things to say in behalf of that Author. First, That he did not say so: He did not say it began then; but that it prevail'd from that time: There might have been some instances of it before: But from that time it came to be a general custom in the *Latin World*, as is there said, that is, the *Roman Empire*. And it is not said, that Pope *Adrian I.* did first give way to this: But that he settled it by an ecclesiastical establishment; and that it was the Pope who first thorowly settled the Regale. Now the Assertor knows (at least if I know him) that there is a difference betwixt a settlement, and a thorow settlement.

But the second thing I have to say for the Author of *The Case*, is, That it is very lucky these hard words fell upon him in this place: For, as it happened, he was there only quoting of *Grotius*; who therefore is answerable for the ignorance or presumption here charg'd upon an innocent Man; and so we pass on to the next, which is;

4. His answer to the several instances of Princes, who, out of conscience, have renounced their Regale. To this he gives two *Queries*, p. 34, 35. 1. How do we know it was out of Conscience they did it? 2. If their Conscience was rightly inform'd? For the last, it was not the business of bringing these instances to shew any thing of that. That depends upon the arguments

arguments and reasons brought for it in the *Case*: These instances are only for confirmation, to shew that Princes themselves, who were chiefly concern'd, who had all the baits of worldly ambition and temporal security (as it is thought by some) to persuade them on the side of the *Regale*; yet out of Conscience, as being a most wicked thing, did renounce it, and give it up. And for the first Query, we know they did it out of Conscience, because they said so, and called it most wicked, and thought that the accepting it, (even when offer'd, and by those who had in their estimation power to grant it, if any such power was upon earth, as of the Pope to K. Lewis VII. of France) would endanger their Souls burning in Hell-fire.

5. But leaving that of precedents, he comes now to the reason of the thing, p. 37. and says, *It is certain that the nomination and investiture of Bishops was their (Kings) right.* And gives no other reason, only refers to *Mason de Minist. Angl.* l. 4. c. 13. of which he gives this account, viz. that it belongs to Kings upon a double account. 1. Of their Supremacy. 2. Their right of Patronage. For the first, he brings *Solomon* and *Abiathar*, as a standing rule for Princes to act by. And from *Isa.* XLIX. 23. of Kings being *nursing Fathers*, he, says the Assertor, proves it to be the duty of Princes to furnish the Church with Bishops and Pastors: But how he proves it, the Assertor does not tell us. Then for the second, the King's right of Patronage, he says, p. 38. it comes from their founding and endowing of Bishopricks; from whence a right of presentation must accrue by the imperial Laws and Canons of the Church: And this, says he, *I think may be sufficient to prove the right of Princes to the nomination of Bishops:* And this is all he says to it.

But he could not be ignorant that *The Case of the Regale* did not proceed upon the imperial Laws or Canons, especially those of later date, since the *Regale* has obtain'd; and therefore that this was no answer at all to the arguments there brought of original right: And from hence suppose (tho' no ways granting it) that a King's founding a Bishoprick gave him the presentation to it; yet what shall we say to all those Bishopricks which were not founded by Kings? Not one in the world for the first three hundred years: And the greatest part of those continue to this day; nor were all since founded by Kings: So that the *Regale* by this will be somewhat curtail'd.

6. He comes next to the deprivation of Bishops, p. 39. and gives the same reason as before for the nomination of them, how shall the King otherwise take care of Religion? To which the answer before given may serve. But he adds an objection, How otherwise had the Reformation gone on in the time of the Popish Bishops? To which I say, *First*, That objections are no answers. And I might reply, How might the Reformation have gone out again, fourteen years ago, by the same rule? But, *Secondly*, Will he allow me that there is any Heresy in Popery? If so, then, by the 15th Canon of the Synod of *Constantinople*, (which Dr. *Hody* has omitted in his Edition of the *Baroccian* manuscript, but is added at the end of the *Vindication of the depriv'd Bishops*,) not only the King, but every Man in *England*, might have left those Popish Bishops, even before synodical condemnation: Because they not only held such Heresies, but did publicly preach and teach the same, bare-fac'd in the Church: In which case the Council says, *That whoever separate from them, even before synodical condemnation, are not guilty of Schism; but have endeavoured to preserve the Unity of the Church from Schisms and Divisions, by condemning not a Bishop, but a false Bishop, and a false Teacher.*

If you say, that a Popish King may think the doctrines which we publicly preach and teach to be Heresy, I answer, 1. That the Church of *Rome* does charge us with not holding so much as they do, as Purgatory,

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Invocation of Saints, &c. But they hold all to be of Faith that we do. So that they think us to be defective Christians. I know no sober Roman Catholick in *England* will call us Hereticks for denying the Pope's Infallibility, or for not worshipping of God by Images of him, or not praying to Saints, tho' we charge them with Idolatry for some of these things. Therefore there is a great difference betwixt the negatives with which they charge us, and the affirmative Heresies we charge upon them: There is nothing in our Liturgy with which they cannot join; but there is a great deal in their Mass in which we cannot join.

However I answer, 2. That suppose a Popish King do think us Hereticks; and make use of the civil Sword against us; this is only the old case of Persecution, of which St. *John* saith unto the Churches, *Here is the Faith and Patience of the Saints*. But this does not determine Conscience: And of that only is our dispute. And tho' I think even upon the argument of convenience the balance lies against the *Regale*; yet the only thing that can determine us in this point is the right, and where *Christ* has plac'd the nomination or deprivation of Bishops whether in the Church or the State.

7. We come now to the great refuge of the *Regale*, the case of *Solomon* and *Abiathar*: Wherein the Assertor has taken much pains, from p. 39. to p. 49. and all the way has mis'd the mark, one would think, studiously; for he insists upon passages that were not brought as any proofs, but only as digressions of curiosity which that subject afforded; as that of *Eli's* usurping the High-Priesthood when he was chief Governor; where suppositions are given on both sides: That of *Abiathar* being no more than the second High-Priest, which I think much more evident. But it is all one to our case, because *Solomon* had no more power to deprive the second than the first High-priest or any Priest at all: There are several things in the Assertor's descants upon these and other out-lying passages, (he loves coasting) with which I could entertain the Reader; but I cannot stay now: I will only press the point in hand.

It is said in the *Case*, beginning of *Sect. viii.* that the sentence of *Solomon* against *Abiathar* was purely a civil sentence, and for a civil crime. The sentence is there set down *verbatim*, and no Man can find any thing else in it. But then it is said, as a consequence of this sentence, that *Abiathar* was thrust out from being Priest, that is, from executing the Priest's office at *Jerusalem*, which was a necessary consequent of his banishment; and the Assertor does urge it no farther, not to imply a degrading him from his office. Well, when he was gone, who should supply his place? For some place he had in the Temple-Service, in the courses of the Priests, 1 *Chr.* xxiv. 3, 6. no matter now whether first, second, or third. That was put upon *Zadok*, who if not always superior to *Abiathar*, (as I still believe he was) yet surely was the next to him; and so had right of course to supply his place during his absence. It is ask'd therefore, whether *Solomon* could have put any other than *Zadok* in the room of *Abiathar*? Could he make any whom he had pleas'd High-Priest? To this the Assertor gives no answer. Then again, it is said, that *Abiathar* was not so much as deprived, because, 1 *Kings* iv. 4. he is, in *Solomon's* reign, and after the sentence of banishment pass'd upon him, still reckon'd Priest jointly with *Zadok*, in the same manner as always before, even in the reign of *David*; and to this nothing is answer'd, so that there appears no more in his mighty case, but a civil sentence pass'd upon *Abiathar*; and during his necessary absence from the Temple, his place or course supply'd by *Zadok*, who had the right so to do: Other conjectures may be discours'd of, and other circumstances which are not told in the text: But this was the answer given; and to this the Assertor has made no reply. One would have thought that this had been

plain enough express'd: But when Men are loth to understand, it is very hard to persuade them. Therefore let me trespass upon the more judicious Readers, to make this yet plainer by a late and familiar example. After Dr. *Sancroft* was depriv'd, and Dr. *Tillotson* put into his place, would the *Present State of England*, giving an account of the great Officers in Church and State, in the reign of King *William*, name Dr. *Sancroft* as still Archbishop of *Canterbury*? Therefore since *Abiathar*, after his being thrust out, and *Zadok* put in his room, was still reckon'd Priest or High Priest, in the reign of *Solomon*, as formerly in the reign of *David*, it must follow that he was not depriv'd; which farther appears by what we have from the *Jewish* Rabbies, that *Abiathar* had the revenues and possessions belonging to his Priesthood still continu'd to him after his banishment and during his life; and was still own'd High-Priest as before. This appears agreeable to the sentence pass'd upon him, 1 *Kin.* II. 26. *Get thee to Anathoth unto thy own fields*; which we find *Josh.* XXI. 18. was part of the possessions given to the Sons of *Aaron* the Priests; and to his still being reckon'd High-Priest in the reign of *Solomon*, 1 *Kin.* IV. 4. here is both his dignity and possessions continued to him. This will not answer our notion of deprivation!

The difference betwixt the way of argumentation used in *The Case*, and by this Assertor, is, that *The Case* goes upon plain matter of fact, which is undeniable, and the surest method of coming at the truth, especially when the dispute is only about matter of fact, as in this case: But the whole stress of the Assertor is in criticising upon an expression, and the wording of an historical relation, which may be capable of different meanings; and he would set up this to overthrow the plain matter of fact deliver'd in the History; whereas the matter of fact is the only sure way to determine the meaning of the expressions.

And it is so sure a way, that tho' the very word *deprived* had been in the text, that *Solomon* had *deprived Abiathar*, yet it must have been understood according to the current of the History, and no otherwise: It is said, *Judg.* XVII. 12. That *Micah consecrated the Levite*: And 1 *Kin.* XIII. 33. That *Jeroboam made and consecrated the Priests*. Here are texts not only for Kings but every Master of a Family to consecrate Priests: More positive than *Solomon's* depriving *Abiathar*, because it is not so expressly said, only that he *thrust him out*, which the Assertor will have to mean *deprived*, and that in the ecclesiastical sense; whereas it is only an expression to shew the consequence of that sentence pass'd upon *Abiathar*; and therefore can never be extended farther than the sentence it self, and must be construed in a sense agreeable to the sentence: But that would not serve the Assertor's purpose; therefore tho' nothing ecclesiastical, but purely civil can be found in the sentence pass'd upon *Abiathar*: And that he was still reckon'd High-Priest as much as before; yet all this notwithstanding it must not be so! Why? Because of the manner in which it was express'd, that he was *thrust out from being Priest*. Yet the Assertor allows that he was Priest still, and was not degraded by this, tho' the word is, *from being Priest*: But that it must infer he was depriv'd, that is, from the exercise of his office, and the word *being* must there mean not *being* a Priest, but only *exercising*—But his banishment did *thrust him out from exercising* his office: So that even upon the nicety of the word, as expounded by the Assertor, there is no necessity of supposing this to be so much as a deprivation; and if the word must stand literally, without any exposition, then it must infer a degradation, which the Assertor will not allow. So that the Assertor will not have the word taken literally and strictly, that *Abiathar* was *thrust out from being a Priest*, as if he were no more a Priest; and the ex-

position

position he gives of *being*, that it signifies in this place only *exercising*, is solv'd by the banishment of *Abiathar*, as well as by his deprivation: But with this difference, that if it was only banishment, he would be still reckon'd High-Priest, as before; because banishment being only a civil punishment it did not at all respect his ecclesiastical character; but if he was depriv'd from his ecclesiastical dignity, and his right to it vacated, then he would no longer, especially after another being put in his place, be call'd by the name of such a dignity, wherein he was superseded. Now the History tells us, that he was still reckon'd High-Priest as much as before; therefore it must follow, that he was not depriv'd, only banish'd instead of being put to death, as others were for the same crime, that is, Treason: And why should not a civil crime be punish'd by a civil sentence rather than by an ecclesiastical? It is most natural: So that on all sides, this passage is clear'd up. And to return the smartness of the Assertor, upon this very instance, p. 46. which he thinks, at least boasts, he has made so clear; *it is he, and the some few on his side* (or if they are never so many) *who have taken incredible pains* (by playing with words, against the current of the History) *to find a knot in a Bulrush*. And there is no need to have recourse to inspiration or extraordinary commissions to solve what *Solomon* did to *Abiathar*, for as the Assertor says truly (*ibid.*) *What signify'd inspiration in this case? The punishment of a Traytor belongs to the regal office.*

Tho' at the same time *Solomon* being inspir'd in so extraordinary a manner, it is much more probable that he had respect to that Prophecy there mention'd, 1 *Kin.* ii. 27. than the Soldiers in casting Lots for the Garments of our blessed Saviour; which the Assertor brings, p. 47. as a parallel case. But the difference of expression is remarkable, for in that of the Soldiers it is said, *That it might be fulfill'd which was spoken by the Prophet*; the Prophecy was thus fulfill'd, tho' the Soldiers knew nothing of it: But in the case of *Solomon* it is not said, *That it might be fulfill'd*, but *That he might fulfill*, which argues something more of intention in *Solomon* than in the Soldiers. But I insist not upon this, or the nicety of expressions; I rather chuse to follow the Clew of the History, and matter of fact which is much more certain: Therefore whether *Solomon* did this by inspiration, or not, is not material to the point in hand, since in the tract of the Story he did no more than what was within the ordinary regal Power; tho' the Assertor can bring no argument so strong against it being done by inspiration, as there is for its being so done.

He dallies likewise with that expression, 1 *Kin.* ii. 35. That the King put *Zadok* in the room of *Abiathar*, and makes it as much an act of the ordinary regal Power, as his putting *Benaiah* in the room of *Joab*, who was General of the Army, p. 45. And he insults too much upon this, before he had put off his Armour. For,

(1.) Whether *Abiathar* was the first or second High Priest, it was the right of *Zadok* to succeed him, supposing him depriv'd. And it was ask'd whether *Solomon* could have put any other in his room? To which the Assertor has not adventured to answer: Whereas I suppose he will make no difficulty to say, that *Solomon* might have put whom he pleas'd in the room of *Joab*.

(2.) Suppose *Abiathar* not depriv'd, only hindered, by his banishment, from executing his part of the courses of the Priests in the Temple (and he had the precedency of eight of the *Twenty four courses*, 1 *Chr.* xxiv. 4.) Then the King's putting *Zadok* over these eight courses (as he was over the other sixteen before) during the absence of *Abiathar*, as it was regular, and only executing the Canons of the Church, which is the right and duty of all christian Kings; so does it come naturally under the head of ordering

ordering the courses of the Priests, which by an express and extraordinary commission was given by God to *David* and *Solomon*, and that in writing, 1 Chr. xxviii. 13, 19. But the Assertor wou'd have had this of *Abiathar* particularly nam'd there; tho' none of the other Priests or their regulations in their courses are nam'd in that Chapter: And besides this was in the reign of *David*, before *Abiathar* had committed that Treason, for which he was afterwards banish'd by *Solomon*: Yet the Assertor is very angry it was not nam'd before it came to pass, and makes this omission a nullity of the whole cause: For *How then comes it to pass* (says he, p. 47.) *That in the account we have of these courses, 1 Chr. xxiv. where, as the Author of the Case himself observes, every thing is most particularly set down, we find not so much as one word concerning this part? The omission of this part, this principal part, had it been really such, was very gross: But no more need be said of this; the silence of the Scripture in this case, is a sufficient refutation of so groundless a surmise.* Here let me observe the dexterity of this Assertor; that most minute and particular description of the Temple and its Utensils, and also for the courses of the Priests, which is set down in the Case, is from 1 Chr. xxviii. But the Assertor here turns the Reader for it to chap. xxiv. as if the Case had plac'd it there; and the Reader not finding it there, there is a full confutation of the Case!

But in the next place, those divisions of the courses mentioned 1 Chr. xxiv. were distributed by *David*, as it is expressly said *ŷ. 3.* which was before this case of *Abiathar* happened.

And is all this to be said in the case of *Solomon's* putting *Benaiah* in the room of *Joab*? Is there no more in one case than in the other? In the case of distributing the courses of the Priests, than of marshalling the Army? Were particular instructions given to *David* or *Solomon* in the one case, as in the other?

(3.) What Prophecy was fulfill'd in the case of *Benaiah*? Or did *Solomon* do it for any such end? Tho' as I said, I insist not on this.

But here tho' the cause be determin'd, yet I must take notice of the Assertor in p. 44. giving up his chief strength, whereupon he lays most stress, tho' as I said, it concerns not the cause at all, that is, that *Abiathar*, and not *Zadok* was the supreme High Priest; till *Zadok* was anointed with *Solomon*, 1 Chr. xxix. 22. And that from that time (which was before the death of *David*) he became the supreme High Priest: For by this, *Zadok*, and not *Abiathar*, was the supreme High-Priest, before the deprivation (as he wou'd have it) of *Abiathar*. Which is all in which this cause is concern'd.

But how does he prove that *Zadok* was not High Priest before? He supposes it in the same place p. 44. because *Zadok* was then anointed, that is, with *Solomon*, when he was anointed to be King: And thence he only supposes, that *Zadok* was not High Priest before. But in the same verse which he there quotes, 1 Chr. xxix. 22. it is said, that they made *Solomon* King the second time; which the Assertor, repeating the verse, leaves out. There was a reason; for why may not a Priest be made, that is, recogniz'd the second or third time, as well as a King? *Saul* was twice made King, 1 Sam. x. 1. xi. 15. And hands were laid upon *Barnabas* and *Saul* after their being Apostles, upon that particular occasion for which they were sent at that time, Acts xiii. 3.

In the next place, he shou'd have prov'd that anointing was necessary for every High Priest: It is not to a King; for he is King, and may be a long time, even all his life, without being crown'd; and he may be crown'd several times, if there be occasion. *Zadok* was called Priest, and always put before *Abiathar*, wherever they are nam'd together, long before this anointing:

anointing: And he being chosen and not *Abiathar*, to be anointed with *Solomon* in the time of *David*, shews that he was then reckon'd the chief of the two: Therefore his being put afterwards in the room of *Abiathar*, was only to supply those courses, which belong'd to *Abiathar*, and not any new advancement of him above *Abiathar*: For as the Assertor will have it, he was above *Abiathar*, and was the supreme High Priest, before that, that is, ever since his being anointed with *Solomon*.

But the Assertor asks, p. 45. *Who ever call'd the banishment of a Priest, a thrusting him from the Priesthood?* Was not the banishment of *David*, when he fled out of the land for *Absalom*, a thrusting him from the Throne? Was not the banishment of King *Charles II.* (to name no more) of the same kind? And it might have been call'd, and was call'd a depriving them of their Kingdoms; yet they did not understand it to be such a deprivation, as destroy'd their Right. When St. *Athanasius* was banished by *Constantine* to *Triers*, might he not be said to be depriv'd of his Church at *Alexandria*? Yet it is not so much as pretended, that the sentence of *Constantine* was an ecclesiastical, or any other than a civil punishment.

This it is to trifle with words, and oppose such Childrens play to solid History and matter of fact.

I think we need not pursue the Assertor any farther upon this point. I shall only desire the Reader to look back to p. 622. and see the reasons there against making this example of *Solomon* a Precedent, if taken in the sense of these Assertors of the *Regale*.

Let me mind them but of one text now come in my way. It is said of *Solomon*, 1 Kin. ix. 25. *And he burnt incense upon the Altar that was before the Lord; so he finished the house.* Yet for attempting the same thing King *Uzziah* was stricken with leprosy to the day of his death. It seems the example of *Solomon* was no safe precedent for him! Tho' the Assertor recommends it to all christian Kings, and says, *It is safe arguing from this precedent.* Which is for more notoriety, put thus in his Contents. Perhaps *Jeroboam* too understood *Solomon's* thrusting out *Abiathar*, as the Assertor has done! And try'd to imitate him, in depriving of his Priests, who were guilty of the same crime, that is, Treason against him: But the thanks he got for it, is no great encouragement for any other King to follow him in the like; and christian Kings are oblig'd to the Assertor for his love in persuading them to try the experiment over again! Moreover let them remember (tho' it will provoke the Priestcraft-Men) that it was reckon'd pride in the King to assume to himself the office of a Priest, 2 Chr. xxvi. 16.

But the *Case* concludes this *Sect.* viii. of *Solomon* and *Abiathar*, with an argument, N. 6. to which the Assertor has thought fit to say—Nothing!

And it is the most material of all; and summs up the whole, that is, that the *Jewish* Kings cou'd not alter the *Aaronical Priesthood*, and set up other Priests in their place. That they cou'd do it, the Assertor durst not assert; and yet what he advances upon this case of *Abiathar*, does infer that they cou'd do it: For by the same right that a King can deprive one Priest, he may another, and another, and so to the end, seeing, as the Assertor owns, p. 50. they all hold, *By one and the same tenure, and are subject to the same power that one is.*

How he comes off of this, is the next thing I present you with.

8. We are now arriv'd at something material, that is, the answer given to what is laid down in the beginning of the *Case*, p. 604. as a foundation for what follows; and which is apply'd p. 630. that the power of deprivation being lodg'd in the State, they may deprive all the Bishops in the Kingdom, and even vacate the apostolick commission, in the hands of the Bishops their

successors. To this says the Assertor, p. 49, 50. that the King may deprive some, but not all in the Kingdom, unless he put others in their room: *And*, says he, *should a Prince be so prophane as to abolish by an Act the whole College of Bishops, no body would be obliged to take any notice of it.* It was said in the same paragraph which he quotes of the *Case*, p. 604. that Episcopacy was vacated in *Scotland*: And again in p. 630. which he likewise quotes in this same place. I will not presume to guess whom he means by prophane, only to let him see into what inconvenience his hypothesis runs him unawares! It will not be stinted: Prerogative must have all or none.

9. Against that position, *That no authority less than that which gives any commission, can stop the execution of it*, he says, p. 51. *That an Archbishop alone may suspend a Bishop, whereas he cannot consecrate* (he should have said *deprive*, to make it come up to the case) *without the assistance of two more at least.* Ans. The power of an Archbishop to suspend, and the limitation not to consecrate or deprive alone, is all from the Canons, which is the authority of the episcopal College; and this the Archbishop does but execute.

10. He falls into a merry vein, and laughs it out for several pages together, from p. 51. to p. 59. at an advantage he thinks he has got, for the relation betwixt a Bishop and his Flock being called a Marriage. Then he applies it literally to Marriage, and being cunning has found out several things wherein they do not exactly agree, and that the simile does not go upon all four. He makes every translation of a Bishop from one See to another an adultery; and then, if there be several translations, the Bishop, (says he) *must be an intolerable Fornicator.* This was witty! or prophane! But in good earnest did this Assertor never hear before of a Marriage betwixt a Bishop and his Flock? Did he think this a new invention of the Author of the *Case*, that he has paid him so unmercifully for it? Did he never hear of a Ring, as well as a pastoral Staff us'd in the investiture of Bishops; and that the Ring was used as an emblem of the Marriage betwixt the Bishop and his Flock? Did he no where read, or has heard, that among the primitive Fathers, particularly in St. Cyprian's time, an anti-Bishop, who usurped upon the rightful Bishop, was called an adulterer?

But he objects that the Marriage is betwixt *Christ* and the Church: That had been materially observ'd if it had not been expressly so declared in the *Case*, in the very place he quotes; where the Bishop is only called an Ambassador of *Christ*, who marries the Church to *Christ* by proxy, and in his name. And then our Bishop representing immediately the Person of *Christ* to us, and standing in his stead, according to the language of St. Ignatius and other the most primitive Fathers, is very good ground to call this a Marriage, tho' but in the secondary sense, betwixt a Bishop and his Flock; and the invader of the Bishops right, an adulterer. And thus the style of the primitive Fathers, more than of the Author of the *Case*, is justified.

But then, why is not the translation of a Bishop from one See to another an adultery, as well as an anti-Bishop thrusting out the lawful Bishop?

Because here are two Husbands or Bishops, and one must be an adulterer: Which in the other case is not.

But can a Bishop once married to a Flock leave that, and be succeeded by another Bishop in his life-time? Yes, as an Ambassador who beds a Queen may be succeeded by another, and another, sent from the same Prince; who may likewise perform the same ceremony if there be occasion for it: And the same Ambassador may marry several Queens in the name of several Princes. But an anti-Ambassador who sets up in opposition to him,

him, and pretends to be delegated from the same Prince, and would rival him in his office, is sure a different case.

He objects again, p. 56. that our Union with *Christ* is immediate: He does not Mean as to his Person. And are the influences of his Holy Spirit less immediate, that they are convey'd to us by outward administrations, as of Prayers, Sacraments, Preaching, &c. and by proper hands whom he has separated for that office? If there be any thing in this objection, it will throw down all Priesthood, Sacraments, and other means of Grace, as well as Bishops: And to keep nearer to the comparison, is a Man's Marriage with his Wife the less immediate, that it is solemniz'd by a Priest?

But it is a strange objection, and which I confess I never dream'd of, that he makes, p. 55. and so runs on with it till he meets with what I named last, and afterwards to p. 58. As if all must be damn'd, without retrieve, who die in the vacancy of a Bishoprick; because then they have no Marriage with *Christ*, for want of Marriage to a Bishop. This is perfect teasing and schooling the Author, to see if he had learned his Catechism. However, I will be in earnest with him, and desire him to consider of the difference betwixt living or dying in the vacancy of a Bishoprick, (since he will have it so) and in open opposition to, and separation from the whole order of Episcopacy which *Christ* has established in the Earth: Or, *Secondly*, To subject that whole order to the arbitrary will and pleasure of secular powers; by admitting it in one case, which includes all the rest: And, *Thirdly*, In alliance of such secular power, to join with an anti-Bishop against the rightful Bishop; whether this be the same case as that of a vacancy?

More especially in this Assertor and others who are for Episcopacy; and and press it as far as the Author of the *Case*, even when they oppose him: For example, in this very place, p. 56. he says, *It is a very false and dangerous position, that who keep outward Communion with the Bishop, do thereby partake of the inward Communion with Christ.* Indeed (says he) *the reverse of this position is true, viz. that whosoever will partake of an inward Communion with Christ, must keep outward Communion with their Bishop; for Schism is as damning a sin as murther or adultery; and if obstinately persisted in to the last, destroys all hope of Salvation.* In the first place, I desire the Assertor to consider here over again his objections of our immediate Communion with *Christ*, and the vacancy of a Bishoprick; and see if he can get loose any way, that will not likewise release the Author of the *Case*. But in the next place, I appeal to the Reader, if he can find out the reverse to that position which is here called false and dangerous, in that other position which is set up for the truth: And whether they do not both seem to be the very same; only that which is called the reverse, is worded more positively and strongly. The difference the Assertor would make, is, as if by the first position it were meant, that keeping outward Communion with the Bishop, were of it self alone sufficient to give the inward Communion with *Christ*, tho' to Atheists and Infidels, (as he words it) but that he makes indeed by the reverse position, keeping outward Communion with the Bishop a *Causa sine qua non*, without which there is no hope of Salvation, while obstinately persisted in. Now can he, can any Man upon the Earth imagine, that when it was said, *He that keeps outward Communion with his Bishop, does partake of the inward Communion with Christ*, it was meant, tho' he did it hypocritically, even tho' an Atheist or Infidel? Did St. Ignatius mean so? Who says in his Epistle to St. Polycarp, Ἀντίψυχον ἔσω—*My Soul for theirs who are in obedience to their Bishop*—*Let my lot be with them.* If a Man says that Grace is conferred by the Sacraments, Prayer, or other means appoint-
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ed of God, must he in every such expression add all the preparation requisite, or else must the position be false and dangerous? Or is it rather to be suppos'd, will not every body suppose that it be done sincerely and with a good heart? I will say no more upon this point, because I believe the Assertor will insist no more upon it.

But in p. 58. there is something has more the face of an answer, that is, to the objection of putting it in the power of the *Regale*, either to give us no more Bishops, or very bad ones. He says, the Dean and Chapter ought not to chuse an unworthy Man, tho' commanded by the *Conge d'Eslier*; nor the Bishops to consecrate him, *Though their refusal cost them not only their estates and liberties, but even their lives too.* That is very true: But first, What if no *Conge d'Eslier* be sent? And the King designs (but does not tell you so) to let your Bishops drop off one after another, and to give you no more? Will you stay to the very last Bishop? Or trust your own jealousies and surmises, and provide for your selves in time? Which yet you cannot do, without incurring a *præmunire*. Would not Men in such a case, be apt to put the evil day far off, and keep out of a Prison as long as they could? They would say, it may do well enough yet; there are so many Bishops left; and when they were come to a few, then it is too late; what can these few do?

And secondly, as to keeping out unworthy Men; a Man may be very much unqualified for a Bishop or a Curate; and yet we may not be able to assign such immoralities or insufficiencies as would stand the tryal of a Jury, which it must come to in this case: For it is now a point of Law. And a Man would be much more apt to say in this than in the former case, come, come, we must not break with the State for such a matter, and may be, have the whole Church ruined, and Presbytery or something else set up, as in *Scotland*: It is true, I wish a better Man were presented; but he may do well enough; and there are other good Men to balance him; he may become better in good Company. We must let him pass; whether there be any grounds for such suppositions as these, let matter of fact determine: Can there one instance be given of a *Conge d'Eslier* refused since the reformation? And we have complain'd of bad Bishops since that time. If a bribe blinds the eyes of the wise; and he is not to be a Judge, no nor an Evidence, or upon a Jury, if he either gain or lose by the cause: Is not a Mans whole estate, his liberty, and his life, and all his hopes of future preferment, too great a byass to corrupt his Judgment? And must the well-being of the Church depend only upon Men, who can be unconcerned for all these?

Besides in *Ireland*, there are no *Conge d'Esliers*, the King makes Bishops there only by his Letters: And the *Conge d'Eslier* is taken away here by Act of Parliament, 1 *Edw. VI. c. 2.* which was repeal'd 1 *Mar. c. 2.* but that of *Mar.* was repeal'd 1 *Jac. c. 25. n. 48.* Whether that does not revive the Statute of *Edw. VI.* is, I suppose, in the breast of the Judges, when the King has a mind to it; and how the *Conge d'Eslier* came to be dropt in *Ireland*, may be enquir'd. But I think they are as secure there, as we are here: For there are as many instances of the King's Letters refus'd there, as his *Conge d'Esliers* in *England*. Whatever it should be, it is evident, that *de facto*, all depends absolutely upon the *Regale*. If you will say, it is best it should be so; that is another point: Then stand to it, and justify it; but pretend not, when pinch'd hard with the consequences, to come off of it, and set up such poor reserves against it.

II. The next that follows in the *Reg. Suprem.* is a long dispute about the meaning of the word Priest, which begins p. 59. and lasts to p. 65. this does, tho' not immediately concern our subject of the *Regale*: Therefore

I must

I must say something to it: He says, p. 59. That there are Priests and a Priesthood in the Church of *England*, *In all senses of the words*: But says afterwards in the same page, *Not in the proper sense of the word*. How! in *all senses*, and not in the *proper sense*! This seems hard to understand. One would think the proper sense of any word had been the chief, if not the only sense: Words may be taken metaphorically, and apply'd to several things, as fire may signify anger, and love, and many other things; but the proper sense is still fire.

But what is his reason why not in the proper sense? He tells p. 61. he makes the *Ratio Formalis* of the Priesthood to consist in offering both gifts and sacrifices for sins. And for fear of the sacrifice of the Mass, he as others, will allow no proper sacrifice under the Gospel Ministration, and consequently no proper Priesthood. And I think Dr. Outram's observation (upon which he chiefly insists) is not just, that the *Aaronical Priesthood was ordain'd chiefly* (which he has left out in the translation, but I take no advantage) *for God, in things pertaining to Men: But the evangelical for Men, in things pertaining to God*. For was not Christ's sacrifice for sins, and the Sacrament of his Body and Blood for the remission of sins (as he express'd it in the words of the institution) as much at least, *in things pertaining to Men*, as the sacrifices under the Law? I know not the meaning of Dr. Outram's distinction, for in all transactions betwixt two Parties, both Parties are concern'd: And I take the proper notion of a Priest to be a Person authorized by God to transact with Men in his name, to seal the Covenants betwixt them; and to administer them on both sides; to present the Prayers and Offerings of the People to God; and on God's part to bless them, absolve them from their sins, and seal it to them, in giving them to partake of his holy Table, thereby admitting them as guests to the Marriage-Feast, which is the proper office of these Stewards of God's Household, whom he has commissioned for that very purpose. The methods and manner of this may alter, but the office is still the same; as St. Iræneus says (*advers. Hæres. l. 4. c. 34.*) *Sacrificia in Populo* (i. e. of the Jews) *Sacrificia & in Ecclesiâ, sed species immutata est tantum*: That is, *There were Sacrifices in the Temple, there are also Sacrifices in the Church, only the kind of them is alter'd*. Tho' an office may be express'd by any part of that office; yet that is not a proper definition of the office: The definition must be a general, which includes all the particulars, as that I have before given of the Priesthood. A receiver of Tithe is made synonymous to the word Priest, *Heb. vii. 8, 23.* because it was part of the Priest's office: So the offering of sacrifice is a part, and but a part of the same office; but no proper definition of the office, more than that of a receiver of Tithe; which now would make the King, and all our impropiators to be Priests.

There may be many things in a Letter of Attorney, or a Commission, and these may be alter'd or chang'd: But it is the general words of the Commission that constitute any Man my Attorney or Representative, so as to oblige me, by what he does, in my name. A Priest is God's Attorney or Representative to Mankind: And the methods of his entering them into Covenant with God, have been vary'd, yet the Office, and his Commission still the same. Under the Law, eating of the sacrifice, was entering into, or renewing of their federal Covenant with God: As it is said, *Psal. l. 5. Those that have made a Covenant with me by sacrifice*. And thus it was understood among the Heathen: Therefore it is said, *1 Cor. x. 21. Ye cannot drink the Cup of the Lord, and the Cup of Devils: Ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's Table, and of the Table of Devils*. And the reason is given, *v. 20. That the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice*

fice to Devils, and not to God: And I would not that ye should have fellowship with Devils. That is; eating part of what was sacrific'd to them, was having fellowship, entering into covenant with them: Thus argues the Apostle against the Jews, Heb. xiii. 10. *We have an Altar whereof they have no right to eat, who serve the Tabernacle.* To eat of the Altar, is, of those things which were offer'd upon the Altar; that is, our christian sacrifice of the holy Eucharist. We offer the Elements before Consecration, upon the holy Table; so it is directed in the *Rubrick* immediately before the *Prayer for the whole State of Christ's Church*, then they are to be plac'd upon the Table; after which done, the Priest shall say, *Lord, accept these our Alms and Oblations.* Alms refer to the Money given at the Offertory; and Oblations, I take it, to the Elements then offered; and for the Margin, *when there is no Alms or Oblations*, that is, neither Offertory nor Sacrament. But however the very placing them upon God's holy Table in a solemn act of Worship, upon his altar, is a solemn dedication of them to him; and then eating of them from thence, is a partaking of his Table, and eating of his Altar: and Altar and Priest are relative terms. It is said, *Psal. xcvi. 8. Bring offerings, and come into his Courts.* These were offer'd by the hands of his Priests: And it was the proper office of the Priesthood. These offerings were sacrifices; there were other sacrifices besides the bloody ones: The prayers and praises of the People, which were offer'd by the Priests, were truly and properly a sacrifice; the incense was but a type of them, and ascended with them, *Rev. viii. 3, 4.* And for invading this part of the Priest's office, the great, and otherwise good, King *Uzziah* was smitten, *2 Chr. xxvi. 16.*

For the bloody sacrifices were not the only; no, nor otherwise an essential part of the Priests office, than as they were made an essential part of the *Jewish* Worship; yet not so essential as the sacrifices before-mentioned of prayers and praises; for these were obligatory upon all, at all times: Whereas the others were confin'd to *Jerusalem*, because the great and true sacrifice was to be offer'd there: But there were Priests properly so call'd, in all the rest of *Israel*, and who truly executed the Priests office to the People. It may please God to alter the institutions by which he will be worshipped; but this alters not the nature of the Priesthood whom he ordains to administer them: It is like an Ambassador receiving new instructions; it makes no alteration in his commission. A general commission to act on the part of God, implies all the particulars that shall be given in command. See the commission first given to the *Levites*, *Deut. x. 8. At that time the Lord separated the tribe of Levi, to bear the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, to stand before the Lord to minister unto him, and to bless in his name, unto this day.* Here is nothing of bloody sacrifice, yet the whole office is here included: The bearing of the Ark ceas'd; yet the Priesthood did not alter, tho' that be the first thing here nam'd in the office; but the last is the whole thing, *to minister to the Lord, and to bless in his name*: This is the whole and proper office of the Priesthood. In what manner and by what means this ministration is perform'd, alters nothing of the office. And our blessed Saviour's commission which he gave to his Apostles; *as my Father sent me, I send you*: And, *whose sins ye remit, &c.* is surely as emphatical as that given to the *Levites*: Yet the fright, as I said, of the sacrifice of the Mass would make some deny Priesthood in the proper sense to the Church of *England*. Why? The Church of *Rome* her self calls that an unbloody sacrifice: Such then are our Oblations, both of the Money we offer, and the Elements before Consecration, and after we may be said to offer the Body and Blood of *Christ*, while through the merits of his

his passion we intercede for mercy, and offer them to interpose betwixt the justice of God and our sins.

It is in this manner, that *Christ* does now offer them in Heaven, and is for ever a Priest, tho' he is not to be sacrific'd again.

Thus his Priests do execute the same office and priesthood upon Earth, which he does in Heaven; and this makes them to be Priests in the most strict and proper sense, even beyond the offering of the typical sacrifices before his coming in the Flesh.

Besides, our Priests in the Church of *England* do offer another sacrifice pursuant to *Rom. xii. 1.* which the Church of *Rome* has forgot, and is not to be found in all her Canon of the Mass, but in our office of Communion: The Priest at the Altar does in our names, *offer and present unto God, our selves, our Souls and Bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto him*; these are unbloody sacrifices; and the Church of *Rome* pretends to no other: Why then should we deny our Priests to be such, in the proper sense, because we have no sacrifice to offer? I have been the longer upon this, because it is a mistake runs among too many; and this Assertor p. 60. squints an insinuation of Popery at those who think there is a proper Priesthood in the Church of *England*. *And for my own part* (says he) *I cannot conceive to what purpose a proper Priesthood is thus drawn in by head and ears, unless it be to make way for a proper sacrifice too: And if that be his reason, it is easy to guess what Men would be at.* If what is said be of any weight, then it appears to what purpose it is more largely insisted upon in the *Case*.

12. Here follows a bitter exclamation, p. 65. for saying, That if the commission of the Church be divine, it sets it above the power of Kings, as well as of the People: Upon which, says he, *Where I wonder had this Man his education? Certainly no Son of the Church of England ever vilify'd Princes at this rate: Have not Princes a divine character as well as Priests? Are they not as much the Lord's anointed as Priests? Are they not as much the Ministers of God as Priests? And are the same things to be said of the beasts of the People?*

Soft and fair good Sir! When your passion is abated, I will speak to you. Kings have a divine commission, and are the Ministers of God; which you are apt to forget sometimes, and set the beasts of the People above them, to judge of their Government, and even depose them: Therefore think again of the great things said of Kings, that they have a divine commission, are the Lord's anointed, his Ministers, &c. *And are the same things said of the beasts of the People?* But Sir, they are of Priests, and greater things than these, as you may see in the *Case*, p. 668, &c. of which you have taken no notice. And yet there is no interferring: The Priests have nothing do with the King's divine commission of the civil Sword, but are subject to it even to death: But then their equally divine commission in spirituals, is as independent upon the civil Sword: Will that satisfy you? Is this plain enough?

But he goes on p. 66. and separates the Person from the Office, says, that the Priests may be depriv'd, but the Office cannot be abolish'd: But what becomes of the Office when the Priests are gone? Where is the Priesthood when there are no Priests? Now to keep on the comparison betwixt Kings and Priests, I would have the Assertor call to mind, that it is made Treason to separate the King's Person from his Authority; which was the distinction of forty one (we have liv'd to see it reviv'd) by which they cut off the head of *Charles Stuart*, without hurting of the King! To obviate this very pretence, it is told in the *Case*, p. 665. how great honour was commanded by God to be paid not only to the Priesthood, but to

the Persons of the Priests : But this too has slipt the observation of the Assertor. If we cou'd see an Office execute it self, without any body to administer it, there might be room for this distinction, till when, as the Assertor concludes this *Thesis*, p. 67. *It will be time enough to consider of it, and not before.*

But as to the instances of *Uzziah*, *Saul*, and *Jeroboam*, he puts all easily off, thus, that *when we allow Princes to administer Sacraments, to commission Lay-Men to do the office of Priests, and to rake Dunghills to fill episcopal Sees, it will be time enough*—As to the first, there were other parts of the Priests office besides burning of incense, and which it had been as unlawful to invade; witness *Jeroboam's* depriving of the Priests of the Lord. The second falls foul upon the Act of Toleration, which qualifies all, whether in orders or out of orders, to do the office of Priests, that is, to preach, and administer the Sacraments. To the third I have spoke already what is needful.

V. We are come now to his VIth *Thesis*, p. 68. *That Kings have supreme authority in the external discipline of the Church.* For which every word of proof he brings are these following; *viz. For all forensick jurisdiction does depend upon the King. Nor can any Person be cited into, or proceeded against, in any ecclesiastical Court without his licence and permission.* This is giving the King a negative (with a witness!) against the power of the keys, and the Church cannot now deliver unto Satan without my Lord Chief-Justice's warrant! But this has been spoke to before, *Seet. III. N. I.* And the Assertor here does barely assert, and offers not one word of proof more than I have repeated, for this most magnificently scandalous part of the *Regale*: Which submits even *Christ* to the King! For he cannot by this ratify the censures of his Church in Heaven without his Majesty's Licence; because without that they cannot be inflicted upon Earth! Or if inflicted, the *Regale* can give a prohibition! Not only as to the temporal penalties annexed by Law, but can order the excommunication itself to be taken off! Which is the sentence given in the secular Courts in such cases. And I have heard of an excommunication during the King's pleasure, which is committing the keys of Heaven to him! But the Assertor goes on, according to wont, to expose and triumph over the *Case*, he says, *We are told indeed that Kings themselves have been excommunicated.* And quotes the *Case*, p. 110. (p. 637. of this Edit.) where the instance is given of *St. Oudoceus*, which he does not deny, but rejects with scorn. They have put their whole cause upon precedents; yet when precedents are given on the contrary side, what care they for precedents. When *Constantine* speaks against them, he was but a young Christian, and meant not what he said! They were only some warm words! And it was impossible that *St. Athanasius*, or *Hosius*, or any other should say what they did! They can (that is, they fain wou'd) prove contrary practices in them: They could write a History of Passive Obedience against them. And those godly Kings and Princes who gave up their *Regale*, and said it was a most wicked thing, and would send their Souls to Hell fire, yet did not do it out of Conscience! They had some fetch or other in it! They were afraid of the Ecclesiasticks perhaps! Or it was through bigotry to the See of *Rome*! (as the Assertor suggests, p. 36, 37.) tho' they refused the Pope's grant for it when freely offer'd, and press'd upon them, and ventured his displeasure in rejecting and burning his Bulls with indignation! As is told in the *Case*, from Bishop *Burnet's History of the Regale*. And when, to get out of the objection of Popery, this instance of *St. Oudoceus* is given here in *England*, before Popery set foot in it, then Princes have now more Wit, and Bishops more Grace! Which is the answer here given to it, p. 69.

And

And yet in the same page (this Book is full of wonders!) the principle is asserted, that *this power may and ought, upon just occasions, to be exercis'd even over the Prince himself, as St. Ambrose exercis'd it upon Theodosius the Emperor.* The same instance is given in confirmation of the same principle, in the second Homily, *Of the right use of the Church,* which (as hereafter quoted) says plainly that *St. Ambrose did excommunicate the Emperor, and brought him to open penance.*

Now why so angry at *St. Oudocus*, and yet approve so much of *St. Ambrose*? Because *St. Oudocus* is an instance here in *England*, and brings it nearer home!

The rest of this *Thesis* is spent against giving the holy Sacrament to unqualify'd Persons, to fit them for places: Wherein I have nothing to oppose.

VI. His VIIth *Thesis* is, *Kings have supreme power over Synods, to call them when they see convenient, to preside over their debates, and to give their Canons the Force of Laws.*

I. To which I have already said, that Kings may call Synods: And they may preside in them, for this end; to see that they assume not to themselves the civil power: And to give Canons the force of civil Laws, is wholly in the State. But the question is, whether the Clergy may not meet in Council when they see necessity for it, without the King's leave, or even against his command, if the case so require? And to do the Assertor justice; he grants it in many places; but in as many he denies it, he says here, p. 71. *Were it in the power of the Clergy to meet in Synods when they please, and to make what Laws they please, they might corrupt Religion as they pleas'd, and there would be no remedy.* But he presently saw the consequence of this, that Religion must be trusted in some hands or other; and that this would put it as absolutely in the power of the State to corrupt Religion as they pleas'd. And then the question would come naturally, in whose hands *Christ* left his Religion, whether of the Church or of the State? And he quotes the *Case*, p. 13. (here p. 608.) that this would dissolve the Church, or make her subsist precariously, at the mere will and pleasure of the State. In answer to which, he throws at the Author the 12th Canon 1603. where I take the word *Ecclesiastical* in the Law sense, for such ecclesiastical causes as have their foundation from the Laws of the Land, as the probat of Wills, Certificate of Bastardy, legal Divorce, &c. or such causes, which, tho' in their own nature purely spiritual, yet have temporal penalties annexed to them, as Excommunication, Heresy, &c. And therefore, so far as the Law is concern'd, must be cognizable by the Law; In short, this Canon must be construed in the same method as those called *Erastian Acts of Parliament*, in the *Case*, Sect. ix. But if it cannot be sav'd from being *Erastian*, nor those Acts of Parliament, if the Assertor thinks so, it lies upon him, or those that so think to defend them: Truth will not alter for them: And if they be wrong they ought to be set right.

But this Canon may be easily turn'd upon the Assertor: For in the very next page, p. 73. he allows the Church to meet in Synod, without leave of the State, that is, in cases of necessity. Now ware Canon! For who is judge of this necessity? If the Church, she may meet when she will; and if the State, she can never meet without their leave.

I wou'd here, it being in my way, return the Assertor's civility, in the next page, p. 74. where he takes occasion to give an obliging character of the other works of him whom he supposes to be the Author of the *Case*, and even of that part of the *Case* which touches not the *Regale*, but speaks of the *Pontificate*; and (kindly to him) supposes that it must be the badness of the cause which made his performance come so far short in that of the *Regale*.

But might not another consideration have come in his way? That since he lik'd every thing else of whom he suppos'd the Author, there might be a reason why he found himself oblig'd to oppose him in this only! Did this cause touch no concern, no expectation? It did none of that Author, unless to expose him to more displeasure: And that does not usually byass a Man's judgment to his prejudice.

Others think this the best thing he has done: And the Papists except only against that part of the *Pontificate*, as the Assertor does of the *Regale*.

The Quakers except only against what concerns them: Which the Assertor approves of.

And other Dissenters say all had been well enough if he had not meddled with them.

Thus you see, every Man to his mind.

I believe that Author had no design to displease any body.

Yet would rather venture that than be false to what he thought to be truth.

And he thinks himself obliged to any who have but a moderate opinion of his endeavours.

Therefore, in return for that Author, I will own, that the Assertor has just thoughts of the Church, and of Episcopacy; and that those turns and shifts which look so like contradictions, were the effects of his cause which could afford no better: Or if he was put upon it, the excuse may be accordingly; what is done against one's will, has seldom the air of the Parent: And if I guess right at the Man, it is the slightest thing has come from him except one.

2. He answers the instances given of the dismal effects of the *Regale* by Bishop *Burnet*, from whom the *Case* takes it, by laying it only upon the Male-Administration of those Princes, which answer may be given to the judgments that have follow'd all usurpations. But then, p. 76. he makes a comparison betwixt the effects of the *Regale* in the hands of Kings, and of Ecclesiasticks: But instances only in the *Regale* of the Pope. And indeed there may be work for a comparison there: But to draw the conclusion from thence to Ecclesiasticks in the general, is, at best, not good logick. The primitive Government of the Church was in the hands of Ecclesiasticks before the *Regale* either of Popes or Kings were in fashion: And we us'd to call those the purest ages of the Church.

3. He repeats an objection already spoke to, of the State's oppressing too much, or suppressing the Church: And then gives her leave to fly to her own power. I need not repeat what has been said to that; but I only take notice here of a long quotation he brings from K. *Charles I.* and thinks his authority must not be questioned: Whereas it is told in the very pages, 251, 252. of the *Case* (here p. 677.) which he quotes p. 80. that the principle of *Erastianism* did prevail too much at that time: And the King himself might be tainted with it in some measure: Which yet is no argument against his sincerity, no, nor his Martyrdom, for those rights of the Church, in defence of which he laid his head upon the block. To this the Assertor *nihil dicit*; but he falls foul upon the *Case* for naming *Erastian* Laws, when before, that Author had endeavoured to clear our Laws from being *Erastian*. But have they not been so understood and practised, especially in that Rebellion of Forty One, of which he then spoke? And if he could clear them, in their true sense and meaning, from that odious objection, I think there is none ought to be angry with him: At least they may be favourable to so good an intention, whatever the performance may prove.

4. We are now near an end: He begins p. 82. with his answer to several Councils that are quoted in the *Case*, p. 108. (here p. 637.) But what are they quoted for? It was to answer an objection, that the *Regale* was all along the constant and uniform doctrine of the Church: And provocations were given in most peremptory terms, to shew but one instance to the contrary. But in answer to the Councils here produc'd, the Assertor falls a battelling the authority of this and the other: For the seventh and eighth general Councils (saith he, p. 87.) *as they are called, they deserve no more notice than the Council of Trent.* But call them what you will, they are good evidence in this case. The point is a matter of fact, whether the *Regale* was generally and universally, even without any exception, the doctrine of those ages? And what better evidence would you have than what those ages called general Councils? We are not now saying whether the doctrine be good or bad; but whether there was such a doctrine: And the Council of *Trent* itself is the best evidence in the world, what was the doctrine of those that compos'd that Council.

Well then, we come to some Councils against which the Assertor has no objections. 1. Counc. *Constant.* A. D. 380. c. 6. this was the second general Council; there it says, *That if any have a complaint against a Bishop, he must bring it before the Synod of all the Bishops of the Province or Diocese. And if any shall despise this decree, and presume to trouble either the Emperor or the civil Courts, or an œcumenical Council with it, he shall, &c.* And says the Assertor, p. 84. *That if the Prince have no power to sit Judge upon a Bishop, neither has an œcumenical Council.* But, by his leave, the case is different: An œcumenical or general Council is not always in being, sometimes not one in many ages: And if appeals thither were admitted from all ordinary Synods of Bishops, it would be perfectly an eluding of Justice. But Kings and Civil Courts never die, they are always forth coming: Therefore this could not be the reason of forbidding appeals to them: And for what other reason let the Assertor study against next time.

But there is an elder Council than this there quoted, to the same purpose, which clears this subterfuge, the Council of *Antioch*, A. D. 341. c. 12. which the Assertor is not at the pains to give us, as he does the rest, for a certain reason; which he wou'd not have you enquire, when he says of that of *Constant.* *This is the most pertinent of all his quotations:* And passes over that of *Antioch*, c. 12. only thus, *It is to the same effect with that the Council of Constant. above.* It is so; but if he had set down the words, as he did that of *Constant.* it wou'd have spoil'd his Criticism (by which he thinks to escape) about œcumenical Councils: For they are not nam'd in this Canon of *Antioch*, which says, *If any Presbyter or Deacon being depos'd by his own proper Bishop, or a Bishop by the Synod, dare appeal to the King, seeing his appeal lies to a greater Synod of more Bishops, where he is to wait the examination of his cause, and to refer the decision to them: But if making light of these, he go to the King with it; such an one deserves no pardon, nor ought to be admitted to make any sort of Apology, or to have hopes of his being ever restor'd any more.* What was the reason of this great severity? What not to be heard? Not to be admitted to make any sort of Apology? How cou'd they tell what reason he might give for it? No; there cou'd be no reason; it was making the civil Power judge in an ecclesiastical cause; which they look'd upon as a total giving up the Charter of the Church. They understood not to say to the Sea of civil Power, *Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther.* To make King or Parliament judge of the deprivation of Presbyters or Deacons,

cons, much more of Bishops; to divest themselves of their own proper authority; and when disarm'd, to think to capitulate!

Now instead of the Assertor's saying, this was to the same effect with that of *Constant.* he shou'd have said, that of *Constant.* was to the same effect with this, for this was elder: And perhaps some after this, being thus barr'd from appeals to the civil Power, found out this method of eluding the justice that was ready to overtake them, by appealing to an œcumenical Council, which might not be till after they were dead; and therefore that the Council of *Constant.* did add this of appealing to œcumenical Councils, to that Canon of *Antioch*; but without the least umbrage of their altering any thing of the rest of the Canon, which by repeating, they confirmed.

The Assertor after this gives a short account of several Canons of other Councils quoted, which he thinks not pertinent to the cause in hand: They are about settling the times of the sitting of the Synods, the methods of prosecution against Bishops and other Clergy-Men, in ecclesiastical causes and other points of ecclesiastical discipline; which being by these Canons wholly preserv'd in the hands of the Church, I think, with his leave, are very pertinent to shew, that she had no recourse to the *Regale*, in managing the affairs of her own Body, but acted therein wholly independent to the civil Power.

But he comes p. 86. to the Council of *Eliberis*, which says he, *Can. 56. Requires a Magistrate to absent from Church during the year of his Duumvirate.* And adds, *Here's a Magistrate excommunicated, and that is something to the purpose: But it ought to have been considered withal, that the Duumvirate was but an inferior office; and which moreover in those unhappy times was not to be innocently executed.* This is all he says to it. As to the first, the title of this Canon is, *De Magistratibus & Dominantibus; Of Magistrates, and Rulers or Governors*, which includes all, where there is no exception.

For the second excuse, that the office of the Duumvirate was not to be innocently executed, he shou'd have given us some reason for it. Was it an ecclesiastical commission from the *Regale*? That objection lay against the very nature of it: But if it was wholly a civil office, and that it cou'd not be innocently executed; then it will operate more strongly against the Assertor and the *Regale*; for here is the Church interposing her authority most independently upon the *Regale*; and excommunicating not only a single Magistrate, but all who durst presume to take upon them a civil office, established by the State, which the Church thought was not to be innocently executed. The Assertor must throw us in this Council too, with the 7th and 8th general Councils, which he hath discarded before; and I suppose had done it, but that it is a very ancient one: It was *Anno Domini 308.*

Next follows, *ibid.* p. 86. his Answer to the 30th Apostolical Canon (thirty one is added in the *Case*, only because in some Editions of the Councils, this Canon is made the 30th, in others the 31st) which forbids Bishops to be promoted by means of secular Princes, under pain of deprivation.

To which says the Assertor, p. 86, 87. There were no secular Magistrates then but Heathen: Therefore that this will not reach the case of christian Princes. This is *Gratis dictum*; if they are not excepted they are included. But *Secondly*, The before-mention'd Councils were in the reigns of christian Princes; and they are the best Expositors we can have of the Apostolical Canons; and by the way, these Councils are received in the Church of *England.* *Thirdly*, The Assertor p. 6. to 11, argues the inherent Right of all Princes,

Princes, even Heathen, to this Power: He says, *All Princes have the same Right to the Regale or Supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs; for that they hold it Jure Coronæ, in Right of their Crowns.* And cou'd it indeed be suppos'd (says he, p. 10.) that a Pagan Prince wou'd exercise this authority to the ends for which God hath entrusted him with it, there is no question to be made, but that it ought to be submitted to; as the Decrees of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius for the honour of the true God, Dan. III. 29. VI. 26. But if God has intrusted them with this authority, it is not in the power of Man to take it from them; no, nor to hinder their exercise of it: For what was it given for? And how do we know but they will exercise it well, till they are try'd? They may do well at one time, and ill another; they may mend like other Folks: But it seems the Apostolical Canon had no mind to trust them. They might speak fair like *Nebuchadnezzar*, some times; and in another Mood, throw them into the fiery Furnace.

However this we have gain'd, that now by confession on all hands, christian Princes have no other foundation for their *Regale* than Heathens; and if we may stop the exercise of it, and the Church take it into her own hands, for her own preservation in case of an infidel King (I suppose he will give us a Papist too into the bargain; and then why not a Presbyterian, &c.) who may be a virtuous good moral Man, and love to see his subjects prosper, tho' of a different Religion, and make good Decrees like *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Darius*, even to build our Temple too, as *Cyrus*; and wou'd desire to see sober and virtuous Bishops, rather than wicked, who might debauch the People, in their very Morals: I say, if even in this case, we must stop the exercise of the *Regale* in the hands of such a wise, sober, and virtuous Prince; how much more reason is there to take it from a young, foolish, profligate, and debauch'd Prince, who may be an *Atheist* too, tho' he was christen'd in his infancy? Yet he must have the style of most serene and august; ay, and be pray'd for too, as our most religious and gracious King! For these are only titles to his office! And he will be less apt to part with his *Regale*, or the least punctilio of his prerogative, than a better Man; and like *Saul*, to cut off the whole City of the Priests, if a *Doeg* do but whisper him in the Ear. Therefore if we will not endeavour to settle the *Regale* in the time of a good Prince, a bad one will not let us.

5. He concludes with a threat of excommunication against the Author of the *Case*, from the 2^d Canon of our Church, *Anno Domini 1603.* for denying the *same authority, in causes ecclesiastical,* to our Kings, *that the godly Kings had amongst the Jews, and christian Emperors of the primitive Church.*

By christian Emperors here, I suppose is meant the good ones, as *Constantine* who disown'd any Right he had to the *Regale*; and other godly Kings and Princes who when possess'd of it by the Laws of their Country and prescription from their Ancestors, yet gave it up, and renounc'd it as a most wicked and damnable thing, that wou'd send their Souls to Hell-fire, for such an encroachment and usurpation upon *Christ* and his Church.

We will not suppose, that the heretical Emperor *Constantius* is here meant, who first usurp'd the *Regale*, or others after him who continu'd, and improv'd it.

Or if contrary practices of the same Emperor can be found, some times disowning the *Regale*, and at other times pretending to it: I hope we are at liberty to chuse which side of such precedents shall be found most agreeable to the Laws of *Christ*, to the frame and foundation upon which he built his Church.

And for the godly Kings amongst the *Jews*, it is the exprefs argument of the *Case* to allow the fame (but no more) authority to our christian Kings: And by this, that Author hopes that the cause is determin'd; since without criticifing upon particular expreffions, as what the thrusting out of *Abiathar* means, whether it is to be taken in the civil or ecclesiastical sense, &c. the matter of fact is evident, past all dispute or denial of this, or any other Assertors, that it was not within the ordinary and allowed *Regale* of the *Jewish* Kings, to exauctorate the Priests of *Levi*, or to put others in their room: For doing of which, one of their Kings was severely cursed of God.

Therefore if allowing less to our Kings than the Canon requires, does incur an excommunication; what is it to allow them more? From the first, the Author of the *Case* is free: But the Assertor is manifestly under the second; And the consequence is not only against a Canon of our Church, but of holy Scriptures, and of the primitive catholick and apostolick Church, which we profess in our Creed.

And now I think we have quite done: For what follows from p. 89. concerning the 37th Article, is spoke to before.

If I have taken needless pains, and been too minute in reply to this answer, I have only to say,

First, That it is the only one has yet appear'd; and perhaps may be the last.

Secondly, It argues more respect to the Author, to leave nothing he has said unconsider'd.

Thirdly, It may serve to set this matter in a clearer light, and remove those popular prejudices which carry away unthinking People without examining.

21 April, 1701.



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A
DISSERTATION
 Concerning the
USE and AUTHORITY
 OF
Ecclesiastical History.

In a LETTER to Mr. Samuel Parker on his Abridgment of Josephus.

Dear SIR,



AM very glad you have employ'd those good talents, God has given you, to the study of History, especially the ecclesiastical, which will serve best to the ends you propose, of promoting the interests of God's Church; in an age where she is so far lost, as to be almost forgotten: And though we keep her name, she is yet unknown to most, what she truly is, or what it is that belongs to her. To retrieve which the best method will be, to shew her in her primitive face; and then Men will see how she has improv'd or degenerated. A picture allures more than description; and matter of fact beyond many arguments: Discourses tell us of things, but History shews them to us.

But of all History, the ecclesiastical is the most beneficial; as much more as the concerns of the Church are beyond that of the State; our Souls above that of our Bodies; and our eternal State more than the moment we have to stay in this World.

Secular History may make us States-Men and Politicians: But the ecclesiastical will make us wise unto Salvation.

There we see the rise and growth of Heresies and Schisms; and how these Tares were sown, while the Husband-Man slept; how soon they

were beat down while the Watch-Men were vigilant and zealous: But when they put on a sort of moderation, and would compound, how the weeds in a moment over-spread the face of the Vineyard; that it requir'd even Miracles sometimes to retrieve it!

There we see the beginning and encroachments of Erastianism, more fatal to the Church than persecution; when Court-Bishops gave up the sacred *Depositum* committed to their charge, into the hands of Kings and States, for worldly considerations.

And there, and there only, I may say, is the decision of all controverted points in Divinity, either as to Doctrine or Discipline: For every one of them must be determin'd by matter of fact. It is not refining, and criticisms, and our notions of things, but what that Faith was which at first was deliver'd to the Saints. This is matter of fact, and must be determin'd by evidence: And where any text of the New Testament is disputed, the best evidence is from those Fathers of the Church who liv'd in the apostolical age, and learn'd the Faith from the mouths of the Apostles themselves, such as St. *Clement*, *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*, &c. These must know the best sense and meaning of the words deliver'd by the Apostles: And next to them, they to whom they did deliver the same, and so on through the several ages of the Church to this day.

And those Doctrines, and that Government of the Church which has this evidence, must be the truth.

And they who refuse to be determin'd by this rule, are justly to be suspected; nay, they give witness against themselves, that they are departed from the truth.

Thus the Church of *Rome* will not be concluded by the evidence, but by what they call the authority of the Church: Then they make this authority the same in all ages; and so settle all upon the authority of the present Church: Then they vainly supposing themselves to be the whole World, or the catholick Church, or the Pope the head of it; and consequently none to be true Members of it, who own not his universal Supremacy (who always were, and are at this day more than ten parts to one against those Churches which did, or do own it;) they take upon them to impose new Articles of Faith, as at *Trent*; and assume the authority of the whole apostolical College to themselves.

But as the famous Arch-bishop of *Spalato*, *Marc. Anton. de Dom.* said, the farther he travel'd upwards in antiquity, he still found more of the episcopal, and less of the papal authority, which he complain'd had in his time, quite swallow'd up the episcopal at *Rome*, and gives this as the reason, in his *Concilium Professionis*, for his quitting his Archbishoprick, and other preferments in the Church of *Rome*, and his coming over to the Church of *England*, in the reign of our King *James I.* to seek for a more pure and primitive Episcopacy: And this he did, as he tells himself, before he had ever read a Protestant Book, or convers'd with any Protestants; but merely by his searching into antiquity.

The same method wou'd baffle and silence our vile Sectaries, of several sorts: For example, who can read the History which you have epitomis'd, and doubt that Episcopacy, was the government of the Church, at that time, and before, all over the christian World? And as to that childish rattle, which the Presbyterians play with of going to the Etymology of the words, Ἐπίσκοπος, Πρεσβύτερος, and Διάκονος, it can have no more weight with any Man of sense that reads *Eusebius*, than the word *Imperator* being us'd sometimes for the General of an Army, could persuade any that read the *Roman* History, to believe that there never was an Emperor in *Rome*.

But

But as none can undertake this method except Men of learning; so where they have manag'd the controversial points of Divinity in this manner, such works have always been best receiv'd in the World, and have proved most effectual and unanswerable, as the celebrated Forbess of *Corse*, his *Instructiones Historico-Theologicae*; the learned *Cosin*, Bishop of *Durham*, his *Scholastical History of the Canon of the holy Scripture*, and his *History of Transubstantiation*, which none of our Adversaries of the Church of *Rome* have attempted to answer: For plain matter of fact will not bend, or suffer us to dodge and fence with it, as we may do for ever about poor criticisms of words, and speculations of our own inventing.

They who read not Ecclesiastical History, and the primitive Fathers, must take their knowledge at second hand upon trust from others; which some think to supply with reading modern Systems and courses of Divinity, whereby they may have all at once, and be thereby likewise better enabl'd to understand the Controversies of our own age.

But as these are grafted upon the ages foregoing; so the best method of seeing clearly into them, is to examine upwards, and read downwards from the beginning: There we shall find many of those seemingly exalted, and new notions set up by the various Sects amongst us, to have been old exploded Heresies condemn'd by the catholick Church, and only new vampt by subtle enemies crept in among us, to divide and distract the ignorant and unstable.

It is a thing much to be lamented, that so many of our Clergy (though generally the most learned of any in any Nation upon the Earth) some out of poverty, having no Money to buy Books, no, nor to provide bare necessities, since the scandalous and sacrilegious impropriations made of their Tythes; first by the Pope, and then worse diverted by those who should have restor'd them; and others out of laziness and avocations to secular affairs, content themselves with two or three *Dutch* or *German* Systems of Divinity, and some modern Books upon the contests now a-foot; whereby they can bear up something of Discourse, upon general topicks, but know nothing to the bottom.

This disease had crept much even into the Universities, not only while they were oppress'd and purg'd during the usurpation of Forty One, by those who hated learning, because it made against them: But before that time the modern Polemicks then bandy'd in *Holland* and here, of *Calvinists*, *Arminians*, *Remonstrants*, *Anti-Remonstrants*, &c. had taken up most of the Studies of the young *Genius's* at the Universities, to fit themselves for that War; whereby the learning of antiquity from the early Fathers, and of Ecclesiastical History was in a great measure laid aside, and much impair'd.

Which having been observ'd by that great Archbishop *Laud*, he, when Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, apply'd the proper remedy, and order'd the heads of the Houses to direct the young Students to the reading of antiquity, beginning at the first ages of the Church, and so downwards; which has exceedingly rais'd the glory of that University, as of the other of *Cambridge*, which follow'd the same example; whence so many learned works have been produc'd, in our Kingdoms, of the true and solid antiquity, as have in a manner reviv'd the first ages of the Church, and given us noble Editions of some of the greatest of the Fathers; with hopes to see the same method gone through with the rest: The emulation of this has likewise gone into other Countries, and improv'd learning every where.

Nay, even among the Fanaticks themselves, who tho' they are fill'd with indignation to see this method pursu'd, and have wrote spiteful Books against the Fathers, to destroy their authority, yet are forc'd to come into them,

A DISSERTATION concerning

and have taken pains to gather scraps out of them, which **they** wrest to favour their new opinions. Fain would they have antiquity **on their side**, if they could get it; and when it will not do, they rail at it, and run down Fathers, Councils, and Ecclesiastical Histories, all in a lump; and would have us take their light within for the only true interpreter of Scripture! While at the same time they give us Histories of their vile Sects, their beginnings, progress, success, models, discipline, doctrine, &c. to preserve their memories to future ages, and to be a pattern for them: Yet they will not allow this to the Apostolical, and next succeeding ages; or that we can know them by the Histories and Writings of those times.

In which we find nothing of the Papal Supremacy, or Presbyterian Parity; but flagrant Episcopacy every where in all Churches: Yet with this difference, that whereas our Dissenters have this plea only left, to bawl and wrangle, as if our Bishops took more upon them, and assum'd greater authority than those primitive Bishops did pretend to over their Presbyters and People; the case is so far otherwise, that if our Bishops should speak now in the language us'd by those early apostolical Bishops, that rout would be ready to stone them, and cry out blasphemy! If they were told, that the Bishop does immediately represent the Person of *Christ*: That therefore as the Apostles and Disciples were obedient to *Christ*, so ought the Presbyters, Deacons, and Laity, to be obedient to their Bishop: That who kept not outward Communion with his Bishop, did forfeit the inward Communion with *Christ* the Head: That even Prayers and Sacraments out of the Communion of the Bishop, were like the Offerings of *Korah*, Rebellion against the Lord: But *my Soul for theirs who keep Communion with their Bishop*; for that he is the Principle of Unity in his Church, and who is not in Communion with him, is out of the Unity of the catholick Church: This would be call'd high-flying with a witness! Yet this was the language of the holy *Ignatius*, and those primitive, and even Apostolical times.

How far short of this is the style and the pretensions of our present Bishops? Yet we hear these Sons of *Korah*, in his very words (which they still retain, as well as his arguments) telling their Bishops, *Ye take too much upon you*: And the reason, *seeing all the Congregation are holy, every one of them, and the Lord is among them; wherefore then lift ye up your selves above the Congregation of the Lord?* They set up their own holiness (humble Men of heart!) against those Governors set over them by *Christ*; and call their authority, a *Lording it over the Heritage of the Lord*: Their authority, which is dwindled almost to a shadow, from that which was left by the Apostles to the Bishops whom they ordain'd; and exercis'd by them with the joy and consent of all good Christians, for many ages; and all this upon the pretence that our Bishops have enlarg'd their authority above that of the first Bishops!

But all this is cur'd by consulting the original Records and Histories of the Church, by which it will appear how groundless and contemptible the pretensions are of both Pope and Presbyter, who are join'd like *Sampson's* Foxes, with Fire-brands, tho' they look several ways, to ruin and depress the primitive Episcopacy. The one would have no Bishop but himself; the other would have none at all: Let either of them see what footsteps they can find of either of these Schemes, in your *Eusebius*, or in any Writer before his time.

The frame of the Church was then in the full authority of every Bishop over his own Flock, as well Presbyters as People, as he who must give an account to *Christ*, the chief Shepherd; and in the mutual agreement and correspondence of the Bishops among themselves, for the joint Regimen of the

the whole Body, according to such Canons and Rules of Ecclesiastical Discipline, as they settled among themselves; which is exactly parallel to the Government in which God has disposed the World, the full and independent authority of each particular Government in the several Nations of the Earth, over their own Subjects; and what we call the Law of Nations, as a Rule among the several Kings and States, for the preservation of the whole. And as God, in his infinite wisdom, has not thought it best for the World to set one universal Monarch over it all; but has consulted better for the peace and security of Mankind, in many independent Kings, who may balance one another, and be Guarantees in the Treaties of peace among themselves: So, as St. Cyprian has observ'd Christ *did therefore make the College of Bishops numerous, that if one should prove heretical, or seek to devour the Flock, the rest might mercifully interpose for the saving of it.* But if this power were lodg'd in any one universal Bishop, then, as St. Gregory the Great wisely argues, *If that universal Bishop should fall, the whole universal Church may fall with him.*

On the other hand, if every Government were not intire and absolute within it self, they could not rule their own Subjects; and so could not contribute towards the general peace of the World: So that the Presbyterian Parity would unhinge all particular Governments, and render the Government of the World a mere Chaos and a Mob.

Now the State and History of the primitive Church shews this by a stronger argument, that is, of fact, what was the Government of the Church, as establish'd and left by the Apostles; for that is it which must, after all our reasonings, determine us: It is not what schemes and contrivances we may fancy, but what that Government was, which *de facto*, the Apostles left in the Church; and that must continue, till a greater, at least as great an authority shall alter it.

But some think, that the Apostles left no standing Government in the Church, but what might be alter'd by the Church in after-ages; according to occasions and emergencies; and so Episcopacy, Presbytery, or any thing else may come in—These make no great matter of the Government of the Church, so as (they cry) the Doctrine be secur'd. But they consider not that the Government was ordain'd to secure the Doctrine: And no instance can be given from Jeroboam downward, where the change of the Government did not bring along with it a change of Doctrine, as the Apostle argues, *Heb. vii. 12. For the Priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the Law.* And as in temporal Kingdoms, there cannot be a change of Government, without a change also of the Law; so is it in the Kingdom of God upon Earth, which is the Church. Every small Corporation is jealous of their Government, and look upon any infraction upon that to be an invasion of their rights and liberties: The Church alone, with us, is render'd precarious, and her Government of no consequence! What stress God laid upon it, may be seen in the business of Korah; and how near to heart it was laid in the primitive Church, we see in the first invasions were made upon the Episcopal Authority. How was all the Church in a flame, and the Bishops every where concern'd themselves upon Novatus thrusting himself into the See of Cornelius, as being an infraction upon the Rules and Rights of the Episcopal College? How did the great St. Cyprian cry out, upon this occasion, that whoever invaded the See of another Bishop, was not *Secundus, sed Nullus*; no second Bishop while the first was alive, and not synodically depos'd, by the Episcopal College, for Heresy, or other Crimes deserving it? For the Right of every Bishop in the Earth is herein concern'd, and consequently of the whole Church, of her whole constitution, as a Society, that is, as a Church: And

it was not then thought a matter of so little moment, to suffer the pillar and ground of the truth to be shaken: For if the Church goes, the truth which she supports, goes with her, is impair'd or improv'd with her; for *Christ* has founded it upon her, has built the Faith upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, himself the chief corner stone; and has promis'd to be with the Apostles and their Successors, to the end of the World. Is it then a matter so indifferent who are their Successors? Who should be the Center of Unity in every Church? Who should represent the Person of *Christ* to us, and sign and seal his Covenants with us, in his name, and by his commission? Can any invested with such an authority be put in and out at pleasure, at every Body's pleasure, of Kings, of States, nay, of the Mob, be voted up and down by them?

While the Church retain'd her primitive Discipline, and preserv'd the bounds of the Sanctuary free from popular and all Lay-Usurpations, how was the Faith made glorious, and the christian Zeal shone far and wide, to the disarming, and conversion of her Adversaries?

But in after-times, when her authority was lessen'd, swallow'd up by the Pope, and put all into his hands; prey'd upon by the secular powers; divided and torn asunder by rebellious and ambitious Presbyters; and lastly, trod under foot by the Beasts of the People; how were the Flood-Gates open'd of all vile Errors and Heresies, which over-spread the face of the Church?

Let me name two examples known to every body: The first is, when Episcopacy was totally subdu'd among us, in the former successful Revolution of Forty One, what a prodigious swarm of new-broach'd Heresies and Sects rose up all of a sudden, and over-spread the face of the Land? You will find the names of most of them in *Heresiography* and *Gangrena*, wrote in those times; they were about the number of those reckon'd by *Epiphanius*, that is, Sixty. No Nation upon the Earth since christianity, ever saw so dismal a sight at any one time!

But so soon as Episcopacy was restor'd, with the banish'd King, *An. 1660.* these all (except three or four of chief name) instantly disappear'd, as mists before the Sun.

The second instance I shall give, is, the state of the Church since the last Revolution in 1688. wherein Episcopacy was abolish'd in *Scotland*—*in ordine ad*—And though the time was not come for going so far in *England* (by a seasonable interposition of providence) yet all preparations were made for it: The power and management both in Church and State, were put into the hands of the enemies of Episcopacy: Its divine Rights, or any Right at all, above the reach of an Act of Parliament, was taken away, and effectually disown'd, by the Act for Lay-Deprivations. Hence a Schism arose in the Church of *England*, (the first since the Reformation) and Bishops and Anti-Bishops were set up.

Since which time, the Flood-gates of Heresy have been again set open. The *Socinians*, otherwise call'd *Unitarians*, so rampant, that besides the liberty of the Press, and free owning of themselves, even in Coffee-Houses, without the least restraint, they proceeded so far, as to lay the scheme for the open and publick profession of their Religion, to build and endow Churches for themselves, &c. as we are told in the life of *Thomas Firmin*, their indefatigable Agent.

Sir Robert Howard, a Member of the Privy-Council, and of great post in the Government, own'd in print what he call'd his *History of Religion*; which is a rank Satyr against all Priesthood and Churches whatsoever, and ridicules Religion it self.

The Books and Pamphlets of those times, upon these subjects, are very voluminous: And from the countenance they receiv'd (I wish I could not say, even from some then in high Station in the Church) they have fill'd this land, especially the young Gentry, with Principles of Irreligion, of Deism (which is now the most prevalent, as it is the most cur'd of Sects) and even of downright Atheism.

And for the poorer and more ignorant sort of People, they seeing the foundations thus shaken, have run over in Shoals, (taking advantage of the plenitude of the toleration) to the remainder of the Sects left amongst us since the former Revolution (like so many of the *Canaanites*, to teach us the use of War) besides new ones, this rank soil has produc'd, as the *Philadelphians*, *Bourignonists*, *Davisites*, *Masonians*, (since extinguish'd) and others; the Sweet-Singers, *Antinomians*, and others of the old ones reviv'd. As those much ancients, which we find in your *Eusebius*, l. 3. c. 26. That the Bodies of the faithful shall not die. And, l. 6. c. 37. That the Soul does die with the Body; the former set up lately by *Asgil*, the latter by Dr. *Coward*, and several others, who have wrote on the same side. And these old exploded Heresies, are now the chat of Coffee-Houses and Taverns, as new and ingenious discoveries, and take with too many, in an age prepar'd for such delusions; and many more went over to Popery in the last, than in the former reign.

From all this, that dreadful loose has proceeded of prophaness, and open immoralities, which we now see before our eyes, in an excess, would have been thought scandalous, even in licentious times.

For what restraint can there be, where there is no sense of Religion? And what sense of an instituted and reveal'd Religion, where its institutions are despis'd, and their authority with whom *Christ* has left the administration of them, and government of his Church, is render'd precarious and voluble with every turn of State? Nay, subject to the caprice of those who have itching ears, and heap up teachers to themselves? When tender conscience and moderation is pleaded on their behalf, who tear the Body of *Christ* in pieces by various Sects and Schisms? When the Spirit of Zeal, the very Life and Soul of christianity, the Παρρησία of the Gospel, is not only laid aside, but call'd violence and high-flying? And in the room thereof, such a *Laodicean* and *Latitudinarian* Principle is set up, as knows not where it will stop, nor can indeed, till it has given up all reveal'd Religion, which is inconsistent with it. Towards which, what pains have we seen taken, by some whom it least became, to advance, in opposition to it, what they call natural Religion (which will allow them Latitude enough) even to prefer a Mother's obligation to suckle her own Child, as being a natural duty, before any positive precept of reveal'd Religion? Which includes the belief of a *Christ*, or any Faith in him; for that is nothing else but a positive precept of reveal'd Religion. And then we cannot suppose that any of his Institutions, Prayers, Sacraments, or any thing else should be much stood upon; especially such as concern the Regimen of his Church, as a Society, distinct from, and independent of any other upon Earth: These must be easily dispens'd with, when the Author of what I have nam'd above, makes the command of an Husband (who by the way is no natural relation, but of positive institution) sufficient to discharge his Wife from that natural duty of giving suck to her Child, which he makes of more necessary and indispensable obligation, (these are his words) than any positive precept of reveal'd Religion: And directs Parents and Masters to take care, not to bring up their Children and Servants in what he calls the *Jargon*, that is, the distinguishing Principles of any Party: For these must give place at all times, to Politicks, to keep up peace and quietness,

though in the most manifest injustice; which any sort of Principles, being stood to, might some time or other happen to disturb; and the quiet possession, though of wickedness, he makes preferable to any Religion whatsoever; the consequences of which he extends not beyond this World (for he has publickly preach'd and printed the utter uncertainty (at least) in his opinion, whether there be any Hell) therefore says, *And for God's sake, what is Religion good for, but to reform the manners and dispositions of Men, to restrain human nature from violence and cruelty, from falshood and treachery, from sedition and rebellion? Better it were, there were no reveal'd Religion, (that is, no Christ) and that human nature were left to the conduct of its own Principles and Inclinations, which are much more mild and merciful, much more for the peace and happiness of human Society, than to be acted by a Religion that is continually supplanting Government, and undermining the welfare of Mankind, &c.*

There is much more in the same Author of the like sort: And I mention it here, to let our *Latitudinarians* see whither their Principles do tend: This Author being much admir'd by them, and the very top of them.

And I name this Sect of the *Latitudinarians*, the last that I shall now speak of, as including all the rest, and all that indeed can be; at least, so far as to give way to them, and live well with them, for peace sake, though *Korabites* or *Mabumetans*!

And I have pitch'd upon this remarkable Person for an instance, he being the most concern'd of any Man in *England*, in the late lay-deprivations, and breaches upon the Episcopal Authority.

And to make good what I have observ'd before, that infractions upon the Government of the Church, have always been attended with corruptions, even in her Doctrine.

And thence to infer, how necessary it is to preserve the Government of the Church, as *Christ* and the Apostles left it.

Which what it is, and how zealously contended for in the primitive ages, the History you abridg'd does evidently have shew.

I might add a third instance, that of *Holland*, which, because it would not have Episcopacy, is render'd the Sink and Asylum of all vile Errors and Heresies; from whence most of ours were sent to us, in the former as well as last Revolution, which I have shew'd elsewhere: And thus it has been, is, and will be in all places, more or less, as *Erastianism* prevails, and Episcopacy is depress'd.

I have now but one word more, concerning the method of Abridgments of History; they are of use to those who have read the Histories at large, and to those who have not. To the former they serve as Indexes, and revive them in their Memories with little pains; and they encourage the latter to peruse the Histories themselves; and to those who have not leisure or application to go through great works, they afford that knowledge which they would otherwise totally want.

As to your performance, your modesty prevents my saying any thing of it to your self; and it will recommend it self to others, nothing the more for an Epistolary Friend.

Instead of all which I join heartily with you, in beseeching God Almighty to give his blessing to it; to direct and prosper this and all your other labours, for his glory, and the good of his afflicted Church; and to send more Labourers into his Harvest in this time of need; that he may not yet remove our Candlestick, for all that we have done; but to heal the breaches of our *Sion*, and to hasten his Kingdom. *Amen.*

The Conversion of
St. Paul, 1703.

A SERMON

**A
S E R M O N**

Preach'd at

C H E S T E R,

AGAINST

M A R R I A G E S

IN

Different Communion.

* This was a large Discourse, and printed with the Sermon in the 1st Volume. It was thought proper to be inserted here among a collection of this Author's Works.



И О М Я

C H E T S R

MAR 2 1892

And thus it has been.

Different Communion

who have not letters or ap-



P R E F A C E.

I. **T**HE substance of the ensuing Discourse was delivered twelve years ago in a Sermon at Chester; in which and the neighbouring County it is more common than elsewhere in England to match with Dissenters, at least of one sort, from our Church. And cross the water in Ireland, the examples are many of English Families, who by marrying with the Natives have lost their Nation as well as Religion, and are turned mere Irishmen as well as Papists.

Before I adventured to commit this to the Press, I sent it to the most learned and judicious Mr. Dodwell, who returned the following * Letter, with his leave to make it publick, and to go along with this; which will make this valuable, as being the occasion of shewing so learned a Treatise to the World: And so necessary at this time to revive the true notion of the Peculium, the holy Seed, or City of God, which he has distinguished from the rest of the World by particular and most glorious privileges and promises in all ages of the world, from the first Man born, even unto this day; and has wonderfully preserv'd by his miraculous Providences amidst all her enemies; has assur'd her of a final victory over them, and eternal triumph and jubilee in Heaven. This is an invincible argument for the truth of the Gospel, when it is shew'd, that the same Peculium which Christ has set up in his Church had been deduc'd thro' several æconomies, from the beginning of the World, and foretold by all the Prophets from that time to the coming of the Messiah: And that Fold of the Sheep

* This was a large Discourse, and printed with the Sermon in the 8^{vo} Edition; but not thought proper to be inserted here among a collection of this Author's Works.

PREFACE to the

being finally separated from the Goats, makes up the two eternal states of Heaven and Hell.

It is likewise the most forcible persuasive that can be to the restoring of a catholick Communion and Unity among all christian Churches, the members of this one Body.

And also it is the truest light and rule whereby to govern the Discipline of every particular Church within her self, all with due respect to the preserving and supporting the true notion and prerogatives of the Peculium.

Among which, this of Marriage is a principle part, which has been forgotten and neglected amongst us and other Communi-
ons, contrary to both their and our principles.

At first view this attempt may seem as tending to the widening of our differences, and keeping us at greater distance.

But when duly consider'd, it will have the quite contrary effect: For they who are in earnest with their Religion, will by this sensible motive be brought to consider the more spiritual and eternal consequences of being within the true Peculium; and will not, for small and indifferent things make a Schism in the Church of which they are members; and for pride or peevishness throw themselves out of the Fold of Christ's Church, and set up another of their own contrivance.

And it will discover the hypocrisy of those loose professors who cannot abstain from Marriage for the same reasons which they think sufficient to divorce themselves from the Church, which is the Body of Christ, and to tear it in pieces by their Schism.

It will beget a higher regard of Religion, and it is to be hoped, when other arguments fail, that many may be persuaded to leave their Schism, when they cannot otherwise compass a rich match, or one whom they love: And this may be suppos'd a guard which God has put for the security of his Religion.

And as it may reduce many, so it will cement those that are in the Peculium much more firmly, when they consider by what a holy and strict tie they are united into one Body under Christ the Head.

Let me go on then a little in this Preface to pave the way towards the ensuing Discourse.

There are two things to be consider'd in this matter of Marriage into different Communions; First, As to the inconvenience of it, the prejudice and hurt to Families as well in their spiritual as temporal concerns. And, Secondly, As to the lawfulness of it, which is the chief and great point, and mainly to be consider'd.

I will

II. I will therefore only touch upon the first, because the reasons are obvious to any one, and the examples frequent, and daily complaints are heard, and the miserable inconveniences seen, felt, and understood.

It is a common theme how little the promises in Courtship, or contracts upon Marriage, as to giving full liberty in Religion, are regarded! And indeed they ought not to be regarded, and oblige only to repentance, as being unlawful oaths or promises. Can I covenant (or ought I to keep it) to suffer my Wife to go on in what I am persuaded is a great sin, to continue all her life in an idolatrous Worship, or in open and notorious Schism, without so much as once interposing even my advice, or attempting to satisfy her scruples or convince her Reason? Will not the Blood of her Soul be requir'd at my hand? Shall I be oblig'd to that hardness of heart towards her, which would be a Sin in me towards a stranger? It is written, Lev. XIX. 17. Thou shalt not hate thy Brother in thine heart: Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer Sin upon him; or, as our Margin reads it, suffer Sin for him: That is, I shall answer for his Sin if I do not reprove it. And can I tie my self up from this duty towards my Wife? Is not this hating her in my heart? Is it not saying, let me have your Person or Estate, and I care not what becomes of your Soul? And shall not I answer for this to God? If I suffer sin upon her without rebuking of it, shall not I suffer Sin for her?

Then again, what security can I have of her not tampering with her Children? If I be so hard-hearted towards her, as to let her go freely (as I think) to the Devil: And whether I think truly or not, the kindness is the same; nay, and the Sin too in a great measure, because I go on in that which I think to be a Sin and Provocation to God, which is provoking of him to his Face: I say, tho' I should be so insensible of my duty to God or Man, as to suffer this in my Wife, without reproof; yet she may be better natur'd, and have not only more sense of God but bowels for her Children, than to see them perish (as she believes) both Soul and Body, for want of her advice and instruction. And if the husband be likewise religious, and make the same Conscience of educating his Children, then will some of them speak the language of Israel, and some the speech of Ashdod, or, which is worse, dissemble it for fear of offending, till they come to be their own Masters: And then there is another Family corrupted, and the infection gone to my Grand-Children, and whole Posterity.

There

III. There are agreements made in some of these Marriages, that the Father shall have the education of the Sons in his Religion; and the Mother of the Daughters in hers: Or the Father of the first Child, the Mother of the second, &c.

That is, I give up some of my Children to what I think a false Religion, and wherein I dare not venture my own Soul; to have the privilege of bringing others of them up in the true Religion: This is, if we are in earnest with Religion, to damn one (as far as in us lies) to save another: A sad bargain for our our Children!

Especially considering that those I give up are certainly lost if I keep my engagement: And I have no assurance that Faith will be kept with me, as to my share of my Children; so that I deliver some of them to certain ruin, for the hazard of saving others.

Let us add to this the drawing into factions and parties among the Children and Servants, on account of the difference of Religions practis'd in the Family, and so breeding divisions and disturbance to the Peace and good Government of the Family; and wearing out, by degrees, that Love and mutual Confidence and Trust there ought to be betwixt Man and Wife, while they are oblig'd to keep perpetual watch upon each other, for fear of their Children and Servants, for whose Religion (I mean of the Servants as well as Children) the Masters of Families are chargeable before God: (how little soever that be now thought of; but Men use the service of Mankind as of Beasts, without other consideration than feeding of their Bodies, which they do for their own advantage;) I say, Masters are answerable for the Religion of their Servants as far as instruction goes, and the exercise of a just and equitable authority: And it being a truth even to a proverb, that Men, (especially Children) are more drawn by example than precept, this greatest of temptations can never be wanting in that Family where Man and Wife are of different Communions.

There is but one thing that can be said to this, and it is common with those concern'd; that is, that there are good and bad of all Communions, and if Men live justly and virtuously in any Communion, they may go to Heaven; therefore what need they trouble one another about this or that Communion, so they be all christian? That there is good sound doctrine taught in all, enough to save our Souls, if we duly follow and practise it: That the things wherein they differ are not essential, but only matters of speculation, that may be this way or that way, and no great harm done: And if any be in such errors, they are but venial, and will not be imputed to honest well-meaning People, tho' in ignorance, since it is not malicious, but only out of weakness of Judgment, &c.

These are the topicks by which Men of all Communions amongst us do satisfy themselves, not to baulk their fancy or interest in a good match when it comes in their way.

And I wish with all my heart that they did believe themselves, while they thus seek to impose upon themselves, to gratify a passion, whether of Love, Ambition, or Covetousness.

For if the differences amongst us be so small, as not to hinder Marriage, much less good neighbourhood; how then come they, through the other end of the glass, to appear so mountainous as to be a sufficient ground for Schism, for breaking the Unity of the Church, and tearing Christ's Body in pieces? And not only for suffering persecution, even to Death, our selves; but they have been thought sufficient to dissolve our Oaths of Allegiance, to justify Rebellion, and to fill the World with Blood, Slaughter, and Desolation. Men have been ill look'd upon, and lost their employments, for keeping company with malignants: And is there no offence in marrying with them? Come out from among them, and touch not the unclean, has been often press'd, and separate your selves—which is the ground of all our separations: And after all, may we join with them in Marriage, tho' in nothing else? Is Marriage the least, the most inconsiderable of all ties? Is there less temptation in that than in common acquaintance and conversation?

Or upon the whole, is this the truth, that our pretences to Religion, tender Consciences, &c. are all jest and banter, to carry on other designs, and inveigle the ignorant People to our side? And so we can keep them out of the opposite interest, not to touch there, we care not tho' they marry with their Religion, with the Daughter of a strange God.

If the poor misled Populace wou'd consider duly of this, it might serve as an amulet to dissolve that charm with which they have been bewitched: And let them see that it was not the interest of Religion, but their own, which induc'd their leaders to seduce them from their duty, and out of the bosom of the Church, that they might usurp upon the State.

And to such of them as are truly conscientious (for no doubt such there are among all our Dissenters) there is no medium, but either to return from their Schism, or otherwise, to abstain from Marriages with those who are of a different Communion.

And the same obligation lies upon others not to mix with them. But if any will say, that the differences betwixt our opposite Communions are so small as not to hinder worldly Marriage, we must

certainly conclude, that they are not sufficient to dissolve that far more holy and spiritual Marriage by which we are made members of the Church, and so of Christ, the Head of it: That they cannot be sufficient to warrant our forsaking the publick Assemblies of the Church, and making a breach in her Communion; upon which the heaviest curse is pronounc'd that ever came out of the Mouth of God, Heb. x. 25, &c.

Let me add, that all those objections upon which our Dissenters have broke off from the Church are easily overcome when interest stands in the way. How frequently do they come to the holy Sacrament, according to all the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England, in obedience to the sacramental Test, to qualify themselves for offices and employments in the Government? And those of them that are rich, and have good settlements upon Marriage, do marry by the Common-Prayer, and the episcopal establish'd Clergy, to prevent any disputes in Law that might arise for their marrying otherwise: And this is common with the best and most zealous of them.

Now I would beseech them to lay their hand upon their heart and consider, that if there be sin in these things, they ought not to comply with it upon any account. And if there be no Sin, how will they justify their separation? Since all of us do agree, that nothing less than Sin can justify separation, because Schism is a great Sin allow'd on all hands; and therefore nothing can excuse it but where something that is as plainly and directly a Sin as Schism is, is requir'd from us. And in that case, because no Man must sin, our separation is no Schism; but we are thrust out of Communion for not committing of a Sin: And therefore the Schism lies at their door who impose the Sin, as a condition of their Communion.

The inconveniences of these Marriages has been touch'd upon; and from thence the unlawfulness has been inferred, as being a running our selves into a temptation: But the full proof must be from the holy Scriptures, these must determine us, therefore let us enquire what we find said of it there.

And I will take my rise from a remarkable place, from whence my scruples first arose; and therefore I have chosen it for my text; that I may consider of it with Company, and have the assistance of others to know whether I have rightly understood it or not: Which if I have not, and be thereof convinc'd, I shall owe great thanks to any who shall undeceive me, and do promise a retraction: For there is nothing of this kind, none of these sort of Marri-

Marriages by which I have receiv'd any sort of personal prejudice or any of my Relations: So that I am, as to that, perfectly unprejudic'd in this cause; and nothing has moved me to this undertaking, but merely the importance of the thing itself, and the mischiefs I have seen thereby accrue to many Families; especially to one, which affects all.

IV. But before I enter upon this enquiry, let me add to that of Marriages another custom too frequent amongst us, that is, to admit those of opposite Communions to stand as God-Fathers or God-Mothers to Children at their Baptism. Some have no farther consideration of them than as Gossips to help a Merry-making at the Christening-Feast; and therefore have respect only to their quality, that it be proportionable to those who invite them; and to whom they may return the like civility when they shall have occasion: And the common excuse is, that they engage only to take care that the Child be instructed in the general rules of Christianity, wherein all our several Sects and Divisions do agree: And therefore that any of them are sufficiently qualify'd to undertake such a Charge.

But I would desire such to consider,

I. That all our several Sects do alledge against our Church's defection in some of the principles of Christianity; for otherwise they could not justify their separation from being a Schism; since it is allow'd on all hands, that nothing less than a defection from some of the principles of Christianity can justify a Schism: Therefore those that are in a Schism cannot be good instructors in the principles of Christianity.

II. The charge given to God-Fathers and God-Mothers in our Office of Baptism is such as none can undertake and perform with a good Conscience who are not of our Communion.

1. To call upon the Children, when of age sufficient, to hear Sermons: By which the Church cannot mean to carry them to Conventicles of Dissenters to be instructed by their Sermons: And Dissenters ought not to carry Children where they think it not lawful to go themselves.

2. To bring them to the Bishop to be confirm'd; which cannot be done with a good Conscience by those who are anti-episcopal; nor by Papists to a Protestant Bishop, as it is certainly intended in that Charge.

III. A promise made in the presence of God, at a solemn Office of the Church, is in the nature of a vow, the performance of which will certainly be required.

IV. Hence

IV. Hence there is a spiritual relation contracted, which carries with it an higher consideration than that of Gossips or good Neighbourhood: There is a great deal more in the Word God-Father: Such is a Father in things relating to God. In the Church of Rome the spiritual relation is reckoned among the degrees of Consanguinity wherein Marriage is prohibited: But I urge it no farther now than as utterly inconsistent with those of opposite Communions.

Much more might be said upon this matter; but I thought thus much not impertinent to the subject we have in hand: To which therefore I now return; and take the text I have before mentioned.





EZRA X. 4.

Arise, for this matter belongeth unto thee, we also will be with thee: be of good courage, and do it.



WHAT this matter was appears from the context: *Ezra* reprov'd the People of *Israel*, for their having marry'd with the idolatrous Nations, contrary to the command of God: And they returned him this answer, *We have trespassed against our God, and have taken strange Wives of the People of the Land; yet now there is hope in Israel concerning this thing: Now therefore let us make a Covenant with our God, to put away all the Wives, and such as are born of them, according to the counsel of my Lord, and of those that tremble at the commandment of our God; and let it be done according to the Law. Arise, for this matter belongeth unto thee, we also will be with thee: be of good courage, and do it.*

Let me here observe in the first place, that all the Nations then in the World, except the *Jews* were Idolaters: And therefore to forbid Marriage with Idolaters, was the same to the *Jews*, as to forbid Marriage with any who were not of their Communion: For they only then were the *Peculium* or holy Seed, which had been deduc'd in their Fore-Fathers, all the way from *Seth*; which is the reason that their Genealogies are set down with so much exactness in *Genesis*, even before the Flood; and this seems to have been the chief purpose for which that History was intended.

And this will appear farther, in that this prohibition to the *Jews* of marrying with the Heathens, was not on account of their Nation, but Religion: Of which, the first evidence I offer you is this, that this is the reason given for this command almost in every place where this command is repeated in Scripture.

Thou shalt not make Marriages with them; thy Daughter thou shalt not give unto his Son, nor his Daughter shalt thou take unto thy Son; for they will turn away thy Son from following me, that they may serve other Gods.

1 Kin. xi. 2.

The Lord said unto the Children of Israel, ye shall not go in to them, neither shall they come in unto you, for surely they will turn away your heart after their Gods. They turn'd away the heart of Solomon; and if the Wisdom of Solomon was not proof against the withcraft of this sin, what second Man's presumption can be guiltless?

But that the hazard of being tempted to Idolatry was the reason of God's prohibiting his People to match with the idolatrous Nations, is yet farther evinc'd from this, that not only Marriages with them was forbidden, but every thing else that might tend to the same end of tempting them to Idolatry.

Exod. xxiii.

32.

xxxiv. 15.

Thou shalt make no Covenant with them, nor with their Gods; they shall not dwell in thy Land, lest they make thee Sin against me, for if thou serve their Gods, it will be surely a snare unto thee—Lest thou make a Covenant with the Inhabitants of the Land, and they go a whoring after their Gods, and do sacrifice unto their Gods, and one call thee, and thou eat of his sacrifice; and thou take of their Daughters unto thy Sons, and their Daughters go a whoring after their Gods, and make thy Sons go a whoring after their Gods.

Num. xxxiii.

52.

Num. xxv. 18.

*Ye shall drive out all the Inhabitants of the Land from before you, and destroy all their Pictures, &c. But if ye will not drive them out, those which ye let remain of them shall be pricks in your eyes, and thorns in your sides, and shall vex you in the land wherein ye dwell (that is, in tempting them to Idolatry, as it is expressed, *They vex you with their wiles wherewith they have beguiled you in the matter of Peor, &c.*) And God threatens, that if you suffer your selves to be thus vexed, or tempted by them, it shall come to pass, says God, *that I shall do unto you, as I thought to do unto them.**

Whence we may learn, that God's hating these Nations was upon account of their Idolatry; and that for the same cause he will equally hate any other Nation.

1 Chr. xxi. 6.

xix. 2.

xx. 37.

II.

Ob. Of marrying with the ten Tribes.

But farther, to convince you that the prohibition to the *Jews* of marrying with Heathens was not on account of their Nation, but Religion; we find the same reproof against the *Jews* for marrying with Idolaters of their own Nation: Thus it is recorded of *Jehoram* King of *Judah*; *He walked in the way of the Kings of Israel—for he had the Daughter of Achab to Wife.* And *Jehoshaphat* is reprov'd for joining in affinity with the same *Achab*; and this reason is given, *Shouldst thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord?* And the like we find of his joining with *Ahaziah* another idolatrous King of *Israel*: *Because thou hast joined thy self with Ahaziah, the Lord hath broken thy works. And the Ships were broken, &c.*

But it may be objected, that this wou'd infer, it was unlawful for the two tribes that stuck to *Rehoboam*, to marry with the other ten tribes, because they never departed from the Idolatry of *Jeroboam*, viz. The Calves of *Dan* and *Bethel*, and therefore they were Idolaters even to their Captivity, and so wou'd be included within the reason of the command against marrying with the Heathens, viz. because they were Idolaters.

Answer.

The Prohibi-

tion of mar-

riage of the

ten Tribes.

This the rea-

son is.

2 Kin. xix. 18.

To this I answer, that the reason is not the same, because there were always many in *Israel* who did not join in that Idolatry: We are sure of the Prophets, and have all possible presumption for many more; it cannot be supposed that the Prophets had none such in their Communion. We read of a College of Prophets even at *Bethel*, beside several others; and in the lowest ebb that ever there was, we find seven thousand who bowed not to *Baal*.

But

But as to those of the ten tribes who did join in Idolatry, I cannot see but the command did reach them; when we see before our eyes the reproof of those who did marry with them.

But to put this matter out of dispute, that it was not on account of their Profelytes: Nation, but Religion, that Marriages were forbidden with the Heathen; we find that it was lawful to marry with those of the heathen Nations who chang'd their Religion, and became Profelytes to the Law of God; witness *Ruth* the *Moabites* and *Rachab*, from whom our Saviour himself deduces his Genealogy. Matth. i. 5.

And to this you may add, that this prohibition was not only upon some politick consideration, with reference to the seven cursed Nations whom the *Jews* were commanded to destroy, and therefore not to mix with them; for the case in *Ezra* was of their marrying with the *Babylonians*, and other idolatrous Nations during the seventy years Captivity. III. Not limited to the *Canaanites*.

For it was the transgression of those that had been carried away: And the *Ammonites*, *Moabites* and *Egyptians* are reckon'd (*Ezra* ix. 1.) among those whom the *Jews* had marry'd, and from whom they were to be divorc'd, as being contrary to the Law of God: And these were none of the seven cursed Nations, whom the *Jews* were commanded to destroy, and not to make Marriages with them. Deut. vii. 1: xx. 17.

Bellarmin says * this must be only meant of those *Egyptians*, &c. who dwelt in the Land of *Canaan*: But he gives no reason for it; that wou'd have been troublesome, especially after having proved in the same Chapter that the prohibition of marrying with Idolaters was a moral command, *Et ad omnes pertinet*, and belongs to all of us, and not only to the *Jews*; because as he there proves, the cause was moral. Yet he said as much as the cause cou'd bear; that is, that that was moral in the Land of *Canaan*, which was not so a mile farther (as if God were offended with the Ground and not with the Sin;) that this prohibition oblig'd all and not only the *Jews*; and yet it oblig'd no body, no not the *Jews* themselves out of *Judea*; no, nor in *Judea*, so the Idolaters they marry'd, were only Travellers or Sojourners, and not Dwellers in the Land.

But I will not trouble you in chasing such wild supposes as *Bellarmin* often makes use of instead of answers, and that in this very case it must needs be confess'd, that he objects better than he replies, and gets into a difficulty much easier than he comes out of it.

But to shew you that the command, *Deut.* vii. 3. of not marrying with those seven Nations which are mentioned, *v.* 1. was not limited to them only, but extended even to other Nations, where there was the same reason of Idolatry; we find *1 Kin.* xi. 1, 2. where this command is repeated, and *Solomon* charged with the breach of it, there are reckon'd, besides the Daughter of *Pharaoh* an *Egyptian*, Women of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, and *Zidonians*, who were not of these seven Nations, and yet it is said, that these were of the Nations concerning which the Lord said unto the Children of Israel, ye shall not go in unto them, neither shall they come in unto you, for surely they will turn away your heart after their Gods. This shews plainly, that all idolatrous Nations whatsoever, and not only the seven cursed Nations, were included in this command. And *Ezra* lays the stress upon mingling of the holy Seed; which must be with all who were not of the holy Seed. Who can doubt but that *Solomon's* going after *Ashtoreth* the Goddess of the *Zidonians*, and after *Milcom* the abomination of the *Ammonites*, was as great a sin as if he had gone after

Ezra xii. 3.

* *De Matrimon.* l. i. c. 23.

Neh. ix. 2.

any Idol of the seven cursed Nations? It is said that *The Seed of Israel separated themselves from all Strangers*; that is, Strangers to their Communion, not to their Nation; because they might marry with Profelytes of any other Nation, unless we except the seven cursed Nations, who were to be totally rooted out.

If you will ask, why were these seven Nations particularized more than other idolatrous Nations?

You will find the reason *Deut. xx. 16*. God had determined these seven Nations to destruction for their extraordinary wickedness; and commanded the *Israelites* to execute this sentence, and to possess their land, after having destroy'd them root and branch, *saving nothing alive that breathed*. But God commands that they shall not do so to any other Nations: For the *Jews* were not permitted to conquer where they pleas'd, but only such particular places as they were commanded. Their bounds are set *Num. xxxiv*. They were in terms forbidden to meddle with the *Edomites*, (*Deut. ii. 4, 5*.) and *Moabites*, (*vs. 9*.) and *Ammonites*, (*vs. 19*.) and more *vs. 37*.

This is a plain reason why those seven Nations are particularly named, whose land God had given to the *Israelites* for an inheritance; and therefore there was more danger of their being seduc'd by the inhabitants of the land where they liv'd, than by strangers; but this does not exclude the danger that might come by strangers: So that tho' the inhabitants are particularly nam'd, yet we see from several instances of the Scripture, that other idolatrous Nations are likewise included within the reason, and God's own meaning of that command, *Deut. vii. 3*.

Apply'd to us.

But now let us consider how far all this matter will concern us at this day.

It is a maxim in the Law, that where there is the same reason, the Law shall be the same.

And there is none can deny but there is as much reason (at least) for Christians to avoid Idolatry, as the *Jews*.

But because there may be several sorts and species of Idolatry, it will be useful for us to see what that particular sort of Idolatry was, into which the *Jews* so often fell, and which was so severely prohibited and threatened by God, that we may beware of the like.

And because the *Jews* took their Idolatry from the Heathen, and were corrupted by them, let us see what theirs was.

IV.
What was
the Idolatry
of the Hea-
then.
1. As to the
Object of
their Wor-
ship.

It was, *First*, in supposing a great number of Beings, both good and bad, whom they called *Dæmons*, (the same that we mean by Angels, *Angelos quos dicitis, ipsos & nos colimus*, St. *August. in Psal. xcvi.*) who were constituted as inferior Gods under the one supreme Being; and each had his several Province assign'd to him, as the Winds to *Æolus*, the Sea to *Neptune*, &c. These they worshipped only as a sort of lesser Gods, who stood in the middle betwixt the supreme God and us, and govern'd us by his permission and command, and were all of them accountable unto him: Therefore they called them *Dii medioximi*, that is, midling or inferior Gods.

And of these they had tutelary Gods for particular Countries, Cities, and Families.

And when their Heroes were dead, they ranged them among these sort of Gods, and worshipped them.

But they worshipped all these in subordination to the one supreme God, and with relation to him: As St. *Augustin* * does expressly tell us, *Hi omnes Dii Deæque sit unus Jupiter*, *The worship of all these Gods and Goddesses were referred to the one Jupiter*; whom they made Supreme over all.

* De Civit. Dei, l. 4. c. 9.

This was the Polytheism of the *Gentiles*, in that they served and worshipped several Gods; tho' they owned these no otherwise than as the Ministers of the Kingdom, or universal Sovereignty of the one supreme Being.

This was the Idolatry forbidden in the first Command.

The other branch of their Idolatry, which is the subject of the second Command, did respect the manner of their Worship, which was by making Images or Pictures of their Gods, and calling them by the names of the Gods they represented; and having dedicated or consecrated them to this use they believed them sacred; and that such Images did secure to them the presence of the Deity, who inhabited and exhibited his influence and virtues by means of his Image. And their Temples were full of Ships, Crutches, &c. dedicated by their votaries, in memory of Mercies and Deliverances they suppos'd they had receiv'd by praying before these Images: And the Worship they paid to these Images was relative to that God whom they worshipped by the Image.

2. As to the manner of their Worship.

They did not think the Image to be the God it represented: That was impossible; for nothing can be the Image or Picture of itself: And they had several Images of different shapes and figures for the same God.

And tho' they called each Image by the name of the God, as being consecrated to bear his name, yet they did not think that there was more than one God of a sort, as more than one *Apollo*, *Venus*, &c. tho' they had many Images of them.

Another use the Heathens set forth of their Images, was to serve as Books and Instruction to the unlearned who could not read; and to fix the intention on the Worship of their Gods, that they might keep their minds and intention upon that God whom they saw represented in a visible form before their Eyes. This is insisted upon by *Maximus Tyrius*, a heathen Philosopher, who was Tutor to *Marcus Aurelius* the Emperor, in his 38th *Dissertation* upon this question, *Whether Images were to be dedicated to the Gods?* Where he tells us, that they did not make Images as any likeness of the Persons of their Gods, because they had many, of different shapes, for the same God: And that they thought their Images no more like the Gods they represented, than the Letters which spell their names, which are of different shapes, in the different characters of several languages: That it was impossible to make any Image or Representation of the Person of the supreme, eternal, infinite, and invisible God; which, he says, they did not attempt, but only to express some of his perfections; as, by Fire, they express'd his Purity; by an Image with many Hands, his Power; by one full of Eyes, his Providence and Omniscience, &c. For, he says, they know God to be more ancient than all things, greater than the Worlds; and whatever any Christian can speak befitting the divine Majesty.

If any think that such wise Philosophers as these could not be Idolaters, but only the more ignorant People, who might take their Images for real Gods,

I hope they will allow *Solomon* to have been as wise as any of these Philosophers; and that he had more advantages than they, being instructed in the Law of God, and to whom God did vouchsafe to appear twice; who, before he fell into Idolatry, had built the Temple, and regulated the whole Service thereof, pursuant to the pattern and directions which he had receiv'd from the Mouth of God himself.

This shews that a wise and a good Man, and beloved of God, as *Solomon* was, may fall into Idolatry. And * *Maimonides* thinks, that it was his Wisdom that betray'd him, in trusting to relative Worship, or such sort

* Maimon. Mor. Nev.

of distinctions: Which should teach us not to be wiser than the Law, or, as the Apostle expresses it, *above what is written*.

Let me here add, that the *Arian* Christians were charg'd with Idolatry by the Orthodox, because they worshipped our Lord *Christ*, when they acknowledg'd him to be but a Creature, tho' they advanc'd him far above all Saints or Angels, or whatever Beings the Heathens worshipped as their inferior Gods: For God will have none to be worshipped but himself: This is an honour he will not give to any other.

There is indeed a distinction of divine and civil Worship; the latter paid to Kings, and our Superiors among Men; but no sort of religious or divine Worship is to be given to any Creature. If the distinction of a divine but relative Worship would hold, it would excuse heathen Idolatry; for it is impossible that they could worship those whom they call'd *Dii medioximi* with the same Worship they intended for those whom they acknowledg'd to be above them: Or that *Solomon* could think that any of those dumb Idols he worshipped, was the supreme Being that made him, and all the Worlds; (no doubt he was master of as many distinctions as we can use in the case:) Or that the *Arians*, thinking *Christ* to be a Creature, could give him the same Worship, and in the same respect as they thought due to their and his Creator.

V.
Of the Idolatry of the Jews.

This account of the heathen Idolatry was necessary to bring us to the true knowledge of that of the *Jews*: For this was the Idolatry of which God did warn the *Jews*, and strictly prohibit to them,

First, To have no other Gods before him, or with him, as it is worded Exod. xx. 3, 23. or besides him, as it should be render'd, Rom. i. 25. οὐδὲ ἑτεροθεῶτα.

Isa. liv. 5.
Jer. xxxi. 32.

And when they did worship the Gods of the Nations round about, they did not do it in that sense, as if they had totally thrown off the Lord from being their God, and taken such a false God in his room, thereby quite changing the object of their Worship: No, but they worshipped both together, in a superior and inferior degree, as the Heathens did. And God calls this a *forsaking* of him, and *going a whoring after other Gods*, because he had positively forbidden it, as having married his *Peculium*, and calls himself her Husband; and therefore would have none other to share in their Religion and Devotion but himself alone: And the taking of others in, tho' in an inferior degree, was as when a Woman takes another into her Husband's Bed; which is a forsaking of her Husband, tho' she still lives with him, and a taking another in his place.

Zeph. i. 5.

But that the *Jews* their forsaking of God was only in this adulterous sense, in worshipping of other Gods jointly with him, and not a total discarding of the Lord from being their God at all, will evidently appear in this, that they worshipped both together: Which could not be if they had quite thrown off the one, and taken the other in his room. Thus we read, that the *Jews* did worship and swear by the Lord, and swear by *Malcham*.

2 Kin. xvii. 33.

That they feared the Lord, and served their own Gods, after the manner of the Nations who carried them away.

Y. 32.

And these Nations worshipped every one their own Gods; and yet *nihilominus* (says the *vulg.*) nevertheless *colebant Dominum*, they worshipped the Lord.

So that here the Idolatry of the *Jews* and of the Heathen is made the same; as it must be, when the *Jews* fell into the heathen Idolatry: which was, the worshipping of other Gods with the true God.

1 Sam. vii. 2.
3, 4.

Thus when *all the house of Israel lamented after the Lord*, to perform this matter was the chief care of *Samuel*; who spake unto them, saying,

If ye do return unto the Lord with all your hearts, then put away the strange Gods, and Ashtaroth from among you, and prepare your hearts unto the Lord, and serve him only; and he will deliver you out of the hand of the Philistines. Then the Children of Israel did put away Balaam and Ashtaroth, and served the Lord only.

The notion was, as told before, that every Nation had their tutelar Gods, whom they were to worship; but still in subordination to the supreme God who was over all. Thus the King of *Affyria* sent to teach his People *the manner of the God of the Land of Israel*; supposing that the *Jews*, like other Nations, did worship a particular tutelar God of their own, who had care of their Countrey, but not at all to exclude the common receiv'd notion of the whole World, that there was a supreme infinite Being or God above them all; only that he had committed the care of such and such particular Countries and People to lesser Gods under him: Whence *Homer* makes *Jupiter* to chastise the other Gods upon several occasions, and makes them all accountable unto him, and to petition and supplicate him.

Now as to the other branch of Idolatry, of worshipping God by Images, there was nothing more positively prohibited to the *Jews*, as being a debasing and corrupting their notions of God, and wholly unworthy of him. Therefore God cautions them to remember, that when he spoke to them *out of the midst of the Fire, ye heard the voice of the words, (says he) but saw no similitude, (that's of whom he spoke) only ye heard a voice—* *Take therefore good heed unto your selves (for ye saw no manner of similitude on the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb, out of the midst of the Fire) lest ye corrupt your selves, and make you a graven Image, the similitude of any Figure, the likeness of Male or Female, &c.* And he repeats it again, *Take heed unto your selves lest ye forget the Covenant of the Lord your God which he made with you, and make you a graven Image, or the likeness of any thing which the Lord thy God hath forbidden thee; for the Lord thy God is a consuming Fire, even a jealous God.* And he cried by his Prophets, saying, *Oh do not this abominable thing that I hate!* See with what detestation God speaks of this Sin: And observe, that the command is not only against the worshipping of such Images of God, but against the very making of them; as it is likewise worded in the second command, to cut off all room for distinctions.

And we cannot say that they were the Images of any false Gods that were here forbidden, unless we will say, that it was a false God who spoke to them in *Horeb*; whose voice they heard, but saw no manner of similitude of him: Or that it was a false God who said, speaking of these Images, *To whom then will ye liken me? saith the Holy One.*

It is certain, that the Golden Calf was made as a symbol or representation of the true God, to secure his presence among them (after the manner they had seen in *Aegypt*, in the like Image of *Osiris*) upon the supposed loss of *Moses*, by whom God had formerly spoken to them. *Make us Gods to go before us, said they; for as for this Moses, who formerly went before us, the Man that brought us up out of the Land of Aegypt, we wot not what is become of him.* And when they dedicated this Image, they proclaimed it a *Feast unto the Lord*. And *David* said of this Image, that by doing of this, *They changed their glory into the similitude of an Ox that eateth Grass.* He would not call a false God the glory of *Israel*! And the Apostle speaks in the same Phrase, concerning the heathen Idolaters, that tho' they *Knew God, even his eternal Power and Godhead, yet they were Idolaters in their manner of worshipping him by Images; where- by, says he, They changed the glory of the incorruptible God, into an Image made like to corruptible Man, and to Birds, and four footed Beasts,*

and creeping things: He wou'd not call a false God, the incorruptible God!

You see how every where the Heathen and the *Jewish* Idolatry do square together, for indeed they were the very same.

Acts vii. 41.
1 Cor. x. 7.

And as the Images of the Heathen were called Idols, so is this of the Golden Calf; and the Dedication of it, tho' a *Feast unto the Lord*, is call'd Idolatry.

Deut. xiv. 21.

It is brutal to think, that they imagin'd, that the Calf which they made that day, was the supreme Being it self, which had made them. No Heathen ever thought so of any of their Images. Will you take the notion of the *Jews* from themselves? Their learned *Maimonides* says*, *That the whole is more than a part, or that the Sun is round, is not more evident than that there is but one God: And that no Idolater does worship his Idol in that sense as if there were no other God. And he says, That he cannot suppose that ever there was a Man born, or ever will be born, who thinks, that that figure which he makes of Stone or Wood, &c. did create the Heaven and the Earth, or governs them. But he says, They worship those Images, as things intermediate betwixt them and the supreme God.*

Deut. xiv. 21.

It is certain (says another famous *Jew*†) *That their intention was directed to God, as appears by the example of Abimelech, and the Ninevites.*

We must suppose the *Jews* to know best the Idolatry of their own Nation, for which they were so often and grievously punished; and likewise that of the Heathen which they had imitated.

2 Kin. xvii. 41.

Let me fortify this by the authority of holy Scripture. It is said, *That they feared the Lord, and served their Graven Images*: Which shews, that their Images were not set up in opposition to God, but as subservient to his Worship; and that they did not think them to be inconsistent.

Ezek. xiv. 7.

Thus God himself declares *Every one of the House of Israel, or of the Stranger that sojourneth in Israel, which separateth himself from me, and setteth up his Idols in his heart, and putteth the Stumbling-block of his iniquity before his face, and cometh to a Prophet to enquire of him concerning me, &c.* Here tho' God calls the following of Idols a separating of themselves from him, and being *estranged* from him, as being a breach of God's express command, who will not be worshipped otherwise than as he has appointed; yet it was not such a total separation, as to reject him quite from being their God, for they came to his Prophets to enquire concerning him.

Is. 5.

Of christian
Idolatry.

It is strange, after this, to hear some deny, that there can be any Idolatry among Christians; that is, that Idolatry is not only inconsistent with the rules of Christianity, as all other sins are; but that Idolatry does *ipso facto*, make a Man cease to be a Christian, and un-churches any Church that is guilty of it: Proceeding, I suppose, upon the foresaid supposition, that it is a total and absolute forsaking of God, so that he is no longer our God; that God cannot be the God of an Idolater.

1 Cor. v. 11.

But besides what is said before of the *Arians*, who were Christians, tho' Hereticks; and yet were charg'd with Idolatry by the other Christians who were orthodox; St. *Paul* himself makes the supposition of a Brother, that is, a Christian that is an Idolater.

Gal. iii. 8.
Heb. iv. 2.

And the Church of the *Jews* was a christian Church; they believ'd in *Christ* to come, from the first promise of *Christ*, Gen. iii. 15. immediately after the fall, to the end of the World; it is the same christian Church, tho' under several dispensations. Therefore it is called the Gospel that

* Mor. Nev. Part I. c. 36.

† Costi, Part IV. §. 11. p. 284.

was preached to *Abraham*, to the *Jews* in the Wilderness, and to the Fathers.

And the Church of the *Jews* was in their time the only visible Church of *Christ* upon the Earth; none other had the Faith in *Christ* or the *Messiah* to come but only they.

Yet how often did they fall into Idolatry? But as that was not a total forsaking of God, neither did he totally forsake them; tho' he punish'd them severely for it.

Yea, when they had made them a molten Calf, and said, this is thy God that brought thee up out of Egypt; and had wrought great provocations: Yet thou (O God) in thy manifold Mercies forsookest them not in the Wilderness: The Pillar of the Cloud departed not from them by day, to lead them in the way; neither the Pillar of fire by night—Thou gavest also thy good Spirit to instruct them, &c. Here they were universally involv'd in this Idolatry, *Aaron* himself not excepted, High-Priest and all: Yet were they not un-churched. And God gave them his good Spirit to instruct them and watch over them in many providences; God does not utterly forsake us for every even great sin that we commit. There is no perfection in this Earth, our Gold is mix'd with dross; darkness is incorporated with our light, and Idolatry it self sometimes passes undiscovered through our weak sense of Religion, and that feeble notion which we have of God.

There are many examples of this in the History of the Old Testament. *Jehu* the great Reformer anointed by God for the purpose, and had his attestation that he had done well in fulfilling the Will of the Lord, and destroying the Worship of *Baal*, and that he had great Zeal for the Lord; and for this God did continue the Crown in his Family longer than in any of the Kings of *Israel*; and yet *Jehu* departed not from the Idolatry of the Calves of *Dan* and *Bethel*.

Cyrus was an Heathen Idolater, and God styles him his *Christ*, or *Anointed*, his *Shepherd* to build his Church, and says, that he raised him up in righteousness, and would direct all his ways.

Therefore we cannot doubt, but many christian Idolaters may have the instruction of God's good Spirit, and may be Men of Devotion and great Zeal, as *Jehu* was; and their labours may be profitable to the Church. And yet this does not excuse their Idolatry, nor make Idolatry less a sin, or alter its nature, or take off from its punishment, or the precaution of God's Law: But on the other hand, it rather aggravates it so much the more; and makes christian Idolatry more inexcusable than the heathen or *Jewish* Idolatry, and to be look'd after more carefully.

But you may say to me, if Idolatry be not inconsistent with the protection of God, and even the instruction of his good Spirit, why shou'd it be so unlawful to marry with Idolaters?

I answer, The sin is not the less for the goodness of God: It is rather a greater aggravation of the sin.

But why then shou'd it be a greater sin to marry with an Idolater, than with a Fornicator, Drunkard, &c. who are nam'd together with Idolaters? *1 Cor. v. 11.*

Nay, but who art thou, O Man, that repliest against God? God has so ordained it, we must ask no more questions.

And yet there is an obvious reason for this; for if God shou'd forbid Marriages with every sinner, there wou'd be no Marriages.

Therefore God singles out the most *Abominable sin which he hates*, as Idolatry is superlatively called, *Jer. XLIV. 4.* and God calls those haters of him who commit this sin, *Exod. xx. 5.* and lays a particular mark of his jealousy (which is his utmost indignation) upon that, above other sins. The

Neh. ix. 18, 19, 20.

2 Kin. ix. 6.

x. 30.
v. 16.
v. 30.

v. 29.

Isai. xlv. 1.
xlv. 28.
xlv. 13.

Object.

Ans.

VIII.
Why Marriage with Idolaters forbidden more than with other Sinners.

jealousie of God is particularly apply'd to Idolatry through the Scripture, and he calls it Whoredom and Adultery against him. It is a bewitching sin, and the nature of fain Man is bent to this spiritual fornication; whence we see how universally it has prevail'd, and blindly; for no Man ever yet own'd himself to be an Idolater: It is hard to suppose a Man to continue in it, if he knew it. And this is the ground of that which is the great and the strongest reason why Marriages with Idolaters were forbidden, more than with other sinners, as Drunkards, Adulterers, &c. viz. the danger of the Husband or Wife tempting one another to this sin; it is the reason which God himself gives in the prohibition, *Ye shall not marry with them, for surely they will turn away your hearts after their Gods.*

And this they will do, as I said before, because all Idolaters think themselves in the right, and therefore that they are under obligation to convert others, especially their Husband or Wife, their Children and Family.

But there is little danger that any Husband or Wife will tempt one another to Adultery, Drunkenness, &c. It is rather seen that they endeavour to reclaim one another, and are troubled for one another's continuance in these sins.

But Idolatry, that serpent sin, insinuates it self under the notion of the Worship of God, and conforms it self not only to christianity, but sometimes is transformed even into Zeal; a Zeal to the glory of God.

If notwithstanding of all these precautions, any shou'd yet think himself strong enough to grapple with this tentation, and that he could keep himself from Idolatry, tho' he had an idolatrous Wife:

I say to that Man, that it wou'd be just with God to suffer him to fall, for his presumption; that God suffer'd *Solomon* to fall by this, that no Man after him shou'd presume upon his own Wisdom: That when we transgress a command of God in confidence of our own strength, we make our selves wiser than God, and do renounce his protection: That if we cou'd be assur'd of not falling into Idolatry our selves; yet how cou'd we be assur'd that our Children wou'd not be influenc'd by their Mother? Her very example is an influence, and abates of the horror of the Idolatry; of which we spoke in the Preface.

All arguments in the World do confirm the reasonableness of this Law of God, especially among Christians; who are forc'd to confess their guilt, while they can find no topick to clear them from Idolatry, but by supposing that there can be no such thing under the Gospel, or not in the same meaning as it was under the Law. But,

Where will they find in the Gospel another sort of Idolatry set up different from that which was under the Law? Or will they say that Idolatry was only a Ceremony, or indifferent thing, which the coming of *Christ* render'd mild and harmless?

There is no possible reason to think that Idolatry is not the same under the Gospel, which it was under the Law, more than that there is another sort of Adultery, or Murder under the Gospel different from that which was under the Law.

† John iii. 15.
Matth. v. 28.
Eph. v. 5.

The Gospel does indeed prohibit and distinguish these sins more minutely than the Law had done; it brings Murther to a rash word or a thought; searches out Adultery in the eyes, and in the heart; and applies Idolatry even to covetousness.

But I hope I need not be requir'd to prove that this is not a lessening of these sins, or altering of their nature.

The Gospel, like the Sun, discovers sin the more, and renders it more vile; and spares not Idolatry more than Adultery, Murther, or any other wickedness; but pursues it to its Fountain, and opens its smallest Springs.

Therefore

Therefore all the advantage that Idolatry will find under the Gospel, is, being set in a clearer light than it was under the Law, and rendring Christian Idolaters much more inexcusable than the *Jewish*, and from thence it must needs follow that those commands and precautions which were given under the Law against Idolatry, do oblige rather more strongly under the Gospel: And as Christian Idolatry is worse than the *Jewish*, so Christian or *Jewish* is worse than the Heathen Idolatry; as much more provoking, as Adultery is more than Fornication. All Mankind stand in that relation to their Creator, that Idolatry in any is committing of Fornication against him, as you have heard from the frequent style of Scripture. But when People enter into a particular Covenant with God, when God marries himself to a People, and calls himself their Husband, as he did to the *Jews*, and much more to the Christian Church, which he calls his Spouse, his Wife, his Dear-ly Beloved, of one Body, and Flesh and Bones with him: There Fornication becomes Adultery; and the Adultery of a Christian Church is more heinous than that of the *Jewish*, as much as the Gospel is a stricter Union to God, than the Law: And therefore where Idolatry is forbidden in the Law, it must be infer'd more strongly as to those under the Gospel.

Psal. l. 5.
Jer. iii. 14.
Isai. liv. 5.
Eph. v. 30.

But we are not in need of deductions from the Old Testament, the Gospel speaks not only plain but passionately in the case.

Hear the Apostle of the *Gentiles*, the unbelievers.

Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers, for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? And what communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial? Or what part hath he that believeth with an Infidel? And what agreement hath the Temple of God with Idols? For ye are the Temple of the living God; wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you.

VIII.
That Text
2 Cor. vi. 14.
explain'd.

I know some take this text in a larger sense; that is, of joining in Church-Communion with Idolaters, and that to be the meaning of being unequally yoked.

But the expression of yoke-fellows is more us'd in reference to Marriage, than of those who go to Church together; and therefore the applying it to Marriage is the more natural meaning, and the other more precarious, at least borrow'd, and the secondary meaning.

But I am not concern'd against this exposition, for, as said before in the Preface, if it will bear against joining in Church-Communion with Idolaters, it must conclude likewise as to marrying with them; for will not Marriage make them yoke-fellows? Can you suppose that it was permitted to marry with them, and at the same time commanded to *come out from among them, and be separate*? Not to touch the unclean thing, and yet to make it *Bone of our Bone, and Flesh of our Flesh*? Is there no concord 'twixt *Christ* and *Belial*, and shall they become both one? Hath the Temple of God no agreement with Idols; and shall I make an Idol possessor of that Temple, and marry a Member of *Christ* to the Daughter of a strange God?

Mal. ii. 11.

All this must be found rational, or by this text, marrying with Idolaters must be forbidden.

Bellarmin quotes *St. Hierom* in several places, proving this text to be meant of not marrying with Infidels; neither says he*, does *Theophylact* and others go against this Exposition, who generally expound it of shunning Commerce with Infidels; for if Commerce be forbidden with Infidels, certainly Marriage, which is the greatest and most dangerous Commerce, is

* De Matrimon. l. i. c. 23.

forbidden.

forbidden. These are his words, and confirm most exactly the argument I have made: Therefore give me leave to repeat St. Hierom's application of this text as he is quoted by Bellarmin.

But now (says St. Hierom*) many Women contemning the command of the Apostle, are joined to Gentiles, and prostitute the Temples of Christ to Idols.

And St. Cyprian shews his meaning of this text in *Serm. de Lapsis*, where among other crimes of the faithful he reckons that of marrying with Infidels; and says that it is *prostituere gentilibus membra Christi*, to prostitute to the Gentiles the Members of Christ.

Bellarmin brings in St. Augustin likewise speaking against these Marriages, tho' he doubted of the force of these texts as to that point; yet he concludes, *omnino conandum est*—It is by all means to be endeavour'd, that there be no such Marriages; for (says he) why shou'd Men run themselves in *tantum discrimen ambiguitatis*, into the so great hazard of a doubt? For that in so doubtful a case, the safer side is to be taken.

But Bellarmin blames St. Augustin even to the length of a sin, for so much as making the least doubt of this; and that it is a sin in any who shall doubt of it. *Si Augustino dubitare licuit, nec tamen nobis quoque licebit*: If it was lawful for Augustine to doubt of this, yet it will not be lawful for us: *Cum nos*—when we (says he) have the determination of Paul explain'd by most Interpreters, and besides many testimonies of Councils and Fathers which he had not seen; and in fine, of all the Divines who have wrote since the Master, and so we have the consent of the whole Church with us in this matter. These are his words, and he quotes several Councils and Fathers express upon this point, as *Can. 13.* of the General Council of Chalcedon, where Marriages are forbidden with Hereticks, Jews, and Pagans; and the like in several other Councils; but the 4th Council of Toledo goes farther, and commands that those Jews who are marry'd to Christians, shou'd become Christians, or be separated from their Wives.

I will spare you his quotations out of the Fathers, who are full upon this point, and made no doubt but that such Marriages were unlawful; for I wou'd not be tedious, and I suppose that will not be deny'd, from what has been already said: It is now time to come to some Objections which lie against what I have said.

IX. The first is from *1 Cor. vii. 12.* where it is said, *If any Brother hath a Wife that believeth not, and she be pleas'd to dwell with him, let him not put her away*: And so of the Wife to her Husband.

An Answ. to
the Obj. from
1 Cor. vii. 12.

I answer, That this case is put of divorcing, and not of marrying.

In the first conversions to christianity it must needs happen that many Men might be converted, and not their Wives, and *è converso*; and the question is, whether this was a sufficient cause of divorce? Which is a very different case from that of marrying with such.

To shew you that this was the case, you may observe that the Apostle directs his command here to the married; having from the beginning of the Chapter given orders concerning the unmarried, and about the contracting of Matrimony; at the 10th verse he begins with the marry'd state—*Unto the marry'd I command, &c.*

And then in the very words of the objection, it is, *If a Brother* (that is a Christian) *hath a Wife*; that is the case he puts, not to one that is

* At nunc pleraque contemnentis Apostoli jussionem, junguntur Gentilibus, & Tempia Christi Idolis prostituunt,

about to marry; and the decision shews the same, *let him not put her away*; but he does not say, let him marry such a one.

But there is more in it than this; for to my apprehension, it does imply the unlawfulness of marrying with such: And my reason is this, that if it was suppos'd lawful to marry with such, there cou'd be no dispute about the lawfulness of living with them after they were marry'd; for it is a less matter to hinder the contracting of a Marriage, than to dissolve it after it is contracted; and therefore if the Christians made it a doubt whether they ought not to divorce their Wives for Idolatry; it is past a doubt that they thought it unlawful to marry with such.

And there is yet a stronger argument in this case; for the Apostle gives a latitude even for divorce, at least for parting, or suffering it, giving way to it; that is, if the unbelieving Party shall be refractory: *But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart; a Brother or a Sister is not under bondage in such cases*; from whence I argue, that what has power even to dissolve a Marriage must operate more strongly against the contracting of such Marriages. 1 Cor. vii. 13

But to make all this matter yet more plain.

The Apostle in this Chapter having given rules for the unmarried, and for the marry'd, comes at the end to speak of Widows and second Marriages: And tho' he wou'd not absolutely dissolve Marriages which were before made, upon the conversion of one of the Parties; yet in case of a second Marriage, he ties them up, that it shall be *only in the Lord*; and 1 Cor. vii. 15 *Bellarmin* acknowledges that these words *in the Lord* were meant of not marrying but with the faithful, and that almost all the interpreters of this place say the same; as *Ambrose, Theodoret, Theophylact, Anselm, Sedulius, Thomas, Cajetan*, and others; and besides, *Tertullian* in his second Book *ad uxorem*, and *Hierom* in his first Book against *Jovinianus*.

The same was the sense of *St. Ignatius* * (who was co temporary with the Apostles, and Disciple to *St. John*) That Christians both Men and Women, ought to marry with the consent of the Bishop, that the Marriage may be *in the Lord*.

Which command of the Apostle (here quoted by *St. Ignat.*) was wrote in his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*: And the other above mentioned, which is more express and severe, of being unequally yoked, &c. in his second Epistle to the same *Corinthians*; which we may suppose was occasioned by some of them having neglected or mis-understood his former command; and therefore this stands as his own comment and interpretation of what he meant, by his expression of *being marry'd in the Lord*.

Let me add, that the interpretation I have given of these texts, is exactly agreeable with the sense of our first Reformers: Who in their *Reformation of Ecclesiastical Laws*, compos'd by thirty two Divines, Civilians, &c. And confirm'd by the Authority first of King *Hen. VIII.* and after of *Edw. VI.* say thus, Chap. viii. *de Matrimonio*.

† *Let not Christians marry with those that are not of the christian Faith. For seeing it is reasonable that the Children of Christians shou'd be brought up in the Christian Faith, it is much to be feared how that can be done, unless both Parents be Christian: But if it so happen, that one*

* Πρέσβυς ὁ τοῖς γαμοῖσι καὶ ταῖς γαμήσασιν, καὶ γνώμης τῆς Ἐπισκόπου τὴν ἐνώσει ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα ὁ γάμος ᾖ κατὰ κύριον. *Ep. ad Polycarp.* † Cum his qui non sunt Christiana Fide, Christianis matrimonium non instituetur. Nam cum liberos Christianos in Fide Christiana par sit enutriri, magnus est metus, ne id, nisi utroque Christiano Parente, ita esse non possit: Sed si contingat ut eorum qui jam sunt Conjuges diversa Religio fuerit, non temere distraherentur hujusmodi Personae; sed juxta *Pauli* Doctrinam, respectu Christianae Charitatis, tam diu cohærebunt, quam diu Persona quæ aliena Religione est, una vivere ac cohabitare sustinebit.

of those who are already marry'd be of a different Religion, let not such Persons be rashly separated; but according to the Doctrine of St. Paul, let them live together so long as the Person who is of a different Religion shall be willing to co-habit.

And this was no new Doctrine of the Reformation. The same sense of these words of St. Paul is given by *Bellarmin**.

He proves at large that the Apostle did not permit the faithful to marry with Infidels; but yet did allow that the Marriage contracted with an Infidel shou'd not be dissolv'd by the conversion of one of the parties. And he gives instances of several things, as Impotence, Vows of Continence, &c. which, if they be before the Marriage, do make it void; but if they come after a lawful Marriage, cannot dissolve it.

Object. But will not the decision of St. Paul in this case go against that of *Ezra*, who commanded to divorce the Wives, and put away such as were born of them?

Ans. No not at all, for the cases are totally different: That in *Ezra* was *Jews* (which is Believers) marrying with Idolaters; (which voided the Marriage from the beginning:) But that in St. Paul, was Infidels or Idolaters marrying with one another (of the lawfulness of which there is no manner of doubt) and then afterwards one of the Parties being converted and not the other, which shall not dissolve the Marriage, unless the unbelieving will depart. But there is a farther objection yet behind.

X.
Object. Of the
Succession of
Rehoboam.

Ans.
1 Kin. xiv. 21.

Rehoboam was the Son of an *Ammonitess*, yet he succeeded *Solomon*; and the like may be found of others.

To this it may be answer'd, that it does not appear but that she was a Profelyte; and it is the more probable, because *Rehoboam* was forty one years old when he began to reign, and so born before *Solomon*'s old age, wherein he fell to Idolatry; and it is not likely that before that time he wou'd so notoriously offend the Law of God as to marry an Idolater.

2 *Ans.*

But supposing that she was not a Profelyte; then the dispute will lie 'twixt this act of *Solomon*'s, and the reformation made by *Ezra*.

Ezra x. 3.

This act of *Solomon*'s is not said to be according to the Law; and he fell by idolatrous Wives: But *Ezra*'s reformation was done according to the Law (given by *Moses*, Neh. x. 29, 30.) and the Council of these who trembled at the commandment of God, *Ezra* x. 3.

7. 14.

7. 9.

And there was fierce wrath from God upon them for this matter, until they did reform it.

This was probably express'd in the extraordinary Rain that fell at that time.

And if we reckon the most miserable event of *Rehoboam*'s reign, the division of the twelve Tribes not heal'd to this day; we shall find more presumptions of God's displeasure at his Succession, than we can make arguments from thence for settling it as a precedent. But what if *Rehoboam*'s Mother was not a Profelyte? And what if the like may be said of several of the future Successions of the Kings of *Israel*?

It goes indeed against the grain to condemn whole generations of our Fore-Fathers, and not to be done without mighty cause, and the proof very clear.

XI.
Long Traditions of our
Fathers no
Rule against
Scripture.

But it hath been done by approved hands; and the providence of God may have great ends in it to correct human presumption; to teach us to

* Apostolus non permittit Fidelem cum Infideli contrahere; sed Matrimonium cum Infideli contractum permittit, non dirimit per conversionem alterius Conjugis; nam impedimenta dirimentia hoc proprium habent, ut dirimant, si ipsa præcedant, non dirimant si sequantur: Impotentia enim coeundi, & votum solenne continentie, & alia id genus, si præcedant Matrimonium, illud ita impediunt, ut irritum reddant, si fiat; at si superveniant post Matrimonium legitime contractum, illud dirimere nequaquam possunt. De Matrimonio l. 1. c. 23. f.

make God's Law our Rule; and not to be misled by the errors of great Men; to fix our hearts in God alone, and not to glory in Men. There were many godly reformati^{Instances in}ons made by the Kings of *Judah*; but in none of them were the high places taken away: That was left as a mark of infirmity upon all reformation by human instruments; therefore no reformation was perfect but that only which was made by *Christ* himself: That after the captivity was more perfect than any before it, being built upon greater experience. And there are several instances in this same reformation after the captivity, of their going against the customs of many ages of their predecessors: They made Scripture their only Rule, and minded not the prescription of their Fathers that went contrary to it. ^{the High-Places.}

It was written in the Law, that the Children of *Israel* should dwell in Booths in the Feast of the seventh Month. This command was neglected all along from the days of *Joshua* to the return from the captivity; yet they reform'd it, and God gave them very great gladness. ^{Booths. Neh. viii. 14. ibid. 17.}

Another great instance is of every seventh which was the sabbatical year, commanded *Lev. xxv. 4.* with such a particular judgment threatened to the neglect of it, *Lev. xxvi. 34, 35, 43.* as we see was executed, *2 Chr. xxxvi. 21.* with a respect to the length of time in which they had neglected it, that was seventy sabbatical years, which makes four hundred and ninety years before the Captivity; which reaches up to the time of *Samuel*: And yet we find not this neglect reprehended by him, or *David*, or *Solomon*, or any of the Prophets, or amended in any of their Reformati^{Sabbatical Year.}ons.

But the command against marrying of Idolaters is frequently repeated, the breach of it more severely threatened, and often reproved by the Prophets, tho' it began not so early, nor prevail'd so universally among the *Jews* as that of the *Booths*; and therefore we must imagine it of greater importance, and consequently the Reformation of it the more necessary, even tho' its prescription had been older.

But this objection was not forgot by the Reformers, tho' indeed they made it no objection, but rather urg'd their Fathers long continuance in this Sin, as a stronger argument for their speedy Reformation of it.

Ezra in his confession of this Sin, calls it their *great Trespas*s, for which all their evil was come upon them; and that since the days of their Fathers they were in a *great Trespas*s unto that day, speaking still of the same Sin. ^{Ezra ix. 13. y. 7.}

And the Seed of *Israel* separated themselves from all strangers, and stood and confessed their Sins, and the Iniquities of their Fathers. ^{Neh. ix. 2.}

This is the use they made of the example of their Fathers, when it was against the Law of God, and that in every case: Thus they argu'd concerning the prophanation of the Sabbath, *Did not your Fathers thus, and did not God bring all this evil upon us?* And of the case we are upon, of idolatrous Marriages, *Did not Solomon King of Israel fall by these things?* ^{xiii. 18.}

The example of our Fathers is not our rule, but the Scripture is our rule, whereby to examine the practice of our Fathers.

There are likewise several examples in the christian Church of marrying with Idolaters; as *Monica* the Mother of St. *Augustine*, who was married to an Heathen, and *Clotildis* a Christian married to *Clodovit* King of *France*, who was an Heathen. ^{Christians who have marry'd Heathens.}

But the same answer that has been given of the like Marriages before the Gospel will serve as to those since.

I will, to close this head, set you down *Bellarmino's* Answer to all these examples. *De Matrimon. lib. I. c. 23.*

He says " These examples are either of those who were led only by the Law of Nature, before there was any particular Law against these Marriages: Such were *Jacob, Joseph, Esther, &c.* or of those who married

" heathen

“ heathen Wives, but who had been converted to the Faith; for that was
 “ always lawful, and thus *Salmon* married *Rahab* the Harlot from *Pale-*
 “ *stine*, and *Booz* married *Ruth* the *Moabites*, &c. for they were convert-
 “ ed to the Faith and *Jewish* Religion, tho’ otherwise they were of the
 “ Heathen, with whom it was not lawful for the *Jews* to marry; or of
 “ those who were plainly reprov’d for their marrying with the Heathen,
 “ contrary to the Law; among these was *Solomon*, who is reprov’d,
 “ 1 *Kin.* XI. that he had married *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Canaanites*,
 “ contrary to the Law. And among these those Christians are now to be
 “ reckoned, who are mightily reprehended by the holy Fathers for this, as
 “ we have above shew’d out of *Cyprian*, *Ambrose*, and *Hierom*; or lastly,
 “ of those whom ignorance and a custom that was introduc’d may perhaps
 “ excuse. And in this number it should seem that *St. Monica* ought to be
 “ put, the Mother of *St. Augustine*; for in her time the custom had so pre-
 “ vail’d, that it was thought no Sin to marry with the Heathen, as *Au-*
 “ *gustine* witnesses in his Book of *Faith and Works*. chap. XIX.

“ Therefore *St. Monica* was, it may be, excused from the sin by her
 “ ignorance, and the custom of her countrey; or certainly did purge that
 “ sin by repentance and tears; nor ought she to dissolve the Marriage once
 “ contracted, because the custom of the faithful People had not at that
 “ time reckoned the difference of Worship among those impediments which
 “ do dissolve Marriage, as it did afterwards.”

These are *Bellarmino*’s words; concerning which I will not stay to shew
 you how he dwindles the prohibition of God against these Marriages (which
 he had at first confessed to be moral) into a mere custom of the Church,
 thereby to make way for the Pope’s dispensing power: And, by the by,
 to excuse or alleviate the offence of some Saint in this matter; wherein he
 confesses all I would plead for, *viz.* that the example even of good Men, or
 of a Saint, does not invalidate the force of this prohibition of God: Saints
 may fall into great sins, but this lessens not the sin, only shews human
 frailty.

XII.
 Object. That
 this was only
 a political
 Law among
 the *Jews*.
 Ans.

There is an objection which is urg’d by some, that this was only a po-
 litical Law among the *Jews*, and therefore not to oblige the other Na-
 tions.

First, This is *gratis dictum*, that it is only such a political Law.

The contrary is plainly shewn from hence, that the reason against Ido-
 latry, is not temporary, nor respecting this or that Nation, but it is eter-
 nal, and therefore the Law must be such, and not only political to a par-
 ticular People.

At least as to
 annulling
 such Marria-
 ges.
 Ans.

But you may say, tho’ the Law against Idolatry be eternal, and even a-
 gainst marrying with Idolaters; yet to annul such Marriages may be a po-
 litical Law respecting the *Jews* only.

This is still a *may be*, and what may be, may not be; and the surer side
 is to make a hedge about the Law, as the phrase of the *Jews* is; rather to
 be stricter than too loose with the Law of God.

But if the Law against Idolatry be eternal, then to avoid the temptation
 of it must be as eternal; and that of Marriage being the strongest tempta-
 tion that is possible, and which prov’d too strong even for *Solomon*, it can-
 not pass as a political Law respecting one Nation only. It will be a
 confirmation of this to shew that it is confessed by the Doctors even of
Rome: Thus then we read in *Bellarmino*, *de Matrimonii Sacramento*,
 I. I. c. 23.

That

* That the Command against marrying with the Gentiles, *Deut. vii.* tho' it be judicial, and properly obliges only the Jews, yet it hath something moral in it, and belongs to all, if we look into the cause, for he gives a reason which is plainly moral; *For, says he, they will turn away thy Son from following me, that they may serve other Gods;* and *1 Kin. xi.* where the same Command is repeated, God adds, *Surely they will turn away your Heart after their Gods;* and it is added in the same place, that *Solomon* went against this Command, and that befel him which God had foretold; for being seduced by his heathen Wives, he worshipped their Idols: And certainly if the wisest Man, and who had many other Wives, could be perverted by these new Marriages with the Gentiles, so that he worshipped the Gods of every one of them; how great danger does hang over their heads who marry only one Wife, and she an Heathen, or an Heretick; and who can no way be compared to *Solomon* in Wisdom and Prudence?

These are the words of *Bellarmino*; and he extends the Moral and Reason of this Law, and consequently the obligation of it, not only to the marrying with Heathens or Idolaters, but to any that are out of the Communion of the Church; that is, to Hereticks: As he says in the beginning of the words before quoted, *Sit igitur propositio prima—Les this be the first proposition, that it is not lawful for the Faithful to marry with Infidels, or even with Hereticks.* And here at the end he joins together Heathens and Hereticks.

Nay, in the Church of *Rome* they carry up this Sin of marrying with an Heretick to be a grand Sacrilege: And consequently, that it is a greater Sin to marry such an one, than to commit Fornication with her: Thus they say,

† *To know an heretical Wife with a matrimonial affection, by which Marriage is contracted, is a greater Sin than to fornicate with her—He sins more grievously, by knowing of her with a matrimonial affection, and by contracting with her, than by knowing of her with an affection as to a Whore; because he commits a grand Sacrilege, according to all.*

This is here deliver'd as the current doctrine of all the Doctors in the Church of *Rome*.

This Sacrilege, I suppose, must be grounded upon the members of the Church, being members of *Christ*: And the making a member of *Christ* one with another who is not his member, which is a Sacrilege of the highest nature; not only in robbing from God, his Temples or Altars made of stone, his Tythes, or other inanimate things dedicated to his Service and Worship; but in robbing and prophaning his living Temples, the very members of the Body of *Christ*.

And upon supposition that the Church of *Rome* were the only Church of *Christ* upon Earth, I do not see but that the consequence would be just.

* *Sit igitur propositio prima, non licet Fidelibus cum Infidelibus aut etiam Hæreticis Matrimonia jungere; probatur primò ex verbo Dei, Deut. vii. Deus prohibuit Populo suo matrimonia jungere cum Gentilibus. Et quamvis Præceptum illud sit judiciale, & solos Judeos propriè obligaverit, tamen habet aliquid etiam moralis & ad omnes pertinet, si causa inspiciatur. Nam causam reddit planè moralem, quæ etiam nunc locum habet; quia seducet, inquit, Filium tuum, ne sequatur me, & ut magis serviat Diis alienis, &c. 3 Reg. xi. ubi idem Præceptum repetitur, addit Deus, certissimè avertent corda vestra, ut sequamini Deos alienos. Et ibidem additur, Solomonem contra hoc Præceptum egisse, & illi continuo accidisse quod Deus prædixerat; depravatus enim per Uxores illas Ethnicas, adoravit earum Idola. Et sanè si Vir sapientissimus, & qui multis alias Uxores habebat, per nova illa conjugia cum Gentilibus ita perverti potuit, ut singularum Deos coleret, quantum periculum iis imminet, qui unam tantum, eamque Ethnicam, vel Hæreticam ducunt, & qui nullo modo sunt cum Solomone in Prudentiâ & Sapientiâ comparandi? † Hæreticam Uxorem cognoscendo uxorio affectu, per quem contrahitur matrimonium, gravius est Peccatum quàm cum eadem fornicari—Magis peccat cognoscendo illam uxorio affectu, & contrahendo cum illâ, quàm cognoscendo affectu fornicario; quia committit grande Sacrilegium secundum omnes. Martin. d. Navarr. Consil. l. 4. de sponsal. Consil. 5. §. 10.*

Tho' as to their distinction of making it a less Sin to fornicate than to marry with those out of the Church, the Apostle, 1 Cor. vi. 15. makes it the same Sin of Sacrilege to commit Fornication with them, viz. that it is the making the members of *Christ* the members of an Harlot: And applies to this case, v. 16. what was said of Marriage, that *two shall be one Flesh*.

But then the difference betwixt a single act, and an habitual living in this Sin is to be consider'd. And indeed if such Marriages be not lawful, they are a continu'd state of Fornication: *For* (as it is said in our Office of Matrimony) *be ye well assured, that so many as are coupled together otherwise than God's Word doth allow, are not joined together by God, neither is their Matrimony lawful.*

I cannot imagine how the *Roman Catholicks* among us can satisfy their Consciences upon these principles, in marrying so commonly as they do with us.

If they say the Pope can dispense with it:

1. Has every one of them a Dispensation for it? I do not understand that it is so much as ask'd, or that they think they have any need of it, it is so common amongst us.

2. Can the Pope dispense with Sacrilege? And such a Sacrilege as rearing the members of *Christ* from his Body?

Or, 3. Will they be content to lessen their Sin, that they know their Wives, and their Wives know them, with an whoring, and not a matrimonial affection?

Or, lastly, will they confess, as the truth is, that their discipline is as loose as ours when interest comes in the way; and that they mind none of these things?

But for the Protestants, who own no Dispensation against the Law of God, this will lie harder upon them to marry out of their own Communion; and with those against whom they lay the Charge of Idolatry, and of the greatest Schism ever was made in the christian Church, by confining it wholly to their own Communion; thereby excluding far the greatest part of the christian World out of the pale of *Christ's* Church.

XIII.
Of marrying
within the
degrees pro-
hibited.

We all agree, that marrying within the degrees prohibited *Lev. xviii.* is unlawful; and that no power upon Earth can dispense with it, because it is prohibited in God's Law, as our *Act of Parliament* expresses it, 25 *Hen. VIII.* c. 22. And in the *Reform. Legum* (before mentioned) c. 3. it is said:

** God established such a Law in these degrees, Lev. xvii. and xx. chap. as obliges us and all our Posterity; for these Commands in these Chapters were not peculiar to the People of the Jews (as some do dream) but have the same authority which our Religion does attribute to the ten commandments, so that no human power can any way infringe it.*

Now if these commands, *Lev. xviii.* and *xx.* were not only judicial to the Nation of the *Jews*, but of perpetual obligation to all Christians: What reason can be given why those other so oft repeated commands against marrying with Idolaters, should be thought only judicial to the *Jews*, and to have no effect upon Christians?

Is the one more moral than the other, and of more indispensable obligation? Yes, for that of the degrees prohibited, must have been dispens'd with in the beginning of the World, when there was a necessity of Men marrying their Sisters. And *Abraham* marry'd his half Sister, before this Law

Deus in his gradibus certum Jus posuit, *Lev. xviii. & xx. Cap.* quo jure nos & omnem nostram Posteritatem tenere necesse est; nec enim hæc illorum Capitum Præcepta veteris Israelitarum Republicæ propria fuerunt (ut quidam somniant) sed idem autoritatis pondus habent quod Religio nostra Decalogo tribuit, ut nulla potestas humana quicquam in illis ullo modo constituere possit.

in *Lev. xviii.* was made. And by the answer that *Tamar* made to her Brother *Amnon*, *2 Sam. xli. 13.* it shou'd seem, that it was then dispensable.

Whereas this of marrying with Idolaters never was dispens'd with, but severely reprehended even in *Solomon*, and many others.

Besides, the reason of this Law, against this tentation to Idolatry, is perpetual, much more than that of the prohibited degrees, and alters not upon any variation of times, or circumstances.

Lastly, It is anew prohibited to Christians in the New Testament (as before has been shew'd) which the prohibited degrees are not; I mean, not expressly, they are not particularly mention'd, tho' I grant they are imply'd. Therefore this Law against Marriage with Idolaters, is not only a judicial Law to the *Jews*, but of perpetual obligation to all Christians.

Let me here remind you of what is said before, that all the Worship of God in the World, except that of *Jews*, was then idolatrous; and therefore this command against marrying with Idolaters, was the same thing as against marrying out of their own Communion: And so comes up full to our present case.

Having now thus far discussed this matter, let us go on to see how God has treated this sin in all ages: That the marks of his heavy displeasure against it, may raise in us a just horror and caution, lest we fall under the like condemnation.

XIV.
Examples of
God's Judg-
ments against
this Sin.

Instances of God's indignation against this sin.

This is the particular sin for which it is said, that God sent the Flood to destroy the whole Earth, except eight Persons: For it is told as the root from whence all their other great wickedness did flow, *That the Sons of God did marry the Daughters of Men*; from which mixture there sprung a race of Giants in all impiety, Men mighty and of renown in violence, oppression, and licentiousness, with which they filled the Earth.

1. Before the
Flood.
Gen. vi. 2, 3,
4, 13.

These Sons of God were the posterity of *Seth*. The others, call'd the Sons or Daughters of Men, were the posterity of *Cain*.

God cursed *Cain* for his sin, and I may say excommunicated him, as *Cain* said to God, *From thy face shall I be hid*: And it is said, *That Cain went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the Land of Nod*. Now the Land of *Nod* was not out of God's presence, any otherwise than as God's especial presence is with his Church, more than with others: There he is said to shew his face; from which now *Cain* was hid. He separated himself from his Father, his Family, and Communion; and set up for himself, living by rapine and violence, which encreas'd in his posterity to the Flood.

Gen. iv. 11, 14.
v. 16.

He is thought to have first invented and set up the Worship of God by Images; perhaps for the same reason as *Jeroboam* set up his Calves, lest the Peoples going to *Jerusalem* to worship, should make them leave him and return to their old Master. And so with *Cain*, lest those that follow'd him, should leave him, and return to worship with *Adam*, as they had done before.

But however that be, it is granted by all that he made a separation from *Adam*, and erected a new Colony of his own: And that from that time forth, the genealogy of *Israel*, or deduction of the City or Church of God, was not carry'd from *Cain*, but from *Seth*; of whom and his posterity it is said, that they did call themselves by the name of the Lord; which implies their standing in a federal relation to God, he chusing them as his People or Church, and they giving up their names to him as their God, calling themselves by his name, as we call our selves Christians, from our being admitted into the Church of *Christ* by Baptism. And as *Christ* calls himself

Gen. iv. 26.

the

the Bridegroom of his Church, and her his Spouse; so God called himself to his Church of *Israel*, *Isa.* LXII. 5. And took the name of her Husband, *Jer.* III. 20. xxxi. 32. The expression being called by a Man's name, or having his name called upon them, signifies Marriage, *Isa.* iv. 1. and frequently elsewhere; which being the same expression here used of *Seth* and his posterity in relation to God, shews these to have been those Sons of God who marry'd the Daughters of Men. And then these Daughters of Men cou'd be no other than the posterity of *Cain*; there being but these two posterities then in the World.

And here we see the World once destroy'd for this sin.

Let us then go on, and look upon some examples of this sin, in the new World after the Flood.

2. *Ishmael.*

Gen. xvi. 3.

xxi. 21.

God having set up his Church in the Family of *Abraham*, we find the first Persecutor of it (as he is called *Gal.* iv. 29.) *Ishmael*, was born of *Hagar* an *Egyptian*: And tho' he was of the *Peculium* by his Father, and so good a Man as *Abraham*; yet so early did the influence of the Mother appear, for she took him a Wife out of the Land of *Egypt*, her own Country: Which no doubt help'd him forward in his persecuting of *Isaac*, and the true Church.

By which example *Abraham* being warned; and to shew, that this Principle of not marrying out of the *Peculium* was known, and did prevail at that time, long before the Law of *Moses*; which proves it to be either a part of the Law of Nature, or otherwise, that it was given in command by God to the Patriarchs; I say, to shew this, let us observe what care *Abraham* took, as to the Marriage of *Isaac*.

3. *Isaac.*

Gen. xxiv. 3.

Read the Oath which he made his Steward to swear. *I will make thee swear by the Lord the God of Heaven, and the God of the Earth, that thou shalt not take a Wife unto my Son of the Daughters of the Canaanites amongst whom I dwell: But thou shalt go unto my Country, and to my Kindred, and take a Wife unto my Son Isaac.* He scrupled not the journey or distance of place.

4. *Lot's*

Daughters.

Gen. xix. 14.

15.

5. *Esau.*

Gen. xxvi. 34.

35.

But *Lot* took not the same care: He suffer'd some of his Daughters to marry in *Sodom*; and they perished; the others were saved.

We find the same ingredient in the ruin of *Esau*; for his two Wives were both *Hittites*; and this is said to be a Grief of mind to *Isaac* and *Rebekah*. And immediately after follows his rejection, and the blessing transferr'd to *Jacob*.

6. *Jacob.*

Gen. xxviii. 1.

2.

Next we see the same care taken by *Isaac* in the Marriage of *Jacob*, as before had been taken by *Abraham* in the Marriage of *Isaac*. And *Isaac* called *Jacob* and blessed him, and charged him, and said unto him, thou shalt not take a Wife of the Daughters of *Canaan*. Arise, go to *Padan-Aram* to the House of *Bethuel* thy Mother's Father, and take thee a Wife from thence, of the Daughters of *Laban* thy Mother's Brother.

Chap. xxvii.

46.

And to shew the benefit of having a Wife of the same Communion, as the danger of the contrary; this came from the earnest solicitation of *Rebekah*. And *Rebekah* said to *Isaac*, *I am weary of my life, because of the Daughters of Heth: If Jacob take a Wife of the Daughters of Heth, such as these which are of the Daughters of the Land, what good shall my life do me?*

It is observable, that the two eldest Sons of *Abraham* and *Isaac*, that is, *Ishmael* and *Esau*, who marry'd out of the *Peculium*, were rejected; and both turn'd Persecutors of the Church: And the two younger, who marry'd within the *Peculium*, were received in their stead, and the *Peculium* was deduc'd in them and their posterity.

The miseries of *Judah* the Son of *Jacob*, and his incest proceeded from his marrying a *Canaanite*; who bore to him those cursed Brethren, *Er* and *Onan*.

7. *Judah*.
Gen. xxxviii.

Let us now pass on to the time of *Moses*, who seems himself to have fallen into this sin, for he marry'd an *Ethiopian*, if she was not a Profelyte. However this did not excuse the sedition of *Aaron* and *Miriam*, upon that account; because *Moses* was their superior: And the power of reformation does not lie in the Subjects. Of which hereafter.

8. *Moses*.
Num. 12.

The first Blasphemer that was stoned by God's own express command, is mark'd as a Son of one of these Marriages; his Father an *Egyptian*, by a Woman of *Israel*.

9. The first
Blasphemer.
Lev. xxiv. 10.

When *Israel* was proof against all the enchantments of *Baalim*, they were insnared into Idolatry by mixing with the Daughters of *Moab*.

10. *Baal-peor*.
Num. xxv.

This is recorded as the sin for which God sold *Israel* into the hand of the King of *Mesopotamia*, in the time of the Judges: That they marry'd with the *Canaanites*, *Hittites*, &c. And served their Gods. This was the first of their captivities.

11. The first
of the captivi-
ties of *Israel*.
Judg. iii. 6.

In these times *Sampson* is a famous instance, who marry'd with the *Philistines*: Whence ensued his dismal Tragedy, and the captivity of his Country.

12. *Sampson*.

David marry'd the Daughter of *Talmi* King of *Geshur*, by whom he had *Abalom*, the disgrace and troubler of his reign.

13. *Abalom*.
2 Sam. iii. 3.

The case of his Son *Solomon* is notoriously known, who by marrying of strange Wives, fell into Idolatry: And his example stands as a warning to all generations of Men, not to trust themselves with that temptation, which prov'd too strong for the most wise of all mere mortals, that ever were, or shall be created. Besides that he was greatly beloved of God, who sent by the hand of his Prophet, to give him the name of *his beloved*. And God vouchsafed to appear twice unto him. He was chosen of all the Men upon the Earth to build the Temple of God, and erect a new œconomy of the Temple Service, superior to that of the Tabernacle established by *Moses*. And he was named of God for this great work before he was born; and in this, preferred to *David* his Father; and had the promise of an everlasting Kingdom given unto him, which is fulfilled in *Christ* our Lord, who sprang from him, and now sitteth upon the Throne.

14. *Solomon*.
1 Kin. xi. 1, 2.

2 Sam. xii. 25.
1 Kin. xi. 9.

1 Chron. xxii.
8, 9, 10.

And if such a Man as this was suffer'd by the all-wise providence to fall by this sin; it was meant (surely) to teach all others, that none should thereafter presume, upon their own strength or attainments, to taste of this forbidden Fruit.

So that this example of *Solomon* stands *instar omnium*, instead of a thousand. Yet let us name a few more.

His fatal Son *Rehoboam*, who lost ten of the twelve tribes, was the fruit of one of these Marriages, for his Mother was an *Ammonite*.

15. *Rehoboam*.
1 Kin. xiv. 14.

The Marriage of *Achab* with *Jezebel* the Daughter of *Ethbaal* King of the *Zidonians*, is reckon'd as a greater sin than that of *Jeroboam*; at least as a great aggravation of it: And it is written, that she stirred him up to follow Idols.

16. *Achab*.
1 Kin. xvi. 31.
Chap. xxi. 25, 26.

Jehoram King of *Judah* marry'd *Achab's* Daughter, and walked in the ways of *Achab*. And God sent grievous Plagues upon him, and a miserable death, according to the prophecy of *Elijah*, sent to him in writing.

17. *Jehoram*.
2 Chron. vi. 12.

And this iniquity of his went on to ruin his Son *Ahaziah*, who also walked in the ways of the House of *Achab*, for his Mother was his Counsellor to do wickedly. And after that her counsel had brought him to a violent end, she destroy'd all the Seed-Royal of the House of *Judah*, and usurp'd the Kingdom to herself.

18. *Ahaziah*.
2 Chr. xxii. 3.
2 Chr. xxii. 9.
v. 10.

More particular examples of this sort might be produc'd, but let these suffice to bring us,

19. Loss of
the ten tribes.
1 Kin. xvii.

First, To the utter dispersion and loss of the ten tribes, even to this day. Which is said to be chiefly for this sin of Idolatry, to which they were tempted and ensnared by these Marriages of their several Kings.

20. Of the
Kingdom of
Judah.

Secondly, Of the great captivity of the two tribes, the Kingdom of *Judab*, for seventy years in *Babylon*, which was likewise for the same sin.

And it is told before in the 10th instance, that their first captivity was upon their first falling into this sin after their entering into the possession of *Canaan*.

After the cap-
tivity.

21. Ezra.
ix. 1, 2, 3.

Let us now look into the time after their return from the captivity.

And we find this same sin most sharply reprehended by *Ezra* the Priest; not only as to their Marriages with the seven cursed Nations, which are all particularly nam'd, *Deut. vii. 1*. But he names likewise the *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, and *Egyptians*, who were none of these Nations. And the reason he gives reaches to all other People who were not of their Communion, viz. *That the holy Seed have mingled themselves with the People of those Lands*, That is, with any other who were not of the holy Seed: Which was not confin'd to their Nation, but Religion; because they were allow'd to marry Profelytes of other Nations.

And let us observe the great Zeal of *Ezra* against these Marriages. *When* (said he) *I heard this thing, I rent my Garment and my Mantle, and pluck'd off the hair of my Head, and of my Beard, and sat down astonied, &c.* And he conceiv'd a most passionate Prayer (to the end of that chapter) attributing the Judgments that had befallen them to this sin.

22. Nehemiah
xiii. 23.

§. 25, &c.

After him, *Nehemiah* express'd no less indignation in the same case. And the Nations he nam'd with whom the *Israelites* had marry'd, were *Ashdod*, *Ammon*, and *Moab*; none of which were of the seven cursed Nations. *And I contended with them* (said he, that is, with his brethren of the captivity, who had marry'd with these) *and cursed them, and smote certain of them, and pluck'd off their Hair, and made them swear by God; saying, Ye shall not give your Daughters unto their Sons, nor take their Daughters unto your Sons, or for your selves. Did not Solomon King of Israel sin by these things? Yet among many Nations was there no King like him, who was beloved of his God, and God made him King over all Israel; nevertheless, even him did outlandish Women cause to sin. Shall we then hearken unto you to do all this great evil, to transgress against our God, in marrying strange Wives?*

23. Schism of
the Samari-
tans.

Neh. xiii. 28.

Joseph. An-
tiq. lib. 40.
c. 8.

The last instance I shall give is that of the great Schism of the *Samaritans*, which is not extinguished to this day; and took its rise from this last mention'd reformation of *Nehemiah*, who tells us in the very next words to those before quoted, *That one of the Sons of Jehoida, the Son of Eliashib the High Priest, was Son in Law to Sanballat the Horonite; therefore* (says he) *I chased him from me.* This gave the occasion; about sixty years after the Schism broke out, in the year of the World 3672. when *Manasses* Brother to *Jaddus* the High Priest refused to put away his strange Wife, and was therefore driven from the Sacrifice. His Father in Law *Sanballat*, then Governor of *Samaria*, revolted from *Darius* his lawful King, and obtain'd leave of *Alexander*, who had conquer'd him, to build a Temple on Mount *Gerizim*, of which he made *Manasses* the High Priest. And all that adher'd to their unlawful Marriages resorted to this Temple; and such other offenders as did not think themselves safe at *Jerusalem*.

Here was Temple set up against Temple, Altar against Altar, Priest against Priest; carried on by Rebels; supported by the Lay-Power of a Conqueror; and justify'd by *Levites*, who lov'd or fear'd their Wives more than the Church.

I have

I have now given a short account of these Marriages out of the *Pecunium*, and the consequences of them, from the beginning of the World, through the several states of the Patriarchs, and the *Jews* unto this day: For, as I said, this Schism, now grown a sect of *Samaritans*, remains unto this day.

In the History of the New Testament we find no examples of this Sin: For besides that it reaches but a short way, the case was so positively ruled by the Apostles, and these Marriages forbidden to the first christian Churches, as has been shewed, that they degenerated not during the Lives of the Apostles; as the *Israelites* did not during the Life of *Joshua*; but fell afterwards in the time of the Judges, who grew more careless, as shewed before in the tenth instance.

XV.
No examples
of this in the
New Testa-
ment.

I will not now enter into the detail of the examples and evil consequences of this Sin in after-ages of the Church, of which catalogues might be produc'd; but these could not add to the authority of what is here brought out of the Scriptures of God, from the beginning to the end: Besides that it would swell this, unnecessarily, to too great a bulk.

I say unnecessarily, as to us, who are more touch'd with examples at home than abroad: And we have one very near, which we cannot forget, because we feel it still, and tremble at the consequences which it may yet have upon us; that is, the Marriage of that glorious Martyr King *Charles I.* with one of a different Communion, who' tho' he escap'd the danger himself, yet his Children did not.

XVI.
K. Charles I.

But that is chiefly to be attributed to those Rebels who drove them into foreign Countries; and after (without a blush!) quarrelled with them for what they had learned there.

No doubt that Queen had an influence upon her Children, as all Mothers must have, more or less; but she could not of her self have had those opportunities nor advantages in point of argument which that cursed Rebellion gave her, carry'd on by those who called themselves Protestants, and if continued to be justify'd, will make that name abhorrent to all Men of sense and sobriety; if it once come to be taken for granted that that cause cannot be maintain'd but by Rebellion, Perjury, and Lies.

Of the last of these that Queen (as others) had a great share cast upon her by a sort of party-colour'd Saints, who had God in their Mouth, the Devil in their Heart, and the World in both their Arms: And took that handle to wound the King through her sides.

I have no design to justify her, nor can I do it, knowing nothing of these transactions; but who can believe those against her, who branded King *Charles I.* and Archbishop *Laud* for Papists, who both died Martyrs for our Church? Those who had so abandoned themselves to lying for the truth (as they called it) that they came almost to believe themselves at last those Lies they had told so often? Insomuch, that whatever reports came from that quarter were justly to be suspected: And he that will make that his rule, to conclude all those stories to be Lies which they tell, either to their own advantage, or of slander to the Church or the King, merely upon that reason, because they tell them; will not find himself mistaken once in twenty times: And the more confident and positive they are, then we are to suspect the most; for what cannot be prov'd, must by these means be supported. Ought we then to believe those who have been so accustomed to make Lies their refuge, and will stand it on to out-face the Sun in that of which they dare not come to the proof, even themselves being Judges?

I would do justice to all, and allow that the Queen of King *Charles* had her failings, and perhaps might meddle too much in the Government; and that her Religion was a byals to her; these are inconveniences sufficient, but I would not give credit to all the slanderous stories rais'd of her by those who

who had ends to serve in doing it: There is a right to be done even to the Dead, that we our selves suffer not, when we can no longer defend our selves.

But how much or little soever she was faulty, yet this we know, that her Religion was made a handle to ruin the best of Kings: And her influence upon their Children abroad cannot but be suspected to have had its share in what follow'd.

Our Nobility, &c.

Ezra ix. 3.

This encouragement being given by the King's example, was imitated by others, chiefly of the Nobility, who made no scruple to marry into Families of a different Communion, as sorted best with their interests: As it was in the time of *Ezra*, *The hands of the Princes and Rulers were chief in this trespass*. What inconveniences arose from this to their several Families, I leave to themselves to reflect; to recount them would require a History like to that of Sir *Henry Spelman's* of Sacrilege.

XVII.
These Marriages are unlawful, merely considered as a tentation.

But to come to an end, this will be granted me on all hands, that marrying into another Communion is, at least, a tentation. And then how can any, without mocking of God, repeat the Lord's Prayer, *Lead us not into tentation*, when at the same time, even while the words are in his Mouth, in the Office of Matrimony, he deliberately, wilfully, and avowedly throws himself, or exposes his Child to this great tentation?

How can any Priest, with a good Conscience, deliver over with his own hands one of his Flock to another of a different Communion? If they should fall thereby, would not their Blood be requir'd at his hand?

God says of such Marriages, *Surely they will be a snare unto you*. Oh no, say we, that is too severe, perhaps they may not: As the Serpent said to *Eve*, *Ye shall not surely die*. It is not surely so, be not afraid.

And after the many examples we have seen of the wisest of Men, and greatly beloved of God, and the whole Nation of the *Jews*, his own peculiar People, overthrown by this tentation, shall we run our selves wilfully into it? Is it not a provoking of God, and a presumptuous Sin? A trusting in our own strength, in contempt of the commands and threatenings of God?

Upon the whole, as it has been said in the Preface, there is no reason that is sufficient to hinder Communion, but must also forbid Marriage with such: And if the differences are so small as to allow of Marriages, they cannot justify a breach of Communion.

Eph. iii. 15.

Because our Marriage in the Church, by which we are made members of *Christ*, of his outward visible Body upon Earth; and by that entituled to a membership in his Church triumphant for ever in Heaven; which are not two Churches or Bodies of *Christ*, but the same Body in different states, they are the same Family, part in Heaven, and part on Earth; I say, this spiritual Marriage is infinitely greater, and of more eternal consequence than our worldly Marriages, which are dissolv'd by Death: And therefore whatever is a sufficient cause to break off our Communion with any Church, must much more forcibly conclude against our marrying in that Communion.

What is a lawful cause for breach of Communion.

Let me add, that there is no cause justifiable for a member of any lawfully constituted Church to separate from her Communion, unless something that is sinful is required as a condition of her Communion: And if it be sinful, or that we think it so, it must debar Marriage as well as Communion, for all the reasons before said.

XVIII.
In whom the Power of Reformation lies.

I am now come to the last point, which is, In whom lies the power of reforming this matter. And that is shew'd in the words of my text, which I have chosen for that purpose, *Arise, for this matter belongeth unto thee*, said the People to *Ezra* the Priest.

Matters of Religion are to be reformed by the Church; and not only the People, but the Princes are to make their application to the Priests: Thus said *Ezra*, *Now when these things were done, the Princes came to me*, *Ezra ix. i.* saying, &c.

It is told before how *Aaron* and *Miriam* made a sedition against *Moses*, *Num. xii.* because of his *Ethiopian* Wife; but this is no objection, tho' *Aaron* was then High-priest: Because,

First, It does not appear but that she was a profelyte, as said before; and it is most probable that she was so, going along with them in the Wilderness, and witness to the many miracles there wrought.

Secondly, There ought no sedition to be rais'd against the supreme civil Magistrate, tho' he had been guilty: No, not by the High-priest himself: Rebellion is never justifiable upon any pretence whatsoever.

Thirdly, *Moses* was supreme, as well in ecclesiasticals as temporals: It was he that consecrated *Aaron*, made the Tabernacle, and ordered the whole œconomy of the Worship of God, and gave the Law, from the Mouth of God himself; which is the reason God gave against *Aaron* and *Miriam* for their mutiny against *Moses*. He was preferred to *Aaron*, even in the Priesthood, as it is written, *Moses and Aaron among his Priests*: Tho' *Aaron* *Psal. xcix. 6.* did exercise it, because the succession of the High-priesthood was to descend in the Family of *Aaron* the elder Brother; yet, during the life of *Moses*, he was supreme in all things, by the special appointment of God: But this was personal only to *Moses*, therefore his case is singular: But to return.

As the Princes made their application to *Ezra* the Priest, so did the People, for the reformation of this error in their Religion. But they did it not in any tumultuous manner, as if they would force a reformation; (God does countenance no mob-reformations:) But they address'd to *Ezra* *Ezra x. 2, 3, 4.* with great humility, by the mouth of *Shechaniah*; and own'd that the matter of reformation did belong unto him; and that they would obey him according to the Law.

In the next place, *Ezra* us'd no outward force to compel them to this, but only the Arms of a Priest, that is, strong Exhortation, and laying the Law of God before them, which brought them to it.

It is said indeed, That *Ezra* did *Pluck off the Hair of his own Head* *Ezra ix. 3.* and of his Beard, in detestation of this sin of the People; and to move them the more to consider the heinousness of it.

But it is said of *Nehemiah* the *Tirshatha*, that is, the civil Governor, that he *Smote certain of them, and pluck'd off their Hair*, for the same *Neh. xiii. 25.* crime. The civil Governor may inflict civil Punishments; the power of the civil Sword is in him; and he may exercise it in ecclesiastical Causes, and over ecclesiastical Persons: He is *Custos utriusque Tabule*, so far as the power of the civil Sword reaches; but no farther.

Thus each power, the ecclesiastical and the civil stand in their several Spheres, distinct and independent of each other.

The reformation of Religion ought to move from the Church; and the State to assist by their civil Power to see the Commandments of God, and Canons of the Church conformable thereunto, put in due execution.

And for the People, they may petition and represent, but in all humble manner, not in Mobs and in Arms; and each Man may reform himself: But they cannot, without the sin of Rebellion, carry on a publick reformation against the authority both of Church and State; that wou'd be to unhinge the World, and carry all back again to their first Chaos.

We read in holy Scripture of reformations made by Priests, as this of *Ezra*; and by civil Governors, as that of *Nehemiah*, and several Kings of *Israel*, approved of by God; but none such can be found of the People without them.

XIX.
The case of a
Bishop in er-
ror.

Of a Bishop
in heresy.

But what if the High-Priest himself, or Bishop, who ought to reform, should fall into this, or other sin or error in Religion; what shall the People do in such a case?

Ans. They are his Subjects, and cannot act judicially against him: No, nor tumultuously to make sedition against him, or defection from him, as *Aaron* and *Miriam* could not against *Moses*. But the People may seek for redress against such a Bishop from the episcopal Synod or College of the other Bishops in the Kingdom, who have a jurisdiction over any one Bishop, even the Archbishop himself, who is but their Speaker or President of the Council, and therefore may be chang'd by them, or depos'd as any other Bishop, and is subject as any other, to the rules and orders of the Court, tho' he be the Mouth or Speaker of it: For he is such by their authority, and none other.

But since we are upon this point, let us put the case to the utmost, and suppose a Bishop fall'n not only into some smaller error, but into heresy, or fundamental errors; may the People then quit him, and separate from him even before synodical condemnation?

Ans. 1. The heresy must not be what every Man may so call, but what has been so defin'd by the Church in the primitive times, as well as now: For we cannot make new things to be heresies, which were not so in the sense of the primitive Church; that would be to make a new Faith and a new Religion.

2. The fact must be notorious; not only clamour and jealousies, and suspicion handed about by an insolent Party; which may befall, and often has, the best Men in the World; and the credulous Mob have swallow'd all down greedily; as Archbishop *Laud* was hounded by them to death for being a Papist, who was the most strenuous and learned Opposer of Popery that was in his age, and gave it the deepest wound, in his immortal work against *Fisher* the Jesuit. And tho' King *Charles* the Martyr, at his death, recommended this Book particularly, with others, to his Children, to secure them against Popery; and declar'd himself against it upon the Scaffold, as the Archbishop had done before; yet all this is not sufficient, at this day, to secure their memories from the imputation of Popery, with a giddy multitude, manag'd by a factious party, who tell them Stories; making good herein (and in more than this) the character one gave of the humor of the *English* People, *That they believe every thing they hear, and nothing that they see.*

Therefore I say, that if there be only a rumor of heresy against a Bishop, tho' never so great (for some make the greatest noise, when there is least reason, because nothing but the noise will make it go down, and stop examining) he ought to have liberty to defend himself, and the People must wait his condemnation by his proper Judges, that is, a Synod of other Bishops.

But now on the other hand, suppose a Bishop shall not hide his heresy, but preach it openly, and bare-fac'd in the Church; there, in that case, every Man may, and ought to quit him, and separate from him, even before his being condemn'd by the Synod: For there is no room of doubt, or of proof, which is only for what a Man denies. And he that is an Heretick against the christian Faith, is not so much as a Member of the christian Church; and he who is not a Member, can never be Head or Principle of Unity in any Church.

Thus it was decreed in the Synod of *Constantinople*, *Can. 15.* *If any shall separate themselves from Communion with their superior, for any heresy condemned by the holy Synods and Fathers; he publicly preaching the same heresy to the People, and teaching it bare-fac'd in the Church; such shall not only be free from canonical censure for separating themselves from Communion with the Bishop so call'd, before synodical condemnation,*

but

but they shall be thought worthy of the honour that is due to the orthodox, because they have not condemned a Bishop, but a false Bishop, and a false Teacher; and have not divided the Unity of the Church by Schism, but have studiously endeavoured to preserve the Church from Schisms and Divisions. In the same Canon it is before decreed, that none shall separate from his Bishop, upon any pretence of accusations against him, till it be determin'd by the Synod; and it makes all such guilty of Schism: Which comes up to the full of all that I have said.

But now (that nothing may be left that can be suppos'd) let us put the case, that most or all the Bishops in any Nation should publickly and bare-fac'd in the Church preach up heresies that have been censur'd as such by the sense and doctrine of the primitive Church: I say, in that case, and pursuant to the Canon before recited, as well as the reason of the thing, the People ought to separate from such Bishops, even before synodical condemnation; and seek for orthodox Bishops from other Nations, supposing, that they have none such left of their own, who may consecrate others that are orthodox.

If most or all the Bishops in a Nation shou'd publickly preach up heresy.

And what the People may do, what every private Person may do, surely Princes and Governors may much more do: They may make use of the civil Sword, which is committed to them, to expel such heretical Bishops out of their dominions, even without synodical condemnation.

And this, in one word, clears those objections which are brought against our reformation, because of the lay power that was employ'd in it; and brings the cause to this short issue.

XX. Our Reformation justifi'd.

First, Whether the Pope has such an universal and unlimited Supremacy, as he pretended to at the time of the reformation? If not (as it is now generally own'd by the Roman Catholics themselves; and established by the Decrees of the whole Gallican Clergy, in Council assembled *An. 1682.*) then the separation of *England* from *Rome*, upon that only account, if there were no other, is justifiable; as being only the asserting the rights of every national Church, from the usurpation of the Bishop of *Rome*.

Secondly, Whether the Popish Doctrines, upon which we differ with them, are heretical, according to the sense of the primitive Church? And this issue we will be concluded by; to this we always desire to bring them: So that here the cause must end.

For as to their preaching these Doctrines publickly in the Church owning of them bare-fac'd, writing for them, and punishing those who deny'd them, of this there is no doubt.

Here then the dispute lies, upon the additional Articles of *Trent*, which that Council has made of Faith.

Yet pretend not, that they can add to the Creed; only by way of explaining the true sense and meaning of it. Whereas, most of the *Trent* new Articles are of things, whereof there is no mention at all in the Creed, as Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, &c. And even the grand point of transubstantiation, which is explaining the manner of *Christ's* presence in the holy Sacrament, which he has nowhere reveal'd, he has not told us at all the manner, whether by substantiation, or con-substantiation, or transubstantiation, or how otherwise; and therefore no Man can define it, or ought to attempt it; at least, so as to make our definitions to be Articles of Faith, and enforcing them with *Anathemas*: But I say, besides all this, there is no mention of this holy Sacrament it self, in any of the three Creeds receiv'd by the Catholick Church, that is, the Apostolical, *Nicene*, or *Athanasian* Creeds; how then can the Article of Transubstantiation be an explication of any of these Articles?

The Sacraments are a publick profession and exhibition, they are moreover seals and pledges of our Faith in *Christ* crucify'd: But as the seal is no

part

part of the writing to which it is affixed; so the seals of our Faith are not the Faith itself; and therefore are not mention'd in the Creed (which is a summary of our Faith only) more than preaching, prayers, and other means of grace, which God has appointed.

The Church of *Rome* has no way to come off, but under the shelter of that Article of *Believing the holy Catholick Church*; and then supposing her self to be that Catholick Church, that we must receive for Faith, whatsoever she proposes to us as such.

This, *First*, takes the main cause for granted, that she is the Catholick Church; and consequently, that the major number of twenty, thirty, or sixty Bishops, many of them Pensioners to the Pope, and some only nominal (as one for Arch-bishop of *Upsal* in *Sweden*, and another for *Ardmagh* in *Ireland*, to represent these two Nations, both then broke off from *Rome*, and under other Archbishops of their own) were the whole Catholick Church: For there were no more Bishops to compose several Sessions of the Council of *Trent*, as you may read in the History of it, in the second Book.

Secondly, If this Article of the Catholick Church were so understood, there needed no other Article but this one, that is, to receive for Faith, whatever she told us as such.

But if the Creed was meant as a compleat summary of all the Articles of Faith, then all the Articles must be there.

And again, the Creed cou'd be never closed, or complete, if there was a reserve in it, for new Articles *in infinitum*.

Thirdly, All the christian Churches in the World have agreed in the Apostles Creed, as a compleat summary of their Faith: And I take it to be impossible for them all to agree in the adding of any new Article. This is an infallible assurance of our Faith: And if any particular Church does it (and *Rome* is but one particular Church, and therefore cannot be the Catholick, more than a part can be the whole) it must be detected by the rest, as the new Articles of *Trent* have been.

And we receive not our Faith from *Rome* alone, but as that Church (however eminent more than others) stands in the List with all other christian Churches, as a joint witness with them of their common Faith, as it was once deliver'd to the Saints by the holy Apostles; therefore the word Apostolical is join'd with that of Catholick, in the Article of the Church.

But this being a Controversy by it self, different from our present subject, tho' not altogether foreign to it in its consequences; I will now enter no farther into it; only I thought it not inconvenient to have said thus much, because I foresaw it might be objected.

Therefore recommending what I have here offer'd, to your serious consideration; let us not forget the regard which God has to our Bodies, which he calls his Temple, and threatens to destroy those who shall defile it: And commands us to offer up our Bodies as a reasonable sacrifice unto him. Therefore they are not our own, and we cannot dispose of them in Marriage, after our own lusts and fancy, or otherwise than according to his Law; which let us beseech him that he would open our Eyes to understand, and would write it in our Hearts.

O Almighty Lord and everlasting God, vouchsafe we beseech thee, to direct, sanctify and govern both our Hearts and Bodies in the ways of thy Laws, and in the works of thy Commandments, that through thy most mighty protection, both here and ever, we may be preserved in Body and Soul, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

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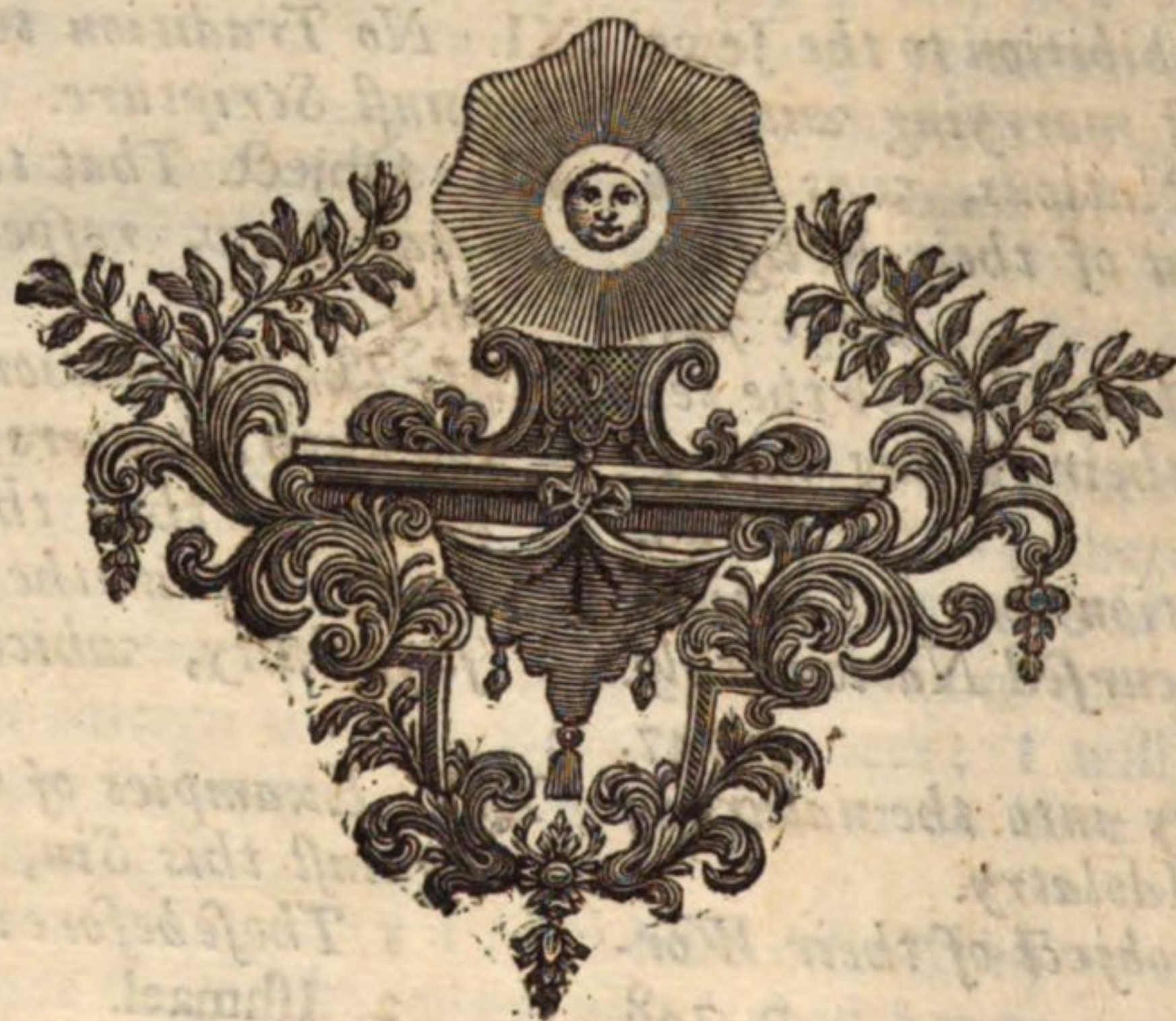
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**THE
HISTORY**

**O F
SIN and HERESY**

Attempted from the
FIRST WAR that they rais'd in **HEAVEN**,

THROUGH THEIR
Various **SUCCESSES** and **PROGRESS** upon **EARTH**,

TO THE
Final **VICTORY** over them, and their Eternal Condemnation in **HELL**:

IN SOME
MEDITATIONS

UPON THE
Feast of St. MICHAEL and All ANGELS.

THE
HISTORY
OF
SIN and HERESS

First War that they raised in HEAVEN,
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Various SUGGESTIONS and PROGRESS upon EARTH,
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THE



PREFACE to the HISTORY of SIN and HERESY, &c.

IT may be expected that I should make an apology for attempting a subject so seemingly abstruse, and out of the common road; but excuses signify nothing, the performance must answer for itself. Readers are not to be brib'd by petitionary Writers; and I must leave it, whether I will or not, to their impartial Judgment, whether I have walked safely and modestly in so untrod a path; or have improved any thing useful and christian from it.

The gravity and seriousness with which this subject ought to be treated, has not been regarded in the adventrous flight of Poets, who have dress'd Angels in Armour, and put Swords and Guns into their Hands, to form romantick Battels in the Plains of Heaven, a scene of licentious fancy; but the Truth has been greatly hurt thereby, and degraded at last even into a Play, which was design'd to have been acted upon the Stage: And tho' once happily prevented, yet it has pass'd the Press, and become the entertainment of prophane raillery.

This was one reason why I have endeavour'd to give a more serious representation of that War in Heaven, and I hope I may say much better founded than Milton's groundless supposition, who, in the fifth Book of his *Paradise Lost* makes the cause of the revolt of Lucifer and his Angels to have been, that God upon a certain day in Heaven, before the creation of this lower World, did summon all the Angels to attend, and then declar'd his Son to be their Lord and King; and applies to that day the seventh Verse of the second Psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee. The folly of this contrivance appears many ways: To make the

Angels ignorant of the blessed Trinity; and to take it ill to acknowledge him for their King whom they had always ador'd as their God; or as if the Son had not been their King, or had not been begotten till that day. This scheme of the Angels revolt cannot answer either to the eternal Generation of the Son, which was before the Angels had a Being, or to his temporal Generation of the blessed Virgin, that being long after the fall of the Angels.

But if Mr. Milton had made the cause of their discontent to have been the Incarnation of Christ, then, at that time, reveal'd to the Angels; and their contesting in such manner as hereafter told for the dignity of the angelical above that of the human Nature, his contexture had been nearer to the truth, and might have been much more poetical, in the severe and just measure of Poetry, which ought not to exceed the bounds of probability, not to expatiate into effeminate romance, but to express Truth in an exalted and manly improvement of thought.

Milton, in the first Book of his Paradise Lost, makes Lucifer suppose himself to be self-existing, and so without beginning; which seems incongruous to the knowledge of an Angel, tho' he has deluded some foolish Men into that blasphemous and vain opinion, as hereafter shewn. And Philosophers of great name have held the Eternity of the World, because they were ignorant of its beginning; so that there are more footsteps to warrant this conjecture of Milton's than the former which I have mentioned.

In the repetition of the several Heresies which Satan has broach'd in the World against the truth of the Incarnation of Christ, I have but lightly nam'd those of former and early ages, but insisted a little more particularly upon those of our own times, because we are more nearly concern'd in them.

And I have now added them to the rest of these Sheets, which have lain by me these several years, without any intention of making them publick: But now at last I have adventur'd to let them run their fate, if perhaps they may provoke more sufficient Pens to correct or improve these thoughts to the advantage of Religion, and benefit to the Souls of Men.

I have taken a text that I might keep closer to my subject; for it is no objection against an Essay if the Discourse be as regular as that of a Sermon.

MICHAEL-



MICHAELMAS-DAY.

Rev. XII. 7.

There was War in Heaven.



THE subject of this day is a great Mystery: But Mysteries are to be inquir'd into; why else were they reveal'd?

But our inquiries must be with reverence and profound humility; why else are they Mysteries?

Our contemplation upon the fall of the Angels may be of excellent use to us: It will lay our sin more lively before our eyes: Because the Angels sinn'd first; and tempted us to follow their example; and therefore it is to be suppos'd that our sin is like theirs, of the same nature, tho' differing in circumstances and qualities, as a River alters from its Fountain.

I.
The benefit
of contem-
plating the
Fall of the
Angels.

I will not deny but this History of the fall of the Angels may be apply'd by the Apostle to illustrate the conflicts and final victory of the Church upon Earth, against the malice of Men and Hell; and may very fitly be understood so in this same chapter.

II.
This Text is
likewise ap-
plicable to the
Conflicts of
the Church
upon Earth.

But this does in no ways derogate from the truth of the fall of the Angels and of their War in Heaven; no, but by supposing it and applying it to the Church, does more strongly confirm the truth of it: Or rather indeed does but continue the story; for the War that is now upon Earth 'twixt the Devil and the Church, is but the continuance of the same quarrel which he fought in Heaven against St. *Michael* and his Angels.

But the Collect for this day applies the consideration of the Epistle and Gospel, and proper Lessons to the Angels of Heaven, to which they primarily belong. And there being many days, indeed all the other holy days of the year, wherein we remember the conflict of the Church against the Devil, let us employ this one day as set apart to consider the first and great Battle, that *Lucifer* fought in Heaven, according to such light as the

Scriptures

Scriptures give of it, particularly those chosen for this day, especially from these words of my text, *There was War in Heaven.*

III.
Pride the first
Sin of the
Devil.

The sin of the Devil is generally agreed to be pride; and that from good authority of Scripture, *Is. xiv. 12. How art thou fallen from Heaven, O Lucifer, Son of the Morning? For thou hast said in thine heart, I will exalt my Throne above the Stars of God, I will be like the most high. Again, Ezek. xxviii. 14. Thou art the anointed Cherub, and I have set thee so, thou wast upon the holy Mountain of God. Thine heart was lifted up because of thy beauty, thou hast corrupted thy wisdom by reason of thy brightness.*

Tho' this by the Prophet was apply'd to Men, yet it was by allusion to the pride of the Devil;

Thus far in the general that it was pride.

IV.
Which aspires
by consequence
to an equality with
God.

And it's commonly said to be an aspiring to be equal with God. But that cannot be directly (for we cannot suppose such absurdity in an Angel) but by consequence if you please, and from consideration of the nature of pride, which sets no bounds to its ambition; for he that desires to be high, would he not be higher, and highest; which is, in consequence, to be God.

But now as to the particular instance of his pride, the occasion, the contest, and the issue of this first discontent of the Devil which rais'd a War in Heaven, let us with humility inquire, bounding our thoughts within the rule of God's word, to infer no Doctrine contrary to any express command in Scripture; let us make a resignation of whatever we earn in this Harvest, by dedicating the whole to glorify and exalt the Doctrine of *Christ*, and vindicate his Virtue from its forest enemies.

V.
The Incarnation
of *Christ*
shewn to be
the ground of
this Contest
in Heaven.

We know the incarnation of *Christ* was reveal'd to Men (*Gen. iii. 15.*) four thousand years before it came to pass. And we are not to suppose that so glorious a Mystery was conceal'd from the Angels. We are told, *1 Tim. iii. 16.* that it was declared unto the Angels. And *Tit. i. 2.* that it was promis'd *before the World began*, which cou'd not be to Man. And *1 Pet. i. 12.* that the Angels desire to look into it: And the like might be infer'd from many places of Scripture; particularly from the verses immediately before my text, where the Apostle in a vision seeing this War in Heaven as it were present before his eyes, plainly tells the cause of it to be the incarnation of *Christ*, and the malice that the Devil thence conceiv'd against *Christ* and against his Church, *The Dragon stood before the Woman, to devour her Child when she had brought it forth: So she brought forth a Man Child, who shou'd rule all Nations: And her Son was taken up unto God, and to his Throne.* As you have it in the 4th and 5th verse; and thereupon *ŷ. 7.* he tells you, there was a Battle in Heaven 'twixt *Michael* and the Dragon, and their Angels on both sides.

You will observe that in this, as in other Prophecies and Visions, things long past, and to come, are represented as present; and therefore in this chapter the first ground of difference among the Angels, the War which thereupon ensu'd in Heaven, and which is still carry'd on to this day upon Earth, and the final issue thereof at the consummation of the World, are all told in one breath, as all present together, as in a picture, for such they were represented to *St. John*, who in his Vision saw all at one view; and thence he speaks of the first revelation God gave of the incarnation to Angels or to Man, and of the fulfilling thereof in the fullness of time, he speaks here of them without distinction as of the self same thing.

But we who must frame our knowledge by steps, let us begin with the first revelation, and thence inquire into this War in Heaven, and so descend by degrees till we see *Christ* actually incarnate as had been reveal'd. Thus then

then we proceed; when the incarnation was first reveal'd, we reasonably suppose, that the good Angels look'd upon this infinite condescension of God, as an act of the greatest glory in God, and in raptures of Love ador'd the divine goodness.

But the other Angels, who had their eyes full of their own glory, thought such condescension unworthy of God, and therefore were loth to believe it, at least in that sense they cou'd not understand it (being blinded with pride;) it was not agreeable to that notion of God, which they had, which consisted chiefly in power and greatness, as they belong to haughtiness: They understood not the nature of Love, which only is almighty, and conquers in its condescending: And therefore they argued against it, as St. Peter against *Christ's* Passion, *Mat. xvi. 22.* He could not believe *Christ* meant it in earnest; but perhaps to try the zeal of his Disciples, to see how much they would be concern'd against it, and shew themselves not indifferent that their God should die and be crucified like a Thief: Therefore *Peter* would be the first to shew his love to his Master; and to shew it more zealously he took upon him to rebuke *Christ* for but speaking of such a thing, as if he had heard blasphemy; it was not so much as to be nam'd or imagin'd; *be it far from thee, Lord, this shall not be unto thee.* So little did *Peter* then understand the true nature and greatness of Love! And to shew that this was the error of *Lucifer*, our Saviour there rebukes *Peter* in his name, *Get thee behind me Satan, thou art an offence unto me;* as if he had been speaking to the Devil himself, who first had a wrong notion of Love, and instilled the same Principle into Men. And this I shew you for the first sin of *Lucifer* and his Angels, that it consisted in a wrong notion of God (which is the great and mother heresy) considering of him falsely in his attributes of power and sovereignty: And therefore they cou'd not believe the incarnation cou'd be meant literally by God, as being unworthy his greatness and so vast a diminution of his majesty, to empty himself into the basest of the order of Spirits, and mingle infinite with Flesh and Blood: and therefore argued against it; not knowing that true power and sovereignty are in the conquests of love, which delights to condescend it self, and advance others. But the desire to over-power others by force and violence, and debase them under our power, is so far from almightiness, that it is an impotent vice, which arises from fear and want of strength in our minds; and the more we grow powerful, in that sense, the more we fall from that which is true power, that is, to help or advance others; which we may perceive from this experience. Those who overcome by Love, advance those they overcome into their Love: But who overcome by force, subjugate those they overcome; therefore the conquest of Love is giving a greater freedom, and that must be by loosing us from some former thraldom, and that is truly power and greatness; and therefore the conquest of force is taking from us some freedom we had before, but cannot be the giving of any freedom, (for then it would not be force) and therefore cannot help or free from thraldom, and is therefore impotence, and shares nothing of greatness.

But to subdue one may give freedom to another: Is it not noble to rescue a friend from his enemy? It is: But in so far as it gives help or freedom it proceeds from Love. (And from this very pretence it may be argu'd that the glories of Pride are but an imitation of the power of Love.) But it is more noble to overcome an enemy by Love, than by force; for by force you only rescue your friend, but by Love you convert his enemy, and so rescue him too. Love has for its object only the giving freedom to my friend; to commit force upon his enemy is no part of its design, for it would rather convert that enemy, and so make a friend of him too: And

when it does force an enemy, it does it unwillingly, and thinks it no greater bravery than to remove a stone out of the way I am to go, or to tread through a dirty step. And this mire is all that Pride delights in, it delights in mischief, to do others hurt, and throw them down, and thinks that in that consists its own exaltation; a glory to which the Plague has a better title than a Hero, for the Plague destroys more; from which office the Devil, the King of the Children of Pride, takes his title of *Apollyon* a Destroyer; but God delights to be known by the name of *Jesus* a Saviour. And if you think that a wild Beast has not more right to this honour, than any Man of Arms, the best proof will be to see them grapple together, and then you will easily judge of their strength and courage. If Wrath were a more noble quality than Love, *Christ* would not have chose the Lamb and the Dove for his Emblem, and left the Dragon and the Serpent for the Arms of the Devil: To destroy is the courage of a Beast, *I will deliver thee into the hand of brutish Men, skillful to destroy*, says *Ezek. xxi. 31.*

Whereas the exaltation and force of Love is in humbling it self to do others good, and the higher it raises others, the greater is its delight and glory; nor does it fear to raise others too high, too near it self (which is the suspicion of Pride) because its delight does encrease by doing good to others; and therefore the higher others rise, its delight is the greater; and when it brings others to be even, one with it self, then its joy is in perfection.

From what we have consider'd of the nature of Love and Pride, this then is the result. To be conquer'd by Love is to be exalted, but to be conquer'd by Pride, is to be debased, for Love humbles it self, to advance others; Pride humbles others, to advance it self; and which of these two is the most noble, is the state of the case, the subject of our present contemplation, in the two greatest instances of either that ever was, or can possibly be in Heaven or on Earth.

Of the one, in the incarnation of *Christ*.

Of the other, in the revolt of the Angels.

We have now gain'd the ground of quarrel, which engag'd the Angels of Heaven in a War.

VI.
The Battel of
the good and
evil Angels
concerning it,
proceeding
upon the prin-
ciples of Love
and Pride.

Next, let us bring their mighty Armies into the Field, and examine the conduct of their chiefs; by discussing their arguments on both sides, each in defence of their Principles: For differing thoughts is the contest of Spirits.

And may we not be allow'd thus to enquire? For we shall be their Judges: *Know ye not that we shall judge Angels*, says the Apostle, *1 Cor. vi. 3.*

The good Angels, as we have heard, did believe the incarnation when it was reveal'd to them, as being agreeable to the notion of God, which they had, which was all Love, and wherein they understood the Kingdom and the Power and the Glory of God to consist; and therefore they did willingly submit to adore the humanity, join'd in one Person with the Godhead. Submit! did I say? They glory'd in it with all their powers, it was their most natural service; for it was a more noble demonstration of the nature of Love than ever they had known before; which being a clearer revelation of the divinity, was proportionably an encrease of happiness to them, as being more nearly reconcil'd, or admitted to a nearer participation of the divine goodness, the sum, the completion, the farthest of created bliss! Having all their joy, their hopes, their exultation and wonders of Love, their eternal security and confirmation, all their glory and delight, every thought of their capacious and enlarg'd understandings, all fill'd up, gather'd together in one, in the contemplation of that stupendous infinite excess of Love, the

the incarnation of God! The virtue of which wrought up from Earth to the Heavens, to the confirmation and perpetual increase of felicity, to the blessed Angels, as we are taught from *Ephes. 1. 10. Col. 1. 20.*

On the other side the Rebel-Angels cou'd not believe the incarnation when it was reveal'd unto them, at least in the plain and literal sense of it, as being contrary to that notion of God which they had, which was all Haughtiness and Pride (or what they could suppose it is in God, which holds proportion to Pride in Creatures, for which we want a proper name) and in this they understood the Kingdom, and the Power, and the Glory of God to consist; and therefore as they cou'd not believe, neither cou'd they submit to worship humanity in any condition, tho' join'd in one Person with the Godhead. Submit! No, it provok'd their contempt, their hatred, rage, and madness against Man; and this carying them still farther from the sight and participation of Love, consequently remov'd them far away from the sight of God, *who is love* (1 *John* iv. 8.) And that is the proper definition of Sin and Hell and Misery, for Sin and Hell are in effect the same. There is Hell, that is Misery, involv'd in the nature of every Sin; because all Sin consists in our withdrawing ourselves from God, who is Happiness essential, and in his absence only is any Misery or Unhappiness: And consequently the farther we remove from him, the greater is our Misery. This frees us from an objection, how God, who is all Love, can be a consuming Fire, and inflict Hell: For Hell is the natural product of Sin: But that it proceeds from God is so untrue, that it can only be where he is not. But God is every where, he is in Hell.

That is, he comprehends Hell, and understands the nature of it, for that is the seeing of a Spirit, or the manner of its being present. But Hell does not see him, that is, understand his nature aright, which is the original of Pride, and is the being absent from God; and therein consists their misery. Can Love be said properly to inflict those torments which proceed only from the want of Love? Or does the straightness of a rule, cause the crookedness of that line which will not keep to the rule? He that hides his Adultery or his Murder in a Cave, may as justly curse the Sun for the darkness and the damps which he endures, as the wicked blaspheme the God of Love, for the envy and malice, and vexation which attend upon their Pride. Let us be judg'd by our selves, whence do the terrors of conscience proceed? They proceed from the sense of good we have omitted: It is not then the good which causes those terrors, but on the contrary, the omitting of that good. The nature of Love, like that of fire, converts every thing into it self: But a proud Spirit even from thence will draw arguments of envy, and afflict it self; but this proceeds not from the nature of Love, but from the nature of Pride: therefore Pride in its own nature is miserable; and Love is always victorious. If any say, how is it that Love overcomes Pride? After what manner? Let him observe how light over-powers the darkness, without noise, but irresistibly: And the grosser the darkness is, the greater does appear the power of the light, and its extent the greater: As death gives place to life, and truth prevails against error, with such arms does Love fight against Pride. Love is light, and life, and truth; and by whatever degrees Love does advance, by the same is its conquest secur'd; and Joy lifts up his head, and Sorrow, and Shame, and Pride fly before his face. Now the incarnation, being the greatest extent of Love, is consequently the greatest shock and humiliation of Pride that is possible to be imagin'd; and so most contrary to the Devil the father of Pride, the greatest destruction and ruin of his Principles. As it unites, gives peace and intire satisfaction to the Angels of Love, so it distracts and runs contrary to all the thoughts of proud Spirits. Thus Love, which is happiness in the abstract, becomes a torment

to

to those who understand it not, by being seen thro' a false prospect; and in their madness they blaspheme that Love, which is their only remedy; and curse it because they have parted from it; and the more it invites them to return, the more do they fret themselves, and in spight run farther from it, which still does more incapacitate them to return; and this is that makes Hell immortal. And thus it is that the virtue of *Christ's* Incarnation and Death wrought down from Earth to Hell, to the confirmation and perpetual increase of misery to the damned Spirits, who have stood out proof against the last remedy, the strongest charm of Love that's possible, the Incarnation of *Christ*, and have separated themselves from his Love, and pine away a sad Eternity in the ruins of their Pride irreparable; which grows more obdurate, from its being overcome, and from that triumph of Love in the Incarnation, so far beyond all that it looked for, or could believe; and which therefore being fulfilled, it hates and reproaches with an impotent despair which is the anguish of Hell.

This was the issue of the War, but let us now take a view of the Battel.

As *Korah* and his company were bold to appear before the Lord, and appeal to him, whether *Moses* or they were in the right, so both Armies of Angels being persuaded of the justice of their cause, went forth to Battel, and were bold, both confident of the victory, to appear and plead before the Lord, for whose Honour each party did pretend to fight, (as it is still with us) which proceeded from the different notions they had of God. *Satan* argu'd the Majesty, Sovereignty, and Omnipotence of God; the poor, dejected, worthless condition of Man; and hence how absurd and blasphemous it would be that God should be a Man, subject to infirmities and death.

Against whom *Michael* fought from the same consideration of God's Omnipotence, that therefore God might incarnate himself, and the more difficult it did appear to created minds, the greater Glory did it bring to God: That the ways were unsearchable by which God did communicate himself to his creatures, whose whole Being was a participation of God; and that it was inexcusable presumption for a finite power to determine how intensely an almighty Love might bestow of its self, even to denominate what it loves to be one and the same Person with its self.

Satan, tho' dazzled with the refulgence of almighty Power, yet still pursues his Pride, and contests, that if God should chule a creature to make one with himself, it sure must be the worthiest: That the Nature so join'd to the Divinity must be adorable; and that it were against the Justice of God to make noble Spirits serve a baser than themselves: That therefore, if any, it must be the Nature of Angels, and not the impure Seed of Man that God will assume: And if an Angel, who has pretensions beyond *Lucifer*, the *brightest Son of the morning*, the Glory of God's first Creation? And in this sense he might be said to aspire to be equal with God, even literally, *i. e.* to be one and the same Person with God: Which cannot rationally be made up of any other scheme that we hear yet advanced concerning his Rebellion; for no otherwise is it possible for us to imagine how a thought so seemingly absurd, even to us, should arise in the mind of an Angel, of being equal with God. But as we have here deduced it, why might he not think that God might be an Angel as well, or rather than a Man? And this we may reasonably conjecture from what is reveal'd to us, *Heb. ii. 16.* in these words, *He took not on him the Nature of Angels, but he took on him the Seed of Abraham.* Which argues, as if there had been some such contest, at least gives us leave to think whether it might not be; and from such a Suppose (you see not wholly unwarrantable) I have endeavoured to reconcile the common notion of *Lucifer's* aspiring to be equal with God,
and

and brought him in arguing for himself as you have heard. Thus did he exalt himself in his Pride, and thought his Arms invincible! Which yet were not proof against the mighty argument of Love wielded by St. Michael, who stood victorious in his constancy, on his contemplation of the vastness of the Nature of Love, which can endure no limits, and when it gives, knows no reserves; whose Glory therefore is extended by the greatness of its Condescensions; and therefore infinite Love must find infinite condescensions to exert itself: And Man being the lowest of rational Beings (which only are capable of Union with God) that must needs be the creature which infinite Love will chuse to exalt to the extremity of almighty Power, to make it even one with God, that so Love (which is God) may be *all in all*, may be the *first* and the *last*. And (in Man) Spirit being joined in one Person with a Body compos'd of the four inferior elements, God does by this advance into an Union with his own Nature the very lowest of his creatures, gross matter itself, as far as possibly it can be made capable: That as all things spring from his Love, and from thence do perpetually flow, so do they, in this mysterious Incarnation, for ever return thither again: He is *Alpha* and *Omega*, the highest and the lowest; *for that he ascended what is it but that he first descended into the lower parts of the Earth?* Eph. iv. 9, 10. For descending and ascending being relatives, they must hold the same proportion, and therefore none can ascend more than first he did descend. Now *Jesus* who descended even into Hell, *is the same also that ascended far above all Heavens, that he might fill all things*. But such Glory of Love could not arise from God's advancing the highest creature, because that would not be so great a condescension; and the supreme Angel might, perhaps, attribute something of merit to himself, and despise all below; who might think themselves left behind, or forgot by the eternal Providence; who yet had the same original pretences, being all brought from out of the same Mother, *Nothing*. But in this wonderful œconomy of the Incarnation all disparity of creatures is taken away; like that of Stars in the presence of the Sun; eternal Love having gathered together in one all things in Christ, both which are in the Heavens and which are on the Earth, even in him; who by this has made Heaven and Earth into one Family, iii. 15. and of whom they both are nam'd: And Christ the Head of both, from whom (both being made thus into one) *the whole Body fitly join'd together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the Body unto the edifying of itself in Love*. So that the Glory of almighty Love shines alone in the many members of this great Body; that an Angel cannot say to a Man or to a Worm, *there is no need of you*, more than the Hand can despise the Foot, or the Eye reject the assistance of the Ear: That therefore it is no dishonour for the greatest creature to serve the least, since they are all Members of one Body, and united in the Incarnation of God. Therefore Michael and his Angels thought it not only indispensable to adore the Manhood in God, but that it was the pitch of their Glory, the sum of all possible Bliss, to contemplate such Love as was unfathomable to the eternal increasing flight of abstracted and enlightened Spirits. And not only this, but they rejoiced to be made ministring Spirits to the meanest of Christ's Members upon the Earth, (Heb. i. 6, 7.) and to take their name of Angels or Messengers from that office assign'd them, even to little Children, as you are instructed from the Gospel for the day, (Mat. xviii. 2, 10.) Nay farther, they were content to learn of their pupils, and to be taught by the Church, the manifold Wisdom of God, Eph. iii. 10. But this Humility of Love Satan despis'd, and instead thereof, accused Man before God, as unworthy of his Union: And both parties appeal'd to God.

VII.
God's deter-
mination of
the cause.

And what could be the event when Love was judge? *The accuser of our Brethren was cast down, who accused them before God day and night, as you have heard in the Epistle.* And *Michael* was justified, who maintain'd the cause of Love, in that almighty condescension of it in the Incarnation and Death of *Christ*: *They overcame him by the Blood of the Lamb*, says the Epistle; that is, that high instance of Love, in defence of which *Michael* fought, did outshine all the pretended glories of Pride, and left the Devil overthrown, astonish'd, and desperate; and in this did appear the Strength and Salvation, and Kingdom of our God, and the Power of his *Christ*, that is, Love in its utmost condescension, which is its victory, and most noble glory, the riches and superabundance of its Grace, its natural and beloved conquest.

And now rejoice, O ye Heavens, ye Angels of his who do his pleasure, who have overcome in this noble contest; and for your reward, feed eternally on that unexhaustible Fountain of Love, whose cause you have so truly maintain'd!

VIII.
The same
War carried
on by the
Devil upon
Earth.

But wo to the inhabitants of the Earth, for the Devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, and he deceiveth the whole World, and is come to make War with the remnant which keep the Commandments of God, and have the Testimony of Jesus Christ. You see the same War is carried on by him upon Earth which he fought in Heaven.

IX.
Why *Lucifer*
and his An-
gels did not
submit to the
determinati-
on of God.

But before we enter into this second part of the Battel, there is a preliminary to be adjusted, which will be necessary to the carrying on of this War, and that is, that we find a reason why the Devil did not acquiesce in the judgment which God gave, since we suppose that he appealed to it: As *Korah* and his company appealed to God against *Moses* and *Aaron*; and appear'd with Censers in their hands before the Lord. Which cause I have made instance of as a copy of the Rebellion of *Lucifer*.

Towards satisfaction in this difficulty, let us first consider the nature of that obstinacy, which is generally found in error: *Non persuadebis, etiamsi persuaseris* is a true and common saying, and we read in the Gospel of those who *seeing, see not*, and who *close their Eyes lest they should see*.

We know that spight and malice will provoke that rage which it knows too strong for it, and which will torment it; and will oppose itself out of the excels of madness and folly: Of which even our present case is not a plainer instance than what happen'd in the matter of *Korah*, our parallel case: For we find, that the very next day after that terrible and unexampled destruction of *Korah*, *Dathan*, *Abiram*, and their confederates, the rest of the Congregation mutiny'd against *Moses* and *Aaron* for that very reason, and ran themselves into the same Sin, which they had but the day before frightfully bemoaned in the judgment of their brethren, and fled at the cry of them; for they said *lest the Earth swallow us up also*: And yet they made that very swallowing up the argument of their Rebellion, for which fourteen thousand seven hundred died by a new Plague. Many the like examples are to be found in the History of the *Jews*, and are daily experimented in our selves, who remain unpersuaded by their judgments, and God's daily Providences over our selves; nor want we our Miracles too. And may not we allow as great perverseness in the Devil, as we have learn'd from him, and improve daily by his instigation?

This I think is sufficient to clear the matter of fact of *Lucifer's* discontent and murmuring even against that sentence of God, to which he had at first appeal'd: And this we have learned from the experience of our selves.

And from the same we may likewise search out a farther reason of this so seemingly an unreasonable a procedure, that should make one act contrary even

even to what appears to be his own reason: And that, as I conjecture, is this, that error does not beget truth, but encreases to more error; and some Men will obstinately adhere to their principle; and what seems to make against it, tho' never so reasonable, if they cannot satisfy it directly, they will frame distinctions and subterfuges to evade what they are not able absolutely to deny: And this temper is still to be supposed where the Mind is not unprejudiced and equal to the truth on what side soever it shall appear; for that is a preparative indispensable to the obtaining of any truth, and from the want of which alone (were there no other obstruction) all error maintains its ground against the most demonstrative truths. From hence it is I conclude, that Pride being the principle of the rebel Angels contest, they could never from thence infer the Incarnation of God, tho' enforced upon them with undeniable arguments, unless they should first abandon their principle, because it was the greatest contradiction to their principle that could possibly be; and they would not suffer themselves to be persuaded into that docible temper which our Saviour requires, when he so often repeats that most material caution, *Take heed how ye hear; for to him that hath, more shall be given, and he that hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he hath.* Obstinacy will confirm its self into more Obstinacy; and a good disposition will still take in more of truth, and still grow more and more capable: And the Devil not thinking of forsaking his principle, but to adapt to it the reasons which were offer'd against it, he could not understand the Incarnation literally as it was reveal'd, but invented distinctions and salvoes to reconcile it with his principle; at least to make it militate against his principle as little as he could: As that the Person incarnated was some holy Creature begotten by God in an extraordinary manner, and therefore called the Son of God; but that it was not very God himself: Or, if it must be God himself, that it was not real Flesh and Blood which he assum'd, but only in appearance and shew.

It is said indeed in Scripture that the Devils knew him, but not that they knew him to be God: They call'd him the *Son of God*, and the *holy one of God*, and they adjur'd him by God; but I do not find, that ever they own'd him to be God, as his Disciples did, they gave no such confession to him.

Now as the former conclusions which I have made of this whole warfare of the Devils, are I confess chiefly drawn a *posteriori*, from consideration of the effects which it has produc'd, especially upon us here below, who are taken captive by him at his will; so in this present instance I am not a little confirm'd from the prospect of those many-headed heresies which the Devil has sent into the christian Church, to the disparagement of her greatest fundamental, the Incarnation of God. *Arius* and his Bastard *Soci-nus* are Generals of the greatest name in this War; they deny the Divinity of *Christ*, tho' upon different and very contradictory pretences. *Simon Magus* was first in commission among those falsely call'd *Unitarians*; after him the *Ebionites* said that *Christ* was God, but not from everlasting; the *Nestorians* that he became God by merit, but was not the Son of God before the Incarnation; the *Macedonians*, that he was not of one substance with the Father; the *Alcoran* calls him the *Messiah*, and the *Word of God*, but not the *Son of God*; and they allow not that he was crucified, as the *Theopaschites* (not supposing it forsooth consistent with the justice and greatness of God) but that another Man suffer'd in his place; others said that *Christ* did not really hang upon the Cross, but that his passion was only in shew, such were the *Cerdonites*, the *Eutychians* and *Manichæans*; that his whole passion is to be understood allegorically, and not according to the letter, which is maintain'd by the Family of Love, who likewise make an

an allegory of his Incarnation; the *Manichees*, *Eutychians*, *Marcionites*, and *Saturnians* held that he had neither human Body nor Soul, but was Man in appearance only; the *Eunomians*, *Arians*, *Apollinarians*, and *Theopaschites*, that he had a Body without a human Soul. And these ancient and pestilent heresies are still kept alive amongst us; they are gather'd together, and improv'd by the Quakers, who deny the Humanity of *Christ*, and the Divinity of *Jesus*. They will not allow the Incarnation of *Christ*, that is, that he took the nature of Man into his own Person, only (as the *Socinians* speak) that he dwelt in or did inspire the Person of that Man *Jesus*, as the Prophets of old, and other good Men now, tho' not in so high a degree as he did inspire *Jesus*. Thence they take the name of *Christ* to themselves, and say that it belongs to them, as well as to *Jesus*, to every Member as well as unto the Head. And in this sense they allow *Jesus Christ* to be the *Son of God*, not properly, but in a large sense, as we are call'd the Sons of God: They allow that the Body of *Jesus* was that prepared Body in which *Christ* (or the *Light within*, as they call him) did for a time reside, and therefore that it might be call'd the Body of *Christ*, as a Man's House, Garment, or Veil, is call'd his who owns or possesses it: But not as a Man's Body which is part of himself; for say they, **We can never call the bodily Garment, Christ*.

They deny that *Christ* had properly any thing human, either Soul or Body.

That the outward Person which suffer'd, upon the Cross, was properly the Son of God, we utterly deny, says their *Serious Apology* wrote by *Will. Penn*, p. 146. They dream that *Christ* had a spiritual Body before the Creation, and that he has the same now in Heaven, but not that Body of *Jesus of Nazareth* which he took of the blessed Virgin, and which suffer'd upon the Cross.

The *Eutychians* held that the Humanity of *Christ* was absorb'd or swallow'd up in his Divinity, so that there remain'd not now any human nature in *Christ*. Agreeable to this, the Quakers allow not *Christ* to have now any thing that is human about him: But to have divested himself of all that, when he ascended into Heaven, where they say he now is only as he was before the Creation.

In short, they make what they call their *Light within* to be not only a ray, influence, or inspiration sent from *Christ*, but to be the very essential and personal *Christ*, as well Body as Spirit, and that he has no other Body or Spirit but what was within them: For a farther account of these Men, I refer the Reader to a Book call'd *The Snake in the Grass*, and to another wrote by the same Author, intitul'd *Satan disrob'd*; and so proceed to another less famous Sect amongst us, call'd the *Muggletonians*.

These, with the Quakers, deny any distinction of Persons in the Godhead; and consequently they run into the old heresy of the *Patripassians*, thence so call'd, because they held that it was God the Father who was incarnate, and did suffer upon the Cross. To this the Quakers agree; and *George Fox* (the father and founder of them) in his *Great Mystery*, p. 246. disputes against those who said that it was not God the Father who was incarnate.

Lodowick Muggleton (who arose the same year with *G. Fox*, An. 1650.) and his followers say, that the Godhead dy'd upon the Cross; and that there was then no God: But that God, before he was incarnate deputed *Elijah* to govern in his absence; that *Elijah* rais'd him again from the dead, and

* Some principles of the elect People of God, in scorn call'd Quakers, p. 126.

restor'd him to his Throne: That *Christ* (who was God the Father) did not know himself to be God, or any more than *Elijah* pleas'd to let him know: That *Elijah* was the Father to whom he pray'd upon the Cross. They strike in likewise with the *Anthropomorphites* (as *John Biddle* the late celebrated *Socinian*) and say that God from all eternity, had a Body, and of the same shape as Man's Body; and that being made after the Image of God refer'd to the shape of his Body. They pretend to describe his shape, a middle siz'd handsom Man, and such like most vile and ridiculous stuff.

These Batteries the Devil has rais'd of several shapes and sizes, against the truth of the Incarnation of *Christ*. This he is not able to digest, or understand aright; and seduces his weak but envy'd rival Man, by such multiplicity of subterfuges as he has invented.

This is the great and fundamental head of that War which the Devil now carries on upon Earth.

And there is another which is like unto it, and depends upon it, namely, the Doctrine of Satisfaction, which the Devil opposes upon the same foot with the Incarnation; for they are both so closely link'd together, as that the Doctrine of Satisfaction supposes the Incarnation and Death of *Christ*, without which no adequate Satisfaction, that is, no Satisfaction cou'd have been made to Justice for the sin of Man: And on the other hand, no rational account can be given for the Incarnation and Sufferings of our Saviour, but to satisfy the Justice of God for our sin. For all other considerations of *Christ*, as a Prophet, a Teacher, a Mediator or Intercessor might have been executed, either by an Angel, or holy Man thereunto commissioned by God; and that without any necessity of the death of such a Messenger.

XI.
And of his Satisfaction.

But to make adequate Satisfaction to the utmost demand of infinite Justice for all the sins of the World; to pay this infinite debt, exceeded all created sufficiency, and cou'd be perform'd by none but God alone.

And the doom of sin being Death, *without shedding of Blood there cou'd be no remission*. Which infers the necessity not only of *Christ's* Incarnation, but of his Death.

And it was not possible the Cup should pass from him, if he wou'd redeem lost Mankind. If it had been possible, sure his Father wou'd not have refus'd what he so passionately, and in so bitter an agony, three times requested. His Father wou'd not causlessly have so expos'd his beloved Son, *in whom he was well pleased*. No, but as *Christ* himself has told us, *It thus behoved him to suffer; that he ought to have suffer'd these things; and that thus it must be*.

Luke xxiv.
46, 26.
Mat. xxvi. 54.

When God, in his all-wise providence, had so far permitted the Spirit of Pride and Malice as to seduce Mankind into disobedience; the Devil then thought, he had in some sort even conquer'd, at least over-reach'd the Almighty: For thus he argu'd with himself: If God's Justice be exact by which I suffer, then must Man be eternally miserable with me, for he is less able than I am to make any satisfaction for his sin. And thus have I ruin'd my hated and despis'd Rival; and even by the necessity of God's nature, which is Justice, I have forc'd him to damn that base humane nature, which he wou'd join into his own Person, postponing the more noble angelick nature, which is thus reveng'd!

And the Devil thought himself secure and impregnable in this his Pride and Malice: For if the nature of Justice (which is God) cannot acquit without full satisfaction; and that the satisfaction for sin must be proportionable to the Person against whom the sin is committed, which is infinite; and and that the penalty must be death; and that God only is infinite; and that God cannot dye: And again, that the same nature which offended must make the satisfaction; and that human nature was far from infinite, and so

could make no satisfaction: I say, upon all these accounts, the Devil thought Man's cause to be irremediable, and desperate, and that, in this, he had prevail'd against God for ever.

But God thus far permitted his enemy, thereby to shew forth more gloriously the riches of his Grace, and the in-exhaustibility of his Wisdom: For by the ever-adorable Mystery of God *manifest in the Flesh*, and suffering death for us upon the Cross, all the above seemingly insuperable difficulties are dissolved, like ice before the fire: For here is satisfaction made by the same nature which offended; and the satisfaction is full and adequate, because the same Person is God; and tho' the Godhead cannot dye, yet the Person which is God may dye; as the Soul of Man does not dye, but the Man, who has the Soul dyes.

And in this is the great and absolute victory over all the Devils and Powers of Hell.

Here the Devil finds himself out-witted as well as over-power'd; and that Love is superiour to Pride as much in Wisdom as in strength.

But his malice never fails him. He sets all his engines on work to prejudice Men from receiving this doctrine of Satisfaction; and from believing in *Christ* as their surety, or propitiation: Which only is the saving faith.

The *Mahumetans* believe *Christ* to be a Prophet; the *Alcoran* calls him the *Messiah*, and the Word of God, and our Intercessor with God. Yet are they not Christians: Which denomination properly belongs to none who do not believe the Divinity, Incarnation, and Satisfaction of *Christ* for our Sins.

Who deny any of these, may flatter themselves with the name of Christians; but they are really (tho' may be themselves perceive it not) enlisted under the Devil's banner, and fight his battels. And he has gain'd followers in nothing more than in this; he has persuaded Men to dispute against their own Salvation; he has put such arguments as these in the mouths of *Socinians* and *Quakers*: what need has God of any Satisfaction? May he not do what a Man can? To forgive a debt? We call it Mercy in a Man; and can it be Unjustice in God? But when a Man forgives a debt, do we call it Mercy or Justice in him? You say it is Mercy: In Man Mercy and Justice are mixt in proportions; but in God they are both in their utmost; God is not only a just Being, that is, who has a great deal of Justice in him, but he is Justice it self, the highest notion possible of Justice; and since Justice cannot acquit without full Satisfaction, no more can he.

How then? Do his Attributes fight against one another? No, that is impossible; but as the Vulgar renders, *Jam. ii. 13. Misericordia superexaltat Judicium*, Mercy does exalt Justice. Gods Mercy in sending *Christ* does exalt his Justice. Which could not be exact Justice, if it did not require full Satisfaction. God is all Justice: He is all Love and Mercy too. They are the same thing in God: They are the same in Love; for God is Love. Every Sin is a debt to Love, or an offence against it, which is against God: Now a debt of Love is not to be reckon'd as a debt of Money: A Man may forgive his Money as he pleases, but Love cannot forgive an Ingratitude, but upon Repentance: Love cannot allow Hypocrisy, or Envy, or Malice, or any thing contrary to its self.

Love is so much the Essence, so the All of *Christ's* Religion, that all other gifts and graces are valu'd only in so far as they administer to the ends and purposes of Love.

Without this the greatest excellencies and performances imaginable are reputed nothing in the sight of God, that is, of Love; Faith, even to remove Mountains, and Zeal to give all my Goods among the Poor; and my very Body

Body to be burnt, and all Prophecy, and all Knowledge, all will signify nothing, if they be not done out of a principle of Love; if Charity be wanting, all these and all other things possible, all are nothing: Love regards them not.

Nothing can charm Love but Love. All the whole Earth in one Sacrifice, and all the pains of Hell cannot bribe Love into a friendship or reconciliation with Pride, or Ill-Nature; it must hate these by the same Necessity that it is its self: Behold the Justice and Severity of Love! Behold the reason why our Love can never be accepted with God; because it is mixt with what God hates, by the necessity of his Nature, with insincerity and affections to Vice, we love not God for his own sake, for the native beauty of Love, but to serve our own ends, pitiful selfish designs! vain, foolish, wicked!

The Heavens are not clean in his sight, and he chargeth his Angels with folly, and our righteousness is as filthy rags, and that which is highly esteem'd among Men, is abomination before God. Now what hopes of atoning for our faults, when our best performances are fresh provocations?

And this inexorable Justice of Love is the greatest Mercy too, if we consider it; for there being no happiness but in Love, and no atonement to Love, but by returning to Love again, consequently this seeming Severity is really but an invitation to our *happiness*. But all our Love is polluted, and therefore hateful to Purity which is God: So that we can never perform this condition, tho' the most merciful as well as just. And here *Satan* would stop all our hopes, by persuading us, that our debt cannot be paid by another, that the most perfect Love will not be accepted for that which is deficient.

And this is so far true, that where the imperfect Love does not go as far as it can, it can receive no help from that which is more perfect: For being willing to remain insensible of any offence I have committed against Love, is the greatest contempt of Love, and Love can hear nothing in its defence.

But where I am as sensible as I can, and wish to be more, and do all that is in my power, and repent with my whole heart; tho' all this be very unproportionable to my offence, and full of imperfections, there Love will rejoice to accept the interceding of a perfect Love, and it's full satisfaction and atonement for the weak but willing Love.

And this manner of paying the debts of Love is perfectly agreeable to the nature of Love: It is agreeable to the common conversation of the world: Was it ever made an objection that the surety should pay the debt? Or that it was unjust to be a surety? Yet this enemy of Mankind would make us think it against reason that *Christ* should be our Surety, or that he should pay our debt.

And this being the main hinge, or indeed the whole of Christianity as to us, many batteries are rais'd against this, to destroy us all at once; for if we lose this, what good can Christianity do us? *We are yet in our Sins.*

There are several parties, and from several arts, which attack us in this most essential point: Some say that *Christ* came into the world only as an example; but then they are put to it to find a reason for his Death: It will not bear an argument, that his Death was only intended as a confirmation of his doctrine; for that shews it neither to be true nor false, but only that he was fully persuaded of the truth of it; yet this is all that cause can afford. Others say, that he came to teach a new condition for the remission of Sin, which was Repentance, To this it is answer'd, that that was no new condition. *What time soever a sinner repents he shall save*

save his Soul. This was in the Old Testament. *Rent your hearts and not your garments;* and many other places to the same purpose. *Secondly,* Repentance was the meaning of the Sacrifices under the Law: *The Sacrifices of God are a broken Spirit.* So that Repentance was no new condition: Nor indeed was any doctrine of *Christ* new, for he came to fulfil the Law.

And if we look into this, it will convince us beyond all we could gather from our own Reason: As much as a Picture is beyond a Description.

Behold therefore in the Law the Types of *Christ*; how they were expiatory, and not merely for example. *Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us,* Sacrifices were for expiation, and not for example. The Sin of the party was laid upon the Sacrifice, and it was said to die for his Sin. Which was confessed over the Scape-Goat, and put upon his Head, and he was to bear it away to a Land not inhabited. This was to shew that Death was the wages of Sin, and that *Christ* was to bear it for us; and escape with it, and carry it from us, *The life of the Flesh is in the Blood, and I have given it to you upon the Altar* (says the Old Testament) *to make an atonement for your Souls; for it is the Blood that maketh an atonement for the Soul.* And this is the reason that *almost all things are by the Law purged with Blood; and without shedding of Blood is no remission.* It was therefore necessary, says the Apostle, and so goes on to infer the necessity of *Christ's* shedding his Blood according to his Types, which he did to the least *iota*, even to his *suffering without the gate.*

This sets before us, as in a Picture, the whole œconomy of *Christ's* Sufferings; and from the first sentence of Death pronounced against Sin: *In the day thou eatest, thou shalt surely die.* We see this fulfilled in the legal Sacrifices slain for the Sin of Man, which typified the shedding of that Blood which could indeed take away Sin, which it was not possible for the Blood of Bulls and Goats to do, and therefore says *Christ, a Body hast thou prepared me, and lo I come.* He was the true Sacrifice and Expiation for our Sin, *having made Peace through the Blood of his Cross: In whom we have Redemption through his Blood.* To call all this only his being an example to us, is so wide both from Reason and the matter of fact, that it shews the very impotence of our enemy: It was by the Blood of the Lamb, they overcome him says the Epistle for this day. This Expiation of *Christ* takes away our Sin, pays all our debt, and leaves nothing to the Spirit of Pride but to feed on his own Envy and Malice and mad Despair.

God has so guarded this last stake and great rock of our Salvation, as to render it impregnable, but by our supine negligence. He who can turn all that Scripture speaks of the expiation and atonement and ransom of Sin, to a mere example, he must go against his own conviction, if ever we can determine it in any case: Nay, I dare appeal to any such, whether, if he were dying, he would take greater comfort in considering *Christ* as his Surety, who had paid his debt, as his Sacrifice and Expiation who could plead to the Justice of God full Satisfaction for all his Sins; whether his Heart would not lean more to *Christ*, thus as a Saviour, than to look upon him merely as an example, which he has not follow'd?

Some would go farther, and let *Christ* be an Intercessor only, and as such a Redeemer, *i. e.* who redeems us by his interceding with God for us: that God appointed him for this work, but that it is against Reason to talk of his answering to God's Justice, for that God needed no body to pay a debt to him: He might forgive without all that if he pleas'd.

This has been answer'd already: But I would fain ask one question, Whether God needs an Intercessor more than a Redeemer to save Mankind? How can People pretend Reason for the one, and yet cry down the other

as against all Reason? And again to give divine Worship to this Intercessor, and at the same time to deny his Divinity? As the *Arians* did, and the *Polonian Socinians* do at this day, which is reckon'd no less than rank Idolatry by the new fashion'd *Socinians*, which are got up amongst us, who deny divine Honour to be due to *Christ*, and yet when these *Socinians* are pleading for antiquity they derive themselves from the *Arians*: Tho' the *Arians* allow *Christ* to have a Being with God the Father before the Creation of the World; and the *Socinians* say, that he never was at all before he was born of the Virgin. Which is so wide a difference, besides that of divine Worship above told, that nothing could make them of the same party but fighting under the same General; and then their cause will gain great antiquity; it came from the *Præ-Adamites*, the mighty Hosts of Heaven who fell in this quarrel, and manage it with greater success now on Earth.

I. Others by their instigation argue in this form against the doctrine of the Satisfaction, that if *Christ* pay the debt, and undergo the curse which was due to Man for Sin, he ought to suffer the same curse that was laid upon Man, which was eternal Death, else he does not pay the whole debt, or suffer that which Man was to have suffer'd.

Ans. Man suffers eternally, can never come out of prison, because he can never pay the uttermost farthing, which Justice does require.

Therefore *Christ's* Sufferings were not eternal, because they were sufficient for the Dignity of the Person, to make full Satisfaction.

And not only because of the Dignity of the Person, who was God; but from the nature of the thing: For Sin being an offence against Love or Goodness, the nature of Love does require that the Person offending should have a sense of his fault: For while the offender remains obstinate, insensible, and persists in his Ingratitude, even Love cannot forgive: I say cannot, because tho' Love were willing, (Love is always willing,) yet the insensible offender is not capable; because the forgiveness of Love is restoration, to restore those to the happiness and enjoyment of Love who have fallen from it: And all happiness being center'd in Love, (as before has been said) for God is Love, consequently till we return to Love, we cannot return to our happiness: And an ungrateful Man, and insensible of his Ingratitude to his greatest Benefactor, who still courts and invites him to return, is utterly incapable, while he persists in his Ingratitude, to know or enjoy the blessings of Love, and consequently of the forgiveness of Love; which by its own nature must necessarily hate all Baseness, Envy, Malice, and whatever is contrary to its own nature.

Now as the nature of Love does require that an offender shou'd be sensible of his fault; so likewise that he shou'd be sensible proportionable to his offence: For to be but a little sensible of a great offence, is a fresh provocation.

And it being impossible that the capacity of all creatures should ever reach to the full sense of an offence against infinite Love and Goodness, consequently their sufferings can never attain unto it; which makes their Hell to be eternal.

Besides that in Hell, they *repent not, to give Glory to God, but blaspheme the name of God, who hath power over their Plagues.* Rev. xvi. 9.

But on the other hand, *Christ* being God, had a full and adequate sense of the offence against infinite Love; which is all the satisfaction that Love does require; and, by the necessity of its own nature, cannot be satisfy'd with any thing less.

Therefore *Christ's* Sufferings were not eternal; because he made full satisfaction: And if they were to have been eternal, then he cou'd never have made satisfaction: For therefore only are Men's Sufferings eternal, because they can never make satisfaction.

2. There is yet another Objection which, by the artifice of the enemy of Mankind, some Men do struggle with against the Satisfaction of *Christ*, which is, that tho' in duration the Sufferings of *Christ* do not last so long as those of the Damned, yet that as to the greatness and intenseness of them, they shou'd be at least equal, if not superior to those of the Damned: Because if those of the Damned are not great enough to make Satisfaction, consequently his who does make the Satisfaction ought to be greater.

And Despair being the saddest ingredient in Hell, if *Christ* had it not, he did not suffer so great pain as they do: And if he had Despair, then he distrusts the Power or Mercy of God, and consequently had Sin, and so cou'd not be our Redeemer.

In answer to this, let us consider, *First*, what has been said above, that Sin is an offence against Love and Goodness: That the Satisfaction which Love requires is a sense of the offence, such a sense as is fully proportionable to the offence. Then, *Secondly*, Let us reflect that all sense of an offence against Love and Goodness must carry with it a sorrow and agony proportionable to the offence; without which it cannot be said that any Man is truly sensible of his offence.

This Agony was born by *Christ* to the full, when he bore the Sins of the whole World, charged himself with them, and stood answerable for them before, his Father: And this was far greater than any bodily pains which he endur'd; and infinitely exceeded what it was possible for all created minds to have sustain'd, or so much as to comprehend to all eternity.

Yet was there no mixture of Despair in all this: For Despair does not proceed from the sense of our having offended God (which sense is strongest in the most sincere penitents) but from a defect of our apprehensions of God, and mistaking of his Nature, which is all Love and Goodness; which those who despair cannot believe. Hence we find that many lesser sinners do despair when greater do repent. Why? Not because they have a stronger sense of their Sin (for the other may, and often have much greater than they) but because they have a weaker and fainter sense of the Goodness of God, which is thinking amiss of the Nature of God, as the apostate Angels did, measuring it by Greatness and Power, not by Love; and is the reason that they despair and cannot repent, or hope for Mercy from that Power which they have offended, and think inexorable. We may read our Punishment as well as our Sin in their offence. And they who sin as they do, will be punish'd as they are, and have their share in that Lake prepared for the Devil and his Angels.

But tho' *Christ* did nor despair, because he had the true, full, and adequate knowledge of God, and of his nature, yet for an example and comfort to our infirmity, which he took upon him, he suffer'd himself to fall under the greatest despondency that could be distinguish'd from Sin, in his last agony and dereliction upon the Cross, when he cry'd out, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* Thereby supporting the weakness and faintings of our Faith, that we should not despair when we find our selves unequal to our pressures, and seem deserted by God and Man! For even in that case, in the worst that can befall us, we have his great example to set before us, who complain'd as we do, yet committed his Soul to God in the height of his displeasure, with *strong Cryings and Tears, and was heard in that he fear'd*, Heb. v. 7. Therefore let no Man's fears cause him to despond; *For we have not an High-Priest who cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without Sin. Let us therefore come boldly unto the Throne of Grace, that we may obtain Mercy, and find Grace to help in time of need*, Heb. iv. 15, 16.

Let

Let this suffice as to the difficulty, whether *Christ* had Despair or not, (which has perplex'd some learned Men;) for tho' Despair was wholly incompatible to him, who had a true knowledge of the nature of God; yet, for that same reason, he had a sense of Sin, and of its demerit, infinitely exceeding all those in Despair can have; which answers all those objections that can be rais'd upon this head against the doctrine of the Satisfaction of *Christ*.

3. But then the Devil starts another objection, that if *Christ* took upon him our Sins, then he became the Sinner, and we were discharg'd, and need heed no more what we do, for that all is paid, all satisfy'd for, &c. we may sin on, and no harm can come to us; that if *Christ* took upon him our Sin, he must take the Filth and Pollution of it, as well as the Curse, else that he did not take it all: And if so, he was a Sinner indeed! exceeding all the Sinners in the World, because he took upon him the Sins of all the World, and made satisfaction for them all.

With this Bait the Devil has caught the *Antinomians* now amongst us, who say, that they are not Sinners, for that *Christ* was the Sinner: That *Christ* took upon him the guilt, the pollution, the loathsomeness, and filth of our Sin, as well as the curse of it, and was therefore hated of God, and separated from him, till after his Resurrection, that he had purg'd it off; and particularly, when he cry'd upon the Cross, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* That he was then odious to God as a Toad—and other such Blasphemies, which are horrid to repeat.

The foundation of this monster of a Heresy, to make our blessed Lord the greatest of Sinners, is easily discoverable to any judicious Eye; for to pay a debt for another out of mere Love and Charity to prevent his ruin, was never yet thought to infer, that the surety who paid the debt, did thereby make himself guilty of any ill Arts, which the Principal might have us'd either in procuring or spending of the Money: But very slender Hooks will serve to catch the small Frie.

And the Devil has not us'd greater pains and skill in oppugning any article of our Faith, than in this of the main end of the Incarnation, Sufferings, and Death of *Christ*, as a Sacrifice to make satisfaction for the Sins of the World.

Against this *Satan* has spent his utmost force, as being the greatest overthrow of his Kingdom among Men.

And this doctrine is so closely link'd with that of the Trinity and Incarnation, they do so mutually suppose and depend upon each other, that those who deny any one of them, are seldom found in the other two; and the surest means to corrupt Men in the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, is to prejudice them against the doctrine of Satisfaction, which is the result of the other two, and cannot be without supposing of them both.

4. These are the doctrines which the Quakers call *The sandy Foundation*, and dispute against them with the *Socinian* Artillery.

There is another Squadron lately inlisted in this cause, led by the famous *Madamofel Antonio Bourignon*, who has been seduc'd herself, and has seduc'd many others with the semblance of her own Flights and Devotion; which shew from whose inspiration they came, by that insuperable Pride which runs through all that she and her Disciples have wrote of her; advancing her above all the Prophets and Apostles, above all born of Women, not excepting our Lord *Jesus* himself. I refer the Reader for a full account of her and her doctrine to *Bourignonism Detected*, by Dr. Cockburn, printed in the year 1698. But as to the particular subject we are now upon, she flatly denies and disputes against the doctrine of Satisfaction, as

shewn in the Preface to *The Snake in the Grass*, Vol. II. p. 8. She says p. 139, 140, 142. of her Book there quoted, call'd, *The Light of the World*, that there was no need of God's becoming Man in order to our Redemption; that he took Flesh not to suffer or die, but only to converse with us; that his Sufferings and Death happen'd by accident, that is, beyond his intention. And her arguments are the same which we have heard before from *Lucifer*, that it was beneath the Greatness and Majesty of God; and that his Glory could not be advanced by being crucify'd betwixt two Thieves, as she words it.

Here I must tell the Reader, that the arguments which I put in the mouth of *Lucifer* were not borrow'd from this of *Bourignon*, (with which they so exactly agree) but were wrote many years before I saw any of her Books, or had so much as heard of her name.

But when I read them in her, it was a great confirmation to me of the truth of my reasoning, when I found the same arguments made use of by one whom the Devil had deluded, and possess'd to as high, and perhaps a greater degree of enthusiastical Madness, blasphemous Pride, and wild heretical Notions, than any Age can produce since *Simon Magus*, who boasted himself to be *The mighty Power of God*; and in many things she exceeded him.

I have mention'd her, because her infection has spread strangely in *Holland*, (that Soil fertile of Religions) and the adjacent Countries, has lately taken root in *Scotland*, and at last has come to *London*, where her Book before-mention'd was printed 1696. and too much recommended, and has travell'd into several parts of the Country; insomuch that the *Bourignonists* deserve now their class in the first form of the Hereticks. They have gain'd some learned Men, who have drawn their Pens in their cause both here and abroad; some translating the Books of Mrs. *Bourignon*, and others writing in defence of her and them: But if seasonably and diligently attack'd, it is to be hop'd that they may not make great inroads upon Christianity, at least in our parts; otherwise they will, in all appearance, become formidable; and, like the Quakers, or the Saxons, grow upon us till we must be forc'd to let them live with us, and compound at last for an Act of Toleration.

5. This is the war which the Devil manages here below, the same which he fought in Heaven. I have shewn you some of his armies, they are discoverable by their colours; the field is always Pride, whatever other device is wrought upon it. And this misleads them into all error, first, a wrong notion of God; which leads them into a wrong notion of Christ, his nature and office; and that is productive of all the *Hydra* heresies we have mention'd, and of many more, which it would be tedious to examine in so short an Essay: But those I have nam'd are the chief, and Mother of all the rest; and Pride the Grandmother of all.

The first tentation of the Devil to Man, was, that they shou'd be as Gods. And he has perswaded some since that they really are Gods, even equal to God, in equality itself, as pure and holy as he is, as harmless and innocent as *Christ*; but preferable to all Mortals, meeker than *Moses*, stronger than *Sampson*, wiser than *Solomon**, &c. Nay, they go farther, and make their soul a part of God, of the same substance, person, and essence with God, and therefore to be infinite in itself, and without beginning as well as ending. This is copying after *Lucifer*, and even out-doing of him, in his blasphemous Pride! The *Pharisees* advanced themselves beyond all

* *Snake in the Grass*, Vol. II. Sect. II, III, and IV.

other men, as to piety and holiness, but not to be quite free from sin, as the Quakers and *Bourignon* do pretend.

The *Gnosticks* gave themselves that gaudy name, from their suppos'd knowledge exceeding that of other Christians.

And all the way down from them to *Bourignon* and the Quakers, all the Herefi-Archs set up upon Pride and high value for themselves; with as great contempt of other men.

Our *Pharisees* got the Name of *Puritans*, from the high purity to which they pretended.

And all our Sects have arisen from those who call'd themselves gifted-men, and boasted in their wonderful attainments, sufficient (as they gave out) to supersede all establish'd Constitutions, tho' at first instituted by God himself. Hence that Spirit of Pride which did inspire them, gave some of them to be Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, some Teachers and Preachers, without any outward Commission; disdaining the humility of Succession, continu'd by vicarious Ordination from *Christ* and his Apostles, upon which the Church has been built and preserv'd to this day.

And what vile Contempt and Despight they all have pour'd out against the Church, and their Superiors, has fill'd the World.

To curb and subdue this Spirit of Pride, was the end of *Christ's* coming in the flesh, who fought against him with the arms of Humility and Love; which is the inseparable badge of *Christ* and his Disciples, by which they are known, and out-shine all the false Glories and Pomp of hypocritical Pride and Ostentation.

I have endeavour'd to trace this Pride from its first rise in Heaven, and shewn its Progress upon Earth; and that it is the Mother and Nurse of all the Heresies in the Church; and as it was the first Sin, so is it a principal ingredient in all our Sins. The Jews had a saying, that there was a grain of the golden calf in all their after-judgments; and we may truly say that there is a spice of the first Sin, that is, Pride, in all our Sins and Delusions; And if we search impartially, we shall find it. This corrupts both our Practice and our Principles, and hinders us as much to work as to believe aright.

The Devil is equally concern'd against both. And let me here instance in two Particulars, which have rais'd great contest in the World:

The first is the Dispute about Grace. The Devil knowing our Weakness, and that we are not able of our selves to help our selves, has endeavour'd to disarm us of the assistance of God's Grace (without which we are not able so much as to think a good thought) by this suggestion of Pride, That we have strength enough of our own to perform all that is requir'd of us, and therefore need ask no assistance of extraordinary Grace; That there is no other Grace given to Man, but that Reason with which God endows each Man, and therefore which is natural to him; That nothing supernatural is to be expected in this World; That it is a tempting of God, to ask for or expect any such thing; That it hinders our own endeavours, while we look for supernatural assistance. And other such like arguments as these.

XII.
The Dispute
concerning
Grace.

Pelagius, our countreyman, was a great General upon this head of the War; and he has not a few or inconsiderable part of this Nation, and elsewhere of his Followers. The Libertines every where are enlisted under his banner; and they think themselves no mean Men. They command wit and raillery, and mighty numbers. They call it a reflexion upon God, to say that he has not made Man perfect, and with sufficient powers to perform what God has requir'd of him.

But they forget that man is fallen from that state in which God at first

did create him; and therefore, as a Man who has lam'd himself, he needs more help than his own Legs.

But besides this, suppose Man in his utmost perfection, is it any reflexion upon the Power, Goodness, or Wisdom of God, to make him still dependent upon God, and to need the assistance of his Grace? as the Earth does the influence of the Sun, and yet the Earth is perfect in its kind.

Man in his fallen estate has powers still left him to beg and sue to God for his assistance, and to attend those means of Grace which he has commanded, the Prayers and Sacraments of his Church; which whosoever does sincerely and diligently, God has given them his promise to bestow his Grace upon them, sufficient for their need.

And they who will not be at this pains, but trust to the plea of *the unprofitable servant*, that they *serve a severe master, who reaps where he did not sow*, and exacts more than he gave them abilities to perform, will, with him who *hid his talent*, be condemn'd out of their own mouths; because that consideration, if it were true, shou'd make them double their diligence; and not neglect those means which their Lord has appointed.

They are loth to share with him the Glory of their Salvation; they wou'd do all themselves. But he will not share with them; he will have all the whole Glory of it, for to him only it does appertain. And they whose Pride will not suffer them to submit absolutely and without reserve to him, must have their portion with those who rebel against him.

XIII.
Of Faith and
Works.

The other snare of the Devil which I mention'd is the dispute about Faith and Works, which has made a great bustle in the World; and this is near of kin to the last; for some are persuaded to lean wholly upon their own Works, and to esteem of Faith only as an empty notion, and mere imagination, of no virtue or efficacy at all: That there is no trust in any other, tho' in *Christ* himself: That we shall be reckoned with only according to the Works that we have done, and not according to what we believe another has done for us, which can no ways be imputed unto us.

Others again are tempted wholly to neglect Works, and lean all upon Faith. They think the Doctrine of Works to be great arrogance and pride, in assuming to our selves the merit of our Salvation, which is due only to God. That because he ought to have the whole Glory, therefore we ought not to intermix any of our Works at all, but to live only by Faith in him. That *our Righteousness is filthy raggs*, and therefore cannot be accepted by him, nor are worthy to be accepted; and therefore can add or help nothing, no not in the least tittle, to our Salvation: But on the contrary, that we ought to renounce them, and divest our selves wholly of them, and trust to God's Mercy without them; which they suppose has no Consideration at all of them, but justifies the Elect without any respect to them; and therefore loves the Saints in all their sins: That they are not the less beloved while wallowing in their sins, because God's Love is free, and without regard to our performances: That therefore there ought to be no sorrow for sin; that this is contrary to a true godly frame. This the *Antimonians* (who are set up on high now in *London*) have preach'd, and printed in their books; particularly the famous Dr. *Crisp*. Nay, they go farther, they make neither Faith nor Works necessary, for that they say, wou'd hinder the freedom of God's Love, and make it conditional (which they abhor to think) and to depend upon any thing that is in us to do. They call Faith therefore only an echo of the soul answering to the call of God, and saying, I come without any change in the Man. But that the soul which has not that echo is not the less safe. For they resolve all into the absolute decree of God, without respect either to Faith or Works on our part. This is the plea of *Lucifer* for himself, that he was over-ruled in Heaven by absolute Power,

Power, without respect to Justice; for that he had merit beyond many of those Angels who stood, tho' he and others better than they fell. And the same argument is taken up by many of his followers at this day, who have bewilder'd their understandings in the intricate mazes of absolute decrees, unconditional election and reprobation, so as to confound themselves, and stop their endeavours from *working out their own Salvation*, as they are commanded. The *Antinomians* say that *Christ* has wrought all for us, so that we need not work: And that to offer to add our Works to his is presumption, and an undervaluing of his, as if his were not sufficient. They say, that he bore not only the pollution and filth of Sin, (as before has been mention'd) but the sadness and sorrow for it too, all that was due to it; and that therefore whoever has any sadness or sorrow for Sin is out of *Christ*, and in a false way.

See the many snares of the Devil to keep Men from Repentance, and harden them in their Sins.

Here he gilds his poyson with a seeming trust in God, as when he tempted *Christ* to throw himself down from the pinnacle, that he might thereby tempt God.

And this is the very case here, for to neglect those Works which *Christ* has commanded, out of a seeming Faith in him, and deference towards him, as if we wou'd not presume to mix our Works with his; all this is a downright tempting of him, to excuse our selves from what he has commanded, on pretence of trusting to what he has promis'd or decreed secretly from Eternity; as if these cou'd interfere, and his Decrees dissolve his Commands.

But say these Men, it is he who worketh all the Good that is in us, therefore what need we work?

I answer. Therefore we ought to work. Therefore he works in us, that we should work, that is, work with him. This is the very Argument of the Apostle, *Phil. II. 12, 13. Work out your own Salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God who worketh in you, both to will and to do of his good Pleasure.*

All the Good in us, God worketh it: Therefore all the Glory is to him, and none to us at all.

But when we work with God, our Works are full of imperfections which come from our selves, therefore we trust not in them. Here then is our Faith, *viz.* in the perfect work and obedience of *Christ* to the whole Law, which all of us have many ways broken; and his undergoing the Curse of the Law, which was due to our breaches of the Law. And this being apply'd to us by a true *lively Faith*, which *worketh by Love*, and a sincere repentance and sense of our Sin, tho' not equal to the demerit, yet to our weak abilities; and for what is defective, when we have done as much as we can do, and are sorry that we can do no more, it is supply'd, and we accepted in the perfect obedience of *Christ*, and his sufferings of infinite value for that wherein we have been deficient, when we fully trust in and believe the promises of God, that we shall have remission through *Christ*. This is our Faith, by which we apply the merit of the sufferings of *Christ* to our selves.

1. And then is his righteousness imputed unto us, as our Sins were to him: Not that he was a Sinner, (as the *Antinomians* say) tho' he bore our Sins; or that his Righteousness, which is infinite, can be inherent in us so as to make us as righteous as he is (as the Quakers and some others speak;) but that he has given us a right to plead his Righteousness and Sufferings on our behalf, as perform'd for us in our nature, and in our stead.

This wholesome and necessary doctrine of Imputation has been greatly strain'd, and turn'd into a Cant by many of our Dissenters since 1640. who would thereby

thereby have the whole Righteousness of *Christ* not only apply'd, but transferr'd to us, to become our Righteousness and inherent in us; so as to supersede all our own Righteousness, or any endeavours on our side, not only from having any merit (which is most true) but from being any way necessary or beneficial towards our Salvation.

This has given occasion to others, in odium to this vile extravagance, quite to throw off the doctrine, and ridicule the very name of Imputation, which is as dangerous an error on the other side; for it is, when rightly understood, a necessary consequence of the doctrine of Satisfaction, and the means whereby the satisfaction which *Christ* made for our Sins is apply'd, and made profitable to us; without which it could be of no advantage to us; for if it were not imputed to us, how would it concern us? What benefit could we reap from it? No benefit at all, say the *Socinians* and *Quakers*, more than as an example, like the sufferings of other good Men, which are not imputed to any others. *Solomon Eccles.* a great Prophet of the *Quakers*, says in his Letter to one *Rob. Porter*, that the Blood of *Christ*, which was shed upon the Cross, was * *no more than the Blood of another Saint*; and adds, *God will overthrow your Faith, and your imputative Righteousness too. Such as have Christ in them, (says George Fox in his Great Mystery, p. 183.) they have the Righteousness itself, without imputation.* For they suppose their Light within to be not only an illumination or influence sent into their hearts by *Christ*, but to be the very *Christ* itself, and that there is none other: And consequently that they have the whole Righteousness of *Christ* inherent in them; and that it thus becomes their own Righteousness without imputation.

William Penn, in his *Serious Apology*, p. 148. speaking of our Justification by the Righteousness which *Christ* has fulfill'd in his own Person for us, says, *And indeed, this we deny, and boldly affirm it, in the Name of the Lord, to be the doctrine of Devils, and an arm of the sea of Corruption, which does now deluge the whole World.* It is dreadfully astonishing to see the heart and foundation of the whole Christian Religion thus call'd *The doctrine of Devils*, and that boldly, *In the Name of the Lord!* These Men throw off the Righteousness of *Christ*, that they may establish their own Righteousness, which they call *Christ's*. They may be nam'd *Suifidians* for making the Righteousness of *Christ* their own, without imputation; they trust wholly in themselves, and reject the imputation of the Righteousness of any other.

And this they call their deep knowledge in the mysteries of God; and by this expect to be sav'd: As *Simon Magus*, (the Father of the *Gnosticks*, *Quakers*, *Suifidians*, and *Antinomians*) who taught that Men might be sav'd by their knowledge, however vicious their Lives were; or (which is the same) that nothing they do is vicious, as being the immediate dictates of the Holy Ghost, or Light within them.

Here we may see the dangerous Error of both the extremes before mentioned, of those who make a jest of Faith, and place all in their *Opus Operatum*, in their own performance: And on the other hand, of those *Suifidians* who throw off all Works on pretence to magnify Faith.

These are the fiery Darts of the Devil, by which he endeavours to ruin the Souls of Men, undermining the foundation of our Christian Faith with his false and pernicious glosses: That where he cannot beat Men from the belief of the Incarnation and Satisfaction of *Christ*, he may by these means render them useless to us.

* *Snake in the Grass*, Vol. II. sect. 2. p. 72. He he were predestinated to Salvation: And that a voice answer'd him.

He separates Faith and Works, and sets them up in opposition to each other; and whatever side prevails, he is sure of both: Because Faith and Works are not to be separated; and whoever separates them has err'd from the Faith.

Our blessed Saviour makes them both one: For being ask'd, *What shall we do that we might work the Works of God?* Jesus answered and said unto them, *This is the Work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent,* Joh. vi. 29. For there are Works of our Minds, and they are the chief Works, and Faith is one of these Works. We must not confine the notion of Works to the operations only of our Hands or our Feet. And if Faith be a Work (as our Saviour says it is) where then is the War that has been set up betwixt Faith and Works?

I will end all I have said of Grace in the last Section, and of Faith and Works in this, with the words of St. Paul, *Eph. ii. 8. By Grace are ye saved, through Faith; and that not of your selves, it is the gift of God; not of Works, lest any Man should boast.* That is, not of our own Works, which Faith is not; for it is the gift of God; and therefore we have no pretence to boast in it. And if his gift, and his only, how careful ought we to be in attending those means of Grace, the Prayers and Sacraments in the Church, which he has commanded, and to the due performance of which he has annex'd his infallible promise of giving us that Faith, which we cannot otherwise obtain of our selves? And we have no promise or grounds of expectance to receive it any otherwise; and without it we shall never see God, *Heb. xi. 6.*

2. But all this is lost to some Men, who think all means useless, because as they suppose there is an irreversible decree already gone forth upon every Man, of Happiness or Misery, which no means that can be us'd will ever alter; that this Decree has been from eternity, tho' secret to us; and therefore that all our labour, all our means are perfectly in vain; that there is nothing to be done, but to fold our Arms, and expect the issue of God's secret Decree, which is already past, and therefore that it is no matter whether we obey the commands of God, or not; that they were given us to no end, as to our Salvation, which does not depend upon them, but only upon the suppos'd Decree. Thus has the Arch-enemy blinded their Eyes, and ty'd up their hands from working towards their own Salvation; and thrown them upon a fresh provocation of searching into God's secret Councils, which he has forbidden. *The secret things belong unto the Lord our God; but those things which are reveal'd belong unto us, and to our Children, for ever, that we may do all the words of this Law,* Deut. xxix. 29.

What is reveal'd only is the rule of our Duty: Why then do we search into those Decrees which we call secret? If God will have them secret, why will not we let them be secret?

He smote fifty thousand and seventy of the *Bethshemites* with a great slaughter because they looked into his Ark: *Who then is able to stand before this holy Lord God?* And who dare pry into what he has reserv'd as a secret from us? 1 Sam. vi. 19.

But this we may be sure of, that his Commands or his Promises cannot contradict his Decrees how secret soever: And therefore we ought diligently to obey his Commands, and chearfully to trust in his Promises, without confounding our selves about suppos'd Decrees, of which we know nothing at all, nor ought to enquire.

I have read a story of a pious Man who was much troubled about his Election or Reprobation, pray'd earnestly that God would let him know whether he were predestinated to Salvation: And that a voice answer'd him,

What if you did know? To which he reply'd, that if he were sure to be sav'd in the end, how chearfully could he despise all the allurements of Flesh and Blood, and with Joy follow all the commands of *Christ*, even to the Death! *Would you do all this*, said the voice, *if you were sure to be sav'd?* Which he having faithfully promis'd, the voice answer'd once more, *Then do so, and you shall be sure to be sav'd.*

Whether the story be true or not, it is no matter; the Moral of it does determine this question: This is the only way to make *our Calling and Election sure*: Let us work and not dispute; not perplex our selves about hidden Decrees, but see to follow that which is plainly commanded, and then we may safely trust to what is promis'd, and *commit our souls to God in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator*. Let us look upon every thing which weakens our hands in this to be (as it truly is) the suggestion of the Devil; and let us shake off that Lethargy of glaring upon Decrees, which we understand not, till it transforms us into stone, that we have neither courage nor power to move hand or foot towards Heaven, but stand dozing upon that Earth which we find sinking, and, helpless, let it sink, and our selves with it, even into Hell, crying out, *What, can we help it? for we are decreed*. Yet never offer to move one foot from off it! This is enchantment indeed, and a wonderful degree of it. It is like a Man's head turning round upon a Precipice, which makes him run to meet his death. It is said, that a Squirrel having once fasten'd its Eye upon that of a Rattle-Snake, has no power to look off him, but dancing from bough to bough, with a fearful crying, leaps down at last upon the ground, and darts itself into his mouth. This is too like the condition of these Men, whom nothing will detain, whom no argument can persuade from their own ruin: The old Serpent has caught them with the enchantment of his eye, and they are dancing themselves into his mouth. The eternal and secret Decrees of God are a Precipice enough to turn the head of an Angel; they veil their faces, and dare not pry into that infinite Abyss! Yet poor Man will not be content unless he can fathom it, and will leap into that gulph, tho' he is sure it must swallow him. Is there any thing in God which we must not, cannot know? Yes sure, for nothing but infinite can comprehend infinite. And what is that which is hidden and inaccessible in God, if not his eternal and secret Decrees? And what can follow our pressing in upon these but confusion and destruction to our selves? Especially when God has commanded that we should not press upon these, threatned us severely if we do, and has, for an example to us, pour'd out his vengeance, in a dreadful manner, upon the heads of those who would not be restrain'd from this unwarrantable and presumptuous curiosity of prying into his secrets.

3. But after all, what is the ground of these suppos'd hidden Decrees of God, with which these Men have so unmeasurably perplex'd themselves?

They are all founded upon the very weak reasonings of short-sighted Men concerning the foreknowledge of God; which being certain and infallible, consequently they argue, that whatever he foresaw from eternity, must necessarily come to pass; that therefore it cannot be left to the liberty of our Will to act otherwise than exactly according to what God has foreseen, else that it would be in our power to defeat God's foreknowledge, and render it fallible. Hence they throw off all Free-will, and make it inconsistent with the foreknowledge of God. And then again, from the certainty of God's foreknowledge, they infer, that this is tantamount to a Decree, or that God has from eternity decreed all those Events which he foresaw.

They say that God is the same from and to eternity; that all things, past, present, and to come, are present with God, who beholds all things

with

with one intuitive Act, without succession of time, which measures our actions here below; and therefore that all God's Decrees are from eternity: And since he has decreed the reprobation of the wicked, and the election of the just, it must follow that he has decreed it from eternity. And thence they infer, that such Decrees being already past, they are irreversibile, and cannot be alter'd by any thing that we can do; and therefore that it signifies nothing what we do, whether good or bad, for that our sentence is already pronounc'd, tho' we know it not.

That God having decreed to love the elect, he loves them, tho' in their grossest Sins; and hates the reprobate, because he has so decreed, tho' in the most virtuous Actions: That he loves them never the more for their good Actions; nor is any whit the more displeased with the elect for their Sins.

Now in answer to these fatal and diabolical suggestions, I would recal these Men a little to consider of their own way of reasoning: For if there be no succession of time in God; that eternity is but one enduring instant; that therefore past, present, and to come are all one with God; that all things are present to him; then it must follow that Foreknowledge and Predestination are words only fitted to our capacities, who cannot apprehend duration without succession of time, which measures all duration to us. And there being no past or future in God, consequently tho' he knows all things, yet he foreknows nothing; and tho' he has decreed, yet not predecreed, and there is no such thing as Predestination in God, that is, not properly, and in the strictness of the thing, tho' the word is us'd in holy Scripture, as many others are, only to comply with our weakness, who could understand nothing of God from words spoke of him strictly and properly according to his incomprehensible Nature. There are no such words among Men, or intelligible to Men; and therefore we must not argue strictly and philosophically from such words, more than from God's coming down to see whether Men's Sins were according to the cry of them which had gone up to him, and the like.

Now there is no difficulty in God's Knowledge or Decrees, to say that he knows our Sins, and decrees punishment to them, and happiness to those that are good; for this is just, and what every one does allow: But all the objection is in the particle *Fore* or *Pre*, *Fore-knowledge* or *Pre-destination*, which being consider'd as before our Actions, are suppos'd to lay a force upon them, and take away the freedom of our Will.

But there being no such thing as fore or after in God, consequently our whole reasoning upon them is out of doors; and all the dreadful consequences before mentioned are only Chimeras of our own, proceeding all upon a wrong notion of God, while we endeavour to measure him by our own skantling, and argue from Properties which we must confess that we only suppose to be in him, but know at the same time that they do not belong to him.

If it be said, that we cannot argue otherwise of these hidden things of God, which are not reveal'd to us:

I grant it. But then the right consequence is, that we should let them alone; at least, since we cannot argue truly and properly of them, that we should not draw consequences as certain from premisses which are altogether uncertain: And where we confess that we cannot argue right, the best way is not to argue at all; especially where we are forbidden, and the effects of it are of such terrible consequence.

If any think that I have criticis'd too nicely upon Foreknowledge and Predestination, let them consider that I have only repeated what the Predestinarians do urge on their side; they build upon that nicety, and thence infer God's eternal Decrees: And I have shewn that from the same nicety
all

all their superstructure falls to the ground, having, by their own confession, but an imaginary foundation.

Come then, let us speak a little more plainly. Some cannot reconcile the certainty of God's knowledge with the freedom of our will; for say they, his knowledge is determinate, else were it not certain. And if he knows that I will determine my choice to such an action, then can I not chuse any otherwise; which takes away the freedom of my choice.

I answer, that if God sees that I will determine my choice so or so, and determine it freely, then I must determine it freely, and not necessarily, because he sees that I will do it freely, and not necessarily.

And his knowing what I do, does no more put any necessity upon me, than my seeing a Man walk (supposing the utmost certainty of my Senses) puts him under a necessity of walking. It is true, that if I see him walk, and my eyes do not deceive me, the consequence is certain that he does walk: But none does infer from hence, that my seeing takes away the freedom of his will, or puts him under any necessity of walking.

God sees every thing act according to the nature which he has given to it. Thus he sees the Sun move, and a Man walk; but he sees the one move necessarily, and not by choice, and the other walk by his own choice: And the knowledge of God is equally certain in both cases; therefore there is no necessity arises from the certainty of his knowledge.

And now I would desire these Men to consider the consequences of their Hypothesis.

They would put it out of the power of God to make a creature with Free-will; which would be to destroy the most glorious part of the Creation, and the most signal and wonderful instances of the power and wisdom of God in governing the wills of Men, even in their full freedom: Without this God could have no reasonable service paid to him. There could be no rewards or punishments, because no choice, more than in a stone falling down; no virtue, no sin, no wisdom or folly amongst Men. Then all the promises of God, his threatnings and exhortations, even the coming of *Christ* in the flesh, his death and passion, were all to no purpose, were mere banters upon Mankind, if Man have no choice, no free-will to go to the right hand or to the left. *Have I any pleasure at all that the wicked should die, saith the Lord God, and not that he should return from his ways and live?* And *Why will ye die, O house of Israel? Why?* Because (they might say upon this Scheme) you have decreed us to die; and we have no choice, no power to do any otherwise than we do.

It is as if I should bind a Man hand and foot, lock him into a house, then set fire to it, and ask him, *Why will you stay there and be burn'd?* *As I live I have no pleasure in your death, &c.* This would be a mocking and insulting upon his misery.

This would be making God the author of all the Sin in the world; for where there is no choice, there can be no Sin: Therefore those creatures who have no choice are incapable of Sin, as Trees, Stones, Beasts, &c.

And as there could be no Sin against God, so could there be no Offence against Man. No Man ought to be punished for Murder, Theft, Robbery, &c. if he be carry'd to it by a fatal necessity, which he cannot resist. Therefore Men distracted, or in Fevers, are not liable to Law, because they are not suppos'd capable of the use of their reason, whereby they may govern their choice in their actions.

I may add, that there is nothing more self-evident, no not the perception of our outward senses, than free-will in Man: Who does not perceive that it is in his power to do this or that? And all the repentance and regret in Man for his follies arises from this consideration, that he might have done otherwise.

Ezek. xviii.

23.

vs. 31.

otherwise. Without this there could be no such thing as repentance, no nor of council and advice, or indeed of any thinking at all; without this, Man could not be a reasonable Creature; for where there is no Choice, there can be no Reason, at least no use of our Reason.

It is liberty and free will which confounds all those Atheists, who would reduce every thing, even God himself, to mere Matter: For let Matter be refin'd as far as Imagination can stretch it, it can never come from under the Laws of necessity; all its motions are prescrib'd, and must proceed exactly according to its Mechanism, and cannot vary in the least tittle. But the freedom of Will to act this way, or the contrary, exceeds all rules of Mechanism, and is an image of God, which cannot be impress'd upon Matter. And when the Devil or Man (by his instigation) would throw'd their Sin under this seeming necessity, it is to throw it upon God: But their own consciences fly in their faces, and tell them that they might have help'd it, and therefore that their Sin lies at their own door.

How far any or all of the Errors and Heresies before-mentioned, or what others of the like nature did prevail in the ancient Ages of the World, of which we have little account, and before the Flood, we cannot now determine: But this we may be assur'd of, that there were gross Errors and Heresies amongst them; and that these, as well as those of which we have the account, were instigated and promoted by the Arch-enemy, who first tempted Man to Sin after his own example, and has, and will to the end of the world seduce Mankind, as far as in his power.

XIV.
The various
Successes of
this War up-
on Earth be-
fore Christ
came.

And God has permitted him great power and great success, which will all turn, no doubt, to the greater glory of God in the end, and to the increase of endless happiness to those who are subjected to great trials and tentations, and shall continue faithful unto the end.

God has had his City from the beginning, and the Devil his Camp, laying siege to it, and often wasting, and almost destroying it; whereby God shew'd his Almighty Power and Love to his Church in his miraculous defence of it, amidst so many and great dangers.

Of which this attempt is design'd, by way of a History, deduc'd from the beginning of that first revolt in Heaven, and the various successes of the same War carry'd on upon the Earth ever since the fatal seduction of our first Parents in Paradise.

And the low ebb to which the Church was often reduc'd, and yet still deliver'd, will strengthen our hearts in those afflictions and depressions of this City of God which we see in our times; and not only keep us from despair, but give us a lively hope, increase our faith, and stir up our courage, always to work, and never to despond, when we know that God is on our side, and that we must overcome in the end, if we faint not, and give up the cause, for want of trust in God, and lose both our labour and reward.

Therefore, that we may see that nothing new has befallen us, let us look into the several Ages of the World. Whom find we that walked with God, or fought on his side, but *Abel, Seth, Enoch, and Noah* before the Flood?

Then was the whole World destroy'd for its wickedness, except eight Persons. After the Flood, how soon did *Nimrod* and the builders of *Babel* declare their Pride; and the whole World receiv'd this principle of the Devil, and govern'd themselves by it, and the army of God was confin'd within the small family of *Abraham*.

And when God had rescu'd a Nation to himself, and given them his Law, they were the *fewest of all People, a stubborn and stiff-necked Generation, that set not their heart aright, nor sought after God. They stoned*

Deut. vii. 7.
Psal. lxxviii. 9.

Matt. xxiii.
37.

their Prophets, and kill'd those whom God sent to reclaim them; till at last God remov'd them too, and scatter'd them among the Heathen.

Then the Devil boasted in his Conquests, and set up his Banners for tokens; he possess'd all the Temples and Thrones in the World: None appear'd against him but a few Heathen Philosophers, who were themselves in half Pay with him, had suck'd many of his Principles with their Milk; but yet were assisted by God, and spoke noble things in defence of Love, till by it, as by a clue, they discover'd God himself, or found that Love was Almighty; and they made it the first Former of all things. They batter'd Pride with mighty arguments, and brought upon themselves the rage of the Devil, who kept them low and poor, and despis'd, and arm'd Kings and States against them, and rais'd many of them to a sort of Martyrdom. Thus deplorable was the condition of the World then; a few stifled Embers only left, and all the torrents of the World, all their violence let loose upon them, to quench them.

It was now time for God himself to appear in defence of his own cause, which in the hands of Men had been betray'd, over-power'd, conquer'd, and only not entirely lost.

And lo he comes! a Body is prepar'd for him, and God was made Flesh.

XV.
The grand
Conflict be-
twixt Christ
and the De-
vil.

Now let us seriously attend this Conflict; for never before, nor ever again will two such Combatants enter the Lists. Here is a Creature so mighty, that he dares contend with God; and here is God humbled into a Man, to subdue that Spirit which had overthrown all Mankind; and *Christ* grapples with him as a Man, without interposing his Godhead, (for that had been no contest) and to shew what Man might have done, and may still do.

I need not here again tell you of the quarrel upon which these two fought; it is the same we have been speaking of, the same that *St. Michael* fought before, that is, Pride and Love; which of these is the most noble and most mighty.

Michael defended his cause well, and was victorious; but *Christ* acted what *Michael* could not. Since the Devil would not be persuaded by arguments, *Christ* here brings him to the test, to experiment the powers of Love and of Pride; and that with all the disadvantages imaginable; Love in its lowest condescension, expos'd to Pride enrag'd in its altitude.

Isa. liii. 2, 3.

Christ came of poor Parents, born in a Stable, not room for him, in a common Inn; he liv'd destitute and forlorn, without a place to lay his head in, worse provided for than Foxes or Birds: He chose poor Men and unlearned for his followers; he was *despis'd, persecuted, slander'd, call'd a Glutton, and a Drunkard, a Madman, a very Devil*: He had neither *Form nor Beauty, a Man of Sorrows and acquainted with Griefs; we hid as it were our faces from him; he was despis'd and rejected of Men, and they esteem'd him not.* His virtue was *Omnibus ornamentis spoliata*, void of all outward ornaments to recommend it, according to *Plato's* qualification, and may be call'd a *Prophecy of the just one*, and of his Passion. His arms were blessing, and praying, and instructing; he never us'd his power to hurt any, but to heal his very Enemies; *he went about doing good to all*, and lov'd his Enemies more intensely than they could hate him: And tho' they requited him with mischief for his good-will, yet he always return'd good to them for their evil. *He came unto his own, and his own receiv'd him not*: The only visible Church he had upon the Earth had taken arms with the Enemy: The *Scribes and Pharisees* were his forest Persecutors; the Sanhedrim bought him, prefer'd a Thief and a Murderer before him, and procur'd his Death with violent out-cries; one of his own Disciples betray'd him, another forswore him; all forsook him: He was left

left to tread the wine-press alone, expos'd single to all the malice and scorn of Men and Devils; the agony of his Soul forcing him into such an astonishment and exceeding sorrow as was never heard of since the World began; a bloody sweat making its passage through skin and cloaths, and falling down in great drops upon the ground. Lastly, his Father himself forsook him—in his greatest extremity, hanging upon the Cross, 'twixt two Thieves, and fill'd with the reproaches of all about him; shaking their heads, and thrusting out their tongues at him. His Father forsook him! That only cou'd make him cry out; yet did not that itself overcome his Love, for he entirely and willingly submitted himself. He bowed his head, in obedience, and gave up the ghost: He resign'd his Soul into the hands of his Father who had forsaken him, trusting in infinite Love, that it can never fail; and dy'd praying for his Murderers, shewing the transcendence of his Love above their Malice.

And here behold the wisdom as well as goodness of Love! that same method which Pride and Malice suggest to destroy *Christ*, that was it which most advanced the Glory of his Love. And let us here adore the almighty power of Love, that out of all the evils Pride was able to invent, cou'd bring such infinite good!

And by the rule of contraries, here we may see the folly as well as the impotence of Pride!

When it is arrived at the full of its own wishes, that is always its destruction. For when Love has born all that Pride can do, when it sees it can go no farther, it returns upon itself with impatience, and rage, and madness.

When the Devil had nail'd *Christ* to the Cross, he thought himself a Victor; and had been so, if that cou'd have mov'd *Christ* to impatience or distrust; or if he had withdrawn himself from his sufferings, either for the shame or the pain; for then his Love had been conquer'd, it had fled the field, not being able to abide the shock.

But *Christ* supported that tryal with a godlike patience and constancy, and his Love unshaken remain'd more than conqueror. That old Serpent left his sting in the Cross, and fled away disarm'd, asham'd, confounded! And the grave of *Christ*, which he thought to have kept shut for ever, was made the gate to open the triumphs of Love into Hell; where the Spirits of Pride did gnash their teeth with unextinguishable rage, to find that Love was unconquerable, and that its lowest condescensions turn to its greatest glory: For what can conquer that, which has the virtue to bring good out of evil? Thus you see how *Christ* has spoil'd the principalities and powers of Pride by the arms of his Love, and hath made a shew of them, openly triumphing over them in his Cross; that is, in the humiliation, which is the great power of Love, and having loosed the pains of Death; because it was not possible that he should be holden of it. He arose gloriously to the astonishment of his wretched Guards, and all the affrighted Legions of Hell: Whom he chain'd to his triumphal Chariot, and when he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, or a multitude of captives, (as our margin reads it) and gave gifts unto Men, bestow'd his royal donatives liberally among his own Soldiers, who had fought under his banner, and now attended on his Triumph, and shar'd in the Glory of it. Col. ii. 15.

Now that he ascended, what is it but that he also descended first into the lower parts of the Earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all Heavens, that he might fill all things. Eph. iv. 9.

This shews that the Glory of Love consists in its condescensions; and its Glory rises proportionably high to the lowness of its condescension: Thus the meanest

Eph. iii. 17.

Rom. viii. 35.

XVI.
Applicatiⁿ
of the v. note.

2 Tim. iii. 12.

meanest condescension rises to the very highest glory; and this fills or fulfils all things: Includes all things; for all things are contain'd between the highest and the lowest. And this is *fulfilling all Righteousness*, all the demands of Love; towards our Righteousness making us like itself: And this includes in it the full Goodness and Power of God, that is, the utmost condescension of Love. So that now we see in *Christ all the fulness of the Godhead dwelling bodily*; and *we are compleat in him*. And from hence let me make the Apostle's inference and prayer for you, *That ye may be rooted and grounded in Love*, because so, and never otherwise, *you will be able to comprehend with all Saints, what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; and to know the Love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that thus ye may be filled with all the fulness of God*. Observe how the inspir'd Apostle rejoices even to extasie upon this subject! *The fulness of God*, that is, all we or any creature can hold of him, consists in what we understand of the nature of Love: And then to our eternal Comfort, *the Love of Christ passes all knowledge*, that is, no knowledge can comprehend it all, and therefore it can afford still new matter of joy and rapture to all created understandings for ever and ever. And may not this contemplation raise us to the courage of an Apostle? It will certainly, if we let this good seed stay in our hearts till it take root; if we do not choke it with the foolish Principles of Pride, or make it give place to the Cares and Riches, and Pleasures of this Life, it will bring our hearts to the firmness of an Angel, and make us see nothing that can terrifie us: We shall be ready to join with St. Paul in his holy exultation, and say—*Who shall separate us from the Love of Christ, shall tribulation or distress, or persecution, or famine or nakedness, or peril or sword? As it is written for thy sake are we kill'd all the day long, we are counted as sheep for the slaughter; nevertheless, in all these things we are more than Conquerors through him who loved us; for I am persuaded that neither Death nor Life, nor Angels, nor Principalities, nor Powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the Love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord*.

And now, as a conclusion to all that has been said, we may learn this, that the best guard we can have against falling into Heresie is to watch carefully against all the inroads and temptations of Pride; which I have shewn to lie at the bottom of all Heresies, as the Source from whence they spring. It corrupts the Will, and, by that, viciates the Understanding, and inclines them by a strong byass to the side of Error, and in prejudice of the Truth; which is always founded upon and accompany'd with the opposite of Pride, that is, Love and Goodness, which is naturally productive of a sweetness and humility of Temper, that renders us docible and unprejudic'd; without which Truth cannot be duly discern'd, but is clouded from perverse and obstinate minds.

And as the humility of Love is the best preservative against Error and Heresy, so is it the surest defence against most sort of Sins in our private conversation; especially it enables us most effectually to *perseverance in the Faith*, against that *fiery tryal of Persecution*, which, in one sort or other, comes to most Mens share that will *live godly in Christ Jesus*.

But there is an higher pitch of Perfection even than this. And that which I wou'd raise Men to, and desire to imitate my self, is that whereof the daily exercise and improvement is, by God's great Mercy and Goodness, afforded to every one of us, which is, not only to bear the Persecution or the Pride of others; which some may do even out of Pride, Obstinacy, or other vicious Principle; but chiefly to banish Pride out of your selves; to look

look upon the meanest Man in the World as a Member of *Christ*, and so equal to your self; and therefore to condescend to the lowest offices that may do him good, to bear his infirmities and injuries with Patience (which is the true magnanimity) as *Christ* also did bear ours: And that you think this so far from being dishonourable, as that you may esteem it the greatest Glory and Praise of Love, wherein the Happiness of Heaven does consist. And if Angels were thrown out of Heaven for despising Man, and *Christ* died to redeem Man, and is himself a Man, and loves and values the meanest Man, what is that Man that despises another?

And if even in Heaven there was War, and folly and blasphemy among the Angels there, and misunderstanding the Nature of God, how shou'd this make us patient to one another's infirmities? How solicitous and careful to secure our selves? How reasonable will it hence appear to keep a watchful eye upon the least progress of Pride or Self-conceit, which was potent to disturb the seat of the Blessed, and overthrow Spirits which were heavenly-born?

That therefore you should justly abhor the Pride of this World, to see a Man despise not only his Inferiors, (which was the Sin of Angels) but his Equals and Superiors! To think himself beyond every Man he meets! And that it is below his greatness (forsooth) to receive an injury from any! This is the character of a Hero, so much courted in Romances and Plays, (the Gospel of this World's honour;) a fool swell'd with pride even to Blasphemy! Is it not nauseous to see him brave Thunder, whose scull is not proof against the sliding of a Tyle from a house-top! A weak piece of flesh, whose foundation is in the dust, the food of Worms, that is crush'd before the Moth! A Man that is not able to encounter a Disease, to hear him rally against God, and to think this either wit or courage! That Men of Spirit (as they call themselves) should be fond of a Vice which proceeds merely from want of sense! And not rather to follow the advice and example of a God, which is, that you would think it your greatest honour to become innocent and harmless, loving and free from pride as little Children are, (which is taught in the Gospel for this day) and that with such courage, that you would rather chuse to *pluck out your eyes*, and *cut off your hands*, than to offend the least, the most inconsiderable of Mankind, who are created by God *after his own image*, and are the price of the Blood of *Christ*: That you would believe the argument of Honour to be decided, which has been bandy'd by the Angels of Heaven, and determin'd there by God himself, that it consists in Love, and not in Pride; but more sensibly by the Incarnation and Sufferings of *Christ*, which makes it as it were visible to our Eyes.

That you would therefore suffer your selves to be persuaded by your own Reason, which will shew you the restless Miseries which attend upon Pride, and the Beauties and great Glory of Love, in the which if you can delight your selves, you have already tasted of Heaven, and are Heirs of immortal Honour. *Amen.*

And let this comfort us in our faint longings, languid attempts, and many failings in our spiritual Warfare; and let this silence all our weak murmurings at the Providence of God, which has for infinitely wise ends, not fathomable by us, permitted the Fall of Man, and Wars and Divisions upon Earth; since for this end, no doubt, among many others, he has made known to us that *there was War in Heaven*; and that as the conquest can only be by his Strength and Grace in us, so it will end in infinite and eternal Victory and Triumph to those who trust wholly in him by Faith in *Christ* humbled and crucify'd for us; and who follow him manfully to the end of that race which he, our great Prophet and Guide, has not only point-

ed out to us, but as our Captain, has led us, and run before us, and fought the same fight which he would have us to fight, and wherein he will assist us, and protect us, that the gates of Hell shall never prevail against us; and has already, in our cause, and in our name and nature, triumphed over every power of the Enemy, and taken possession of Heaven for us, as our head, the Soul and Life of that Body whereof we are Members.

Rom. viii. 9,
11.

And as the Soul does actuate all the members of the Body, consequently it must raise all the members with the Body: So that all who partake of the Spirit of *Christ* are sure that that Spirit must raise up their Bodies, as certainly as it did raise up the Body of *Christ*. Now if any Man have not the Spirit of *Christ*, he is none of his—But if the Spirit of him who raised up *Jesus* from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up *Christ* from the dead shall also quicken your mortal Bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you. Amen.



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F I N I S.





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